

THE
STUDENT'S MANUAL
OF
MODERN HISTORY;

CONTAINING THE
RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PRINCIPAL EUROPEAN NATIONS,
THEIR POLITICAL HISTORY, AND THE CHANGES
IN THEIR SOCIAL CONDITION;

WITH A HISTORY OF
THE COLONIES FOUNDED BY EUROPEANS.

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PREFACE.

THE plan of this work is nearly the same as that of the *STUDENT'S MANUAL OF ANCIENT HISTORY*, which has been sanctioned by public approbation. It is a compilation, which can have few claims to novelty; but it is hoped that most students will be gratified with the attention paid to such events as mark the progress of civilization, for they form the chain by which the histories of the several nations of Europe are linked together. It has been the constant aim of the Author to impress upon his readers that the Providence of God may be traced with as much distinctness in the moral government of the universe, as in the physical world; we cannot comprehend all the mysteries of the Almighty's wondrous plan, because "the end is not yet;" but we see enough to convince us that there is evident and great design in the order of the events which constitute general history, and that all the records of our race bear testimony to the great truth announced in the revealed word of God—"Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

In the narrative of our own times, the Writer has sedulously avoided party views of important questions, and has confined himself to a plain statement of facts, without any colouring borrowed from opinions.

Colonization is too important a branch of Modern History to be omitted, and, at the risk of being charged with something like repetition, the Author has thought it right to give a summary of the history of the principal Colonies which have been founded in India and America.

The rise, progress and present state of the Papacy as a political system, has been, it is trusted, satisfactorily developed, including histories of the Inquisition and of the Order of Jesuits. The history of China has been brought down to the present day, and in like manner a sketch is given of the fortunes of the Jews since their dispersion by Adrian. ·

IN preparing this edition, a Supplementary Chapter has been introduced, which brings down the information to the present time.

January, 1847.

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MANUAL OF MODERN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.



SECTION I.—*The Gothic Kingdom of Italy.*

THERE is no period in the annals of the human race which presents to the historical student a greater scene of confusion than the century succeeding the overthrow of the Western Empire. The different hordes of barbarians, following no definite plan, established separate monarchies in the dismembered provinces, engaged in sanguinary wars that had no object but plunder, and were too ignorant to form anything like a political system. There is consequently a want of unity in the narrative of a time when nations ceased to have fixed relations towards each other, and history must appear desultory and digressive until some one state, rising into command, assume such importance, that the fate of all the rest may be connected with its destinies. It is necessary, before entering on the various incidents of this calamitous time, to take a geographical survey of the places occupied by the principal nations who succeeded the Romans in the sovereignty of Europe.

The Visigoths, after their establishment in Spain, began gradually to adopt the refinement of their new subjects; that peninsula had advanced rapidly in civilization under the Roman dominion, and had escaped from much of the corruption which had degraded Italy; the conquerors, more advanced than any of the other barbarians, soon learned to appreciate the advantages of social order, and began to cultivate the higher arts of life. In Pannonia, the Ostrogoths derived great improvement from their vicinity to Italy on the one side, and the court of Constantinople on the other; they were thus gradually trained to civilization, and their early adoption of Christianity secured them the benefits of literature, which was sedulously cultivated by the clergy.

Tribes of a very different character pressed into the empire from the German forests,—the Burgundians, the Lombards, and the Franks, of whom the last were long distinguished for their hostility to all refinements, and their exclusive attention to the military virtues. Still more barbarous were the Saxons and Angles; they were not only strangers to the civilization and religion of the empire,

but were kept in their rude state by the practice of piracy, for which their maritime situation afforded them great facilities; their government, divided among several petty chiefs, was favourable to personal independence, and furnished a striking contrast to the absolute despotism that had been established in the Roman empire. All the Germanic tribes were remarkable for the respect which they showed to the delicacy of the female character; they neither treated their women like slaves, as most other barbarians have done, nor did they degrade them into mere objects of sensual gratification, like the Romans and Byzantines. The German woman was the companion and counsellor of her husband; she shared his labours as an equal, not as a servant. It was from the sanctity of the domestic circle among the northern nations that races of conquerors derived the firmness and courage which ensured them victory.

The north-eastern part of Europe was occupied by Slavonic tribes, differing from the Germans in language, manners and tactics; like the Tartars of more modern times, they placed their chief reliance on their cavalry; and they were more opposed to civilization than any of the Germanic nations. Their form of government was a kind of aristocratic republic, but in war the tribes generally united under a single leader. They were very averse to fixed residences, and when they occupied a country they rarely entered the cities, but remained in their camps or in rude circular fortifications called *rings*. The Slavonians hated the Germans, and could rarely be induced to unite with them against their common enemy, the Romans.

After the fall of the Western Empire, the court of Constantinople sunk into obscurity from which it did not emerge for half a century, when its supremacy was restored during the memorable reign of Justinian. The Isaurian Zeno, raised to the purple by his marriage with the Princess Ariadne, was forced to fly into the mountains by a fierce revolt which his mother-in-law Verina had instigated. He was restored to the throne chiefly by the aid of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who had been carefully educated as a hostage at the court of Constantinople. The turbulence of the Goths, and the faithlessness of the Byzantines, soon destroyed the amity of the two sovereigns; a desultory, but sanguinary warfare harassed the Eastern Empire, until Zeno purchased peace by ceding to Theodoric his right over Italy, or rather stimulated the Goth to undertake the conquest of that peninsula. The march of Theodoric was the emigration of an entire people; the Goths were accompanied by their wives, their children, and their aged parents, a vast multitude of wagons conveyed their most precious effects, and their store of provisions for a toilsome march undertaken in the depth of winter. Odoacer boldly prepared to meet this formidable invasion; he took post on the river Sontius (*Isonzo*) with a powerful host; but he was unable to resist the

daring energy of the Goths, and his defeat gave Theodoric possession of the Venetian province as far as the walls of Verona (A.D. 489). Italy, however, was not won without further struggles; Ravenna alone sustained a siege of more than three years; but at length Odoacer capitulated (A.D. 493), and was soon after assassinated at a solemn banquet by his rival.

Theodoric secured his conquest by distributing one-third of the lands of Italy to his soldiers in military tenures. This partition was effected with very little violence to the ancient possessors; the Goths were instructed to spare the people, to reverence the laws, and to lay aside their barbarous customs of judicial combats and private revenge. The Gothic sovereignty was soon extended from Sicily to the Danube, and from Sirmium (*Sirmich*) to the Atlantic Ocean; thus including the fairest portion of the Western Empire. The monarch of this new kingdom showed great wisdom and moderation in his civil government, but unfortunately his attachment to the Arian heresy led him to persecute the Catholics; it must, however, be confessed that their bigoted turbulence afforded too often a reasonable excuse for his severity. The legal murder of the philosopher Boethius and the venerable Symmachus were crimes which admit of no palliation; they hastened Theodoric's death, for remorse brought him to the grave in the thirty-third year of his reign (A.D. 526).

SECTION II.—*The Reign of Justinian.*

A DACIAN peasant named Justin, who had travelled on foot to Constantinople in the reign of the Emperor Leo, enlisted in the imperial guards, and, during the succeeding reigns, so distinguished himself by his strength and valour, that he was gradually raised to the command of the household troops. On the death of the Emperor Anastasius, the eunuch Amantius, anxious to secure the throne for one of his creatures, entrusted Justin with a large sum of money to bribe the guards; but he used it to purchase votes for himself, and was thus elevated to the empire (A.D. 518). Totally ignorant himself, Justin was not insensible of the value of education; he made his nephew Justinian his associate in the empire; and as this prince had been instructed in all the learning of the times, he soon obtained the whole power of the state.

After the death of Justin (A.D. 527), Justinian ruled alone; but his first exercise of authority fixed a lasting stigma on his reign. He chose for his empress, Theodora, a woman of mean birth and infamous character, whose vices had disgusted even a capital so licentious as Constantinople. Among the most singular and dis-

graceful follies of the Eastern Empire was the factions of the circus, which arose from the colours worn by the charioteers who competed for the prize of swiftness. Green and blue were the most remarkable for their inveterate hostility, though white and red were the most ancient; all, however, soon acquired a legal existence, and the Byzantines willingly hazarded life and fortune to support their favourite colour. Justinian was a partisan of the blues; his favour towards them provoked the hostility of the opposite faction, and led to a sedition which almost laid Constantinople in ashes. The disturbances first burst forth in the circus; Justinian ordered the rioters to be secured; both factions immediately turned against the monarch, the soldiers were called out, but they were unable to contend against the citizens in the narrow streets. Assailed from the tops of the houses, the barbarian mercenaries flung firebrands in revenge, and thus kindled a dreadful conflagration, which destroyed a vast number of public and private edifices. After the city had been for several days in the hands of the rioters, Justinian contrived to revive the ancient animosity between the *greens* and *blues*; the latter faction declared for the emperor, a strong body of veterans marched to the Hippodrome, or race-course, and tranquillity was restored by the slaughter of thirty thousand of the insurgents. While the internal state of the empire was thus disturbed by faction, a costly and unprofitable war was waged against the Persians, until the emperor purchased a disgraceful and precarious truce, which both he and his rival chose to designate as an endless peace.

The usurpation of the throne of the Vandals in Africa by Gelimer, who owed his success chiefly to the support of the Arian clergy, induced Justinian to undertake a war, in which he appeared both the generous friend of an allied sovereign and the protector of the Catholic faith. Belisarius, the best general of his age, was appointed to the command of the imperial forces, and a large fleet was assembled for the transport of the army in the harbour of Constantinople (A.D. 533). After the armament had been blessed by the patriarch it set sail; and, after a prosperous voyage, Belisarius effected a landing on the coast of Africa without opposition. He advanced towards Carthage, defeating the Vandals on his march, and became master of the city with little opposition. Gelimer made one effort more to save his kingdom; it was unsuccessful, his army was irretrievably ruined, and he was closely besieged in the castle where he sought refuge. The unfortunate king, after having borne the most dreadful extremities of famine, was forced to surrender unconditionally; he was carried captive to Constantinople, where he was led in the triumphal procession that honoured the return of Belisarius. The dethroned monarch showed no sorrow for his fall, but consoled himself by Solomon's reflection on the instability of human greatness.

frequently repeating, "Vanity of vanities, saith the preacher, all is vanity."

The murder of Amalasontha, queen of the Goths, by her ungrateful husband Theodatus, afforded Belisarius a pretext for attacking the kingdom of Italy. He sailed from Constantinople to Sicily, and easily conquered that important island (A.D. 535). Theodatus, in great terror, hasted to avert danger, by declaring himself the vassal of Justinian; but hearing in the mean time that two Byzantine generals had been defeated in Dalmatia by the Gothic troops, he passed suddenly from extreme despair to the height of presumption, and withdrew his allegiance. Belisarius soon appeared to chastise his perfidy; he transported his army across the Sicilian strait, and effected a landing at Rhegium (*Reggio*). The greater part of southern Italy, including the important city of Naples, was speedily subdued by the imperial forces; while Theodatus, secure within the walls of Rome, made no effort to protect his subjects. At length the Goths, disgusted by the weakness and incapacity of their sovereign, removed him from the throne, and chose the valiant Vitiges for their king. But Vitiges was forced to commence his reign by abandoning Rome, of which Belisarius took possession without encountering any opposition (A.D. 537). During the ensuing winter, the Goths assembled from every quarter to save, if possible, their kingdom in Italy; a powerful army, animated by dauntless spirit, was soon collected, and Vitiges led his followers to the siege of Rome. Belisarius concentrated his forces in the Eternal City, which was defended with equal skill and bravery; but famine soon appeared within the walls, and the citizens became anxious for a capitulation. A conspiracy was formed under the sanction of the pope, Sylverius, for betraying the city to the Goths; but it was discovered by an intercepted letter. Belisarius sent Sylverius into banishment, and ordered the bishops to elect a new pontiff: before, however, a synod could be assembled for the purpose, the general's wife, the infamous Antonina, sold the Holy See to Vigilius for a bribe of two hundred pounds weight of gold. Reinforcements soon after arrived from the East, and the Goths were forced to raise the siege of Rome, having lost one-third of their number before its walls. Belisarius pursued the retreating enemy to the marshes of Ravenna, and would probably have captured that city, but for the jealousy of the eunuch Narses, whom Justinian had entrusted with the independent command of a large division of the Byzantine army. Though the differences between the two leaders were finally adjusted, the Goths had taken advantage of the interval to collect new strength; and ten thousand Burgundians, sent to invade Italy by the command of Theodobert, king of the Franks, had stormed and plundered Milan. Soon after, Theodobert passed the Alps in person at the head of one hundred thousand men. The Franks

stormed Genoa, and devastated Liguria; but their excesses brought pestilence into their camp, they perished by thousands, and Theodobert was induced, by his increasing distresses, to enter into terms of accommodation with the emperor. Delivered from this pressing danger, Belisarius laid siege to Ravenna, which was forced to capitulate (A.D. 539); and thus the Gothic kingdom of Italy was destroyed.

Belisarius returned to Constantinople in triumph, leading with him the captive Vitiges; he was sent to conduct the Persian war, but was soon recalled and disgraced by the ungrateful Justinian. While the conquests of Belisarius were restoring the western provinces to the empire, barbarous hordes ravaged, almost with impunity, the north-eastern frontiers. Unable or unwilling to meet the Gepidæ in the field, Justinian entered into alliance with the Longobardi or Lombards (so called from their long *barts* or lances), who had just thrown off the yoke of the Heruli, and gave them settlements in Pannonia. A war of forty years' duration, between the Lombards and Gepidæ, protected the empire from the invasions of both hordes; but it was still exposed to the incursions of the Slavonians and Bulgarians, who annually purchased a passage through the territories of the Gepidæ, and extended their inroads even into southern Greece. Commotions in the remote east brought Europeans, about this time, acquainted with new and more formidable races of barbarians, the Avars and the Turks, whose importance may justify a short digression on their origin.

The Avars, from an unknown age, possessed the mountains and deserts that border on the lake Baïkal in north-eastern Asia. Thence they advanced southwards under a monarch named Túlún, and extended their empire to the eastern sea, which separates Corea from Japan. The conqueror took the title of Chakan or Chagan, a name still used on the coins of the Turkish sultan. But the prosperity of the Avars was not of long duration; they were assailed by rival tribes from the north, and at the same time harassed by civil wars; while thus distressed, they were attacked by a new horde, called Thiú khiú by Chinese writers, but known to the Europeans as the Turks. The Avars were overthrown by these new competitors for empire, and their power totally destroyed; but their name was taken by a new nation, the Ogors or Varchonites, who after being defeated by the Turks, migrated towards Europe by the route of the Volga. They chose the false designation, because the name of the Avars was still formidable, and they preserved it on account of the terror which they saw it produced.

The Turks first appear in history as the slaves of the original Avars; they inhabited the great Altaian mountains, and were engaged in working the mines and attending the forges of those rich mineral districts. Their skill in fabricating armour and weapons was very

THE REIGN OF JUSTINIAN.

great, and they prided themselves upon the excellence of their manufactures so much, that, when they became lords of eastern Asia, their Khakans annually forged a piece of iron in the presence of the heads of the nation. Under the guidance of Thú-men, they asserted their independence, and made slaves of their former masters. So rapid was their progress, that during the reigns of Thú-men and his successor Dizabul, their empire was extended from the Volga to the Sea of Japan. They were thus brought to the frontiers of the Byzantine and Persian dominions, and engaged in commercial relations with both, by their occupation of the countries through which the silk-trade was carried.

The great rival of Justinian was Chosroes or Nushírván, the most celebrated Persian monarch of the Sassanid dynasty; in the early part of his reign he won the affection of his subjects, by extirpating the pernicious system of policy and religion which his predecessor Kobad, seduced by an impostor named Mazdak, had patronized. His next care was to give confidence to the labouring classes by judicious laws securing the rights of industry, and by a sedulous attention to the administration of justice. Having thus secured the tranquillity and prosperity of Persia, he directed his attention to the favourite subject of the Sassanides, the re-establishment of the empire of Cyrus, perceiving that the forces of Justinian were engaged in the west, invaded Syria, at the head of a powerful army (A.D. 540). His victorious career was checked for a brief space by Belisarius, but after the recall and disgrace of that general, he urged forward his conquests with alarming rapidity. Justinian, in his distress, repented of his ingratitude; Belisarius was restored to command, and by his judicious exertions, Nushírván was forced to return across the Euphrates, loaded, however, with the spoils of western Asia. His next enterprise was the conquest of the Caucasian districts, inhabited by the Lazi, the Colchians, and other semi-barbarous tribes, which the Byzantines struggled to prevent, and this led to the tedious Lazic war, in which the strength of both empires was uselessly wasted. In consequence of the Persian war, Justinian entered into a treaty with the Abyssinians, whose monarch had subdued the greater part of Arabia, in the expectation of opening, by his means, a naval communication with China and India; but the design was frustrated by the reluctance of the Ethiopian monarch to engage in a doubtful contest with the power of Persia.

The provinces of Africa and Italy, acquired by the valour of Belisarius, were nearly lost by the incapacity and tyranny of his successors. Their weakness provoked the Moors to take arms; and, though these barbarians were finally reduced, the African province was changed from a fertile and populous country into a savage and silent desert. Still more dangerous was the revolt of the Goths under

the gallant Totila (A.D. 541), who in a very brief space recovered the greater part of Italy. Finding his generals successively defeated, Justinian sent Belisarius to the theatre of his former glory; but he neglected to supply the hero with sufficient forces; and Rome was captured by Totila, almost in sight of the imperial army. The city was recovered soon after, and the old general gained some advantages over Totila; but finding himself unsupported, he solicited permission to return, and departed from Italy disgraced, not so much by his failure, as by the plunder he had permitted Antonina to extort from those he was sent to defend (A.D. 548). Totila, after the departure of Belisarius, again made himself master of Rome, but the maritime cities of Italy resisted his assaults, and supported the imperial interests until the eunuch Narses was sent into the peninsula (A.D. 552).

Justinian granted to this favourite what he had denied to Belisarius, a competent supply of the munitions of war; allies were entreated to send contingents, and mercenaries were hired from the principal barbarous tribes. Thus supplied, the eunuch eagerly sought to bring the Goths to an engagement; but Totila showed equal ardour for the combat, and the hostile forces soon met in the vicinity of Rome. In the very commencement of the battle the Gothic cavalry, hurried forward by their impetuosity, advanced so far beyond their infantry, that they were surrounded and cut to pieces before they could receive assistance. Totila, hasting with a chosen troop to remedy the disorder, was struck to the earth mortally wounded, and his followers instantly fled in confusion. Rome opened its gates to the conquerors; but the imperial forces, especially the barbarian mercenaries, treated the city more cruelly than the Gothic conquerors had done, and inflicted on the citizens the mingled horror of lust, rapine, and murder. The bravest of the Goths retired, after their defeat, beyond the Po, and chose Teias for their king. War was of course renewed; but in a fierce battle, which lasted two entire days, Teias was slain, and the power of the Ostrogoths irretrievably ruined. Narses had scarcely time to recover from the fatigues of this campaign, when he was summoned to repel an invasion of the Franks and Allemans; he routed them with great slaughter; and then returning to Rome, gratified its citizens by the semblance of a triumph. Italy was thus reduced to a Byzantine province, governed by the exarchs of Ravenna; and Narses himself, the first and most powerful of the exarchs, governed the whole peninsula for fifteen years.

In the mean time Belisarius had been summoned to defend the empire from the dangers with which it was menaced, by an invasion of the Bulgarians. He gained a decisive victory over the barbarians, but was prevented from improving his advantages by the intrigues of the courtiers. The Bulgarians were induced to return beyond the Danube, by the payment of a large ransom for their captives; and

Justinian claimed the gratitude of his subjects for accelerating their departure by the threat of placing armed vessels in the Danube. This was the last campaign of Belisarius; he was soon after disgraced and imprisoned, under a false charge of treason: his innocence was subsequently proved, and his freedom restored, but grief and resentment hurried him to the grave; and his treasures were seized by the spacious emperor. Eight months afterwards Justinian sunk into the tomb, scarcely regretted by his subjects. He was a pious and diligent sovereign, but he wanted energy to contend against the vices of his court and the age. His talents as a legislator and statesman were great; had he acted on his own principles, he would have surpassed Augustus, but he yielded his power to the infamous Theodora, and to unworthy ministers who abused his confidence, and oppressed the empire.

SECTION III.—*The Establishment of the Civil Law.*

the in his reign Justinian directed his attention to the state of the law in his empire, and formed the useful project of digesting into a uniform code the vast mass of laws, rules, and judicial maxims, which the various interests of the Romans and Byzantines, their progress in civilization, and the inconstancy of their rulers, had produced, during the course of thirteen hundred years. He saw that the multitude of ordinances occasioned confusion and disorder, and that the heap of inconsistent decisions and regulations, formed a labyrinth in which justice went astray, and iniquity found avenues for escape. The execution of this great plan was not worthy of the design. At the head of the commission appointed to prepare the code was Tribonian, a lawyer of great eminence, but unfortunately an interested flatterer and corrupt judge; accustomed to sell justice, he altered, perverted, or suppressed many excellent laws. He frequently persuaded the emperor to destroy, by supplementary edicts, called Novels, the principles of right which had been previously established in the Code and the Digest.

Justinian commenced with the Code. In an edict, dated the 3d of February, A.D. 528, addressed to the senate of Constantinople, he declared his resolution of collecting into a single volume, not merely the laws in the three previous codes of Gregory, Hermogenianus, and Theodosius, but also the laws that had been published by imperial authority since the formation of the Theodosian code. A commission of ten eminent lawyers, with Tribonian at its head, was charged with the execution of this task. They were permitted to suppress repetitions, to remove contradictory or obsolete laws, to add what was necessary for exactness or explanation, and to unite, under one head,

what was spread over a great variety of laws. The work went on so rapidly, that in a little more than a year the new code, containing, in twelve books, all the imperial laws from the accession of the Emperor Adrian, was ready to appear. Justinian affixed the imperial seal to the new constitution (A.D. 529), and transmitted it, with a suitable edict, to Mennas, the prætorian præfect. In this edict he congratulates himself and the empire on having found commissioners possessing so much zeal, knowledge, and probity; he gives the collection the force of law, ordaining that the new code alone should be cited in courts of justice; and he commands the præfect to have this made known through the empire.

A more extensive and difficult work remained, to collect the scattered monuments of ancient jurisprudence. Justinian confided this task also to Tribonian, and gave him the power of nominating his fellow commissioners. Tribonian chose one of the magistrates who had already aided in the formation of the Code, four professors of jurisprudence, and eleven advocates of high legal reputation. These seventeen commissioners were instructed to search out, collect, and put in order, all that was really useful in the books of the jurisconsults who had been authorized to make or interpret laws by preceding sovereigns; they were permitted, as in the case of the Code, to change, add, or retrench, and to fix doubtful cases by precise definitions. The emperor recommended them, in settling any point, to regard neither the number nor the reputation of the jurisconsults who had given opinions on the subject, but to be guided solely by reason and equity. Their collection was to be arranged in fifty books, having all the matter arranged under their respective titles, and was to be named the Digest, on account of its orderly classification, or the Pandects, because it was to contain all the ancient jurisprudence¹. But the commissioners seem to have executed their task with more zeal and speed than exactness. The emperor himself did not expect that the work could be completed in less than ten years. It was necessary to examine carefully more than two thousand volumes, to discuss, compare, and reduce into order, an innumerable number of decisions; to reform some of them, to reverse others, and to classify the whole. But Tribonian, who knew that in enterprises which engage the vanity of princes, the delay between the design and execution is borne with great impatience, hurried on the work so rapidly, that it was completed in three years.

On the 16th of Decmeber, 533, Justinian invested this collection with the authority of law, by a constitution of state, addressed to the

¹ From *πav*, all, and *δεχασθαι*, to contain. The fifty books of the Pandects are divided into four hundred and twenty-three titles, which contain nine thousand one hundred and twenty-three laws, each marked with the name of its author.

senate of Constantinople, and all his subjects. In this edict he states, that the enormous chaos of ancient decisions have been reduced to a twentieth part, without the omission of anything essential, so that the order and brevity of this body of jurisprudence, and the facility with which it could be learned, took away every excuse from negligence or ignorance. He declares, that though some errors may have crept into a work of such vast magnitude, their number is very limited; and he asserts, rather too hastily, that it contains none of those inconsistent decisions which lawyers call *antinomies*¹. Should any point be found deficient or obscure, he wills that recourse should be had to the imperial authority, which alone has the power to supply or interpret the laws. To prevent the recurrence of the ancient confusion, by a diversity of sentiments, he forbids all commentary, permitting only the translation of the laws into Greek, with the addition of titles and paratitles—that is to say, summaries of their contents. He forbids the use of abbreviations in transcribing them, declaring that the copy in which a contraction was found should be held of no authority, and that the transcriber should be punished for forgery. All other laws are declared to be abrogated, and are even forbidden to be cited in the tribunals; and the judges are ordered to conform in all things to the Digest from the day of the date of the edict. The emperor enjoins the three prætorian præfects to publish the Digest in their several governments, and concludes by stating that he was anxious to have this meritorious revolution effected during his third consulate, in order that a year, which heaven had blessed by a peace with Persia, and the conquest of Africa, should witness the completion of this great edifice of the laws, as a holy and august temple, in which justice should pronounce her oracles.

Whilst the commissioners laboured at the Digest, the emperor charged Tribonian, and two eminent professors, to prepare an elementary work on jurisprudence, in four books, as an introduction to the study of law. This portion of Justinian's legislation is far the most valuable part; it was finished and published a little before the Digest, and was named the Institutes.

The whole system of ancient jurisprudence was thus simplified, reduced to its essentials, and arranged in the Institutes, the Pandects, and the Code. But, after their publication, Justinian published more than two hundred supplementary edicts; and when the great collections began to be used in the courts, several errors and imperfections were discovered, as might reasonably be expected in a work of such magnitude, executed with such unnecessary speed. A new commission was appointed to revise the Code; the result of its labours was a

¹ From *ἀντι*, contrary to, and *νόμος*, law.

second edition, which received the imperial sanction, November 16th, 529, by an edict abrogating the former imperfect Code.

The emperor reserved to himself, in express terms, the right of adding, at a subsequent time, but separately, such constitutions as he should judge necessary. These were called Novels; they limit, extend, and in some instances repeal the Code; and it is this inconsistency that has led to the suspicion of Tribonian and the prince having occasionally been guided by interest and favour, rather than by reason and equity. These Novels are one hundred and sixty-eight in number, but only ninety-eight have the force of law, having been collected into a volume in the last year of Justinian's reign.

This code was supplanted in the East by the Basilica or Greek constitutions of later emperors. In the West, Illyria was the only province by which it was received, until the overthrow of the Gothic monarchy afforded an opportunity for its introduction into Italy. The Code was, however, superseded by the laws of the Lombards, when their hordes became masters of Ravenna. After Charlemagne had overthrown the Lombard monarchy, he searched Italy in vain for a copy of Justinian's legislation; it remained concealed until the twelfth century, when a copy of the Digest was found on the capture of Amalfi, by the troops of the Emperor Lothaire II., and presented by him to the citizens of Pisa, who had aided the imperialists in this expedition. At a later period, a copy of the Code was discovered at Ravenna, and a collection was made of the Novels which were dispersed throughout Italy. Such were the origin and revolutions of this celebrated body of legislation, the source of the civil law throughout Europe, and the great guide to the most civilized nations in supplying the defects of their several legal systems.

SECTION IV.—*History of the Silk-Trade. Introduction of the Silk-Worm into Europe.*

SILK was known as an article of commerce, and extensively used in the western world, long before the insect that produces this precious substance, and whose nature was unknown, was brought for the first time to Constantinople. No one before the age of Justinian had even contemplated such an enterprise. It was only by long and painful journeys through the dangerous and difficult wilds of central Asia, that a merchandise could be procured, which the progress of wealth and luxury rendered almost indispensable to the civilized nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, that surrounded the Mediterranean. The Assyrians and Medes, in the early ages, had long a monopoly of this commerce; and hence we find that garments of wrought silk are usually called Median robes by the ancient writers. In this traffic

they were succeeded by the Persians, who attached great importance to the trade, and neglected nothing that could keep it exclusively in their hands. From them the Greek and Syrian merchants of Asia purchased the silk which they transported into the western countries. Passing through such a number of hands, it was of course scarce and dear. During Justinian's reign, the Byzantines, or, as they still called themselves, the Romans, were eager to free themselves from their dependance on the Persians for the supply of this article. They tried to lower the price by purchasing from other Asiatic nations, and by making exertions to open a direct communication with the country in which the silk is produced. Their ignorance of geography was a great impediment to their success; they had very vague notions respecting the position of the regions where this desirable commodity was procured. They contented themselves with loosely describing it as part of India, or some very remote country in eastern Asia.

A few modern writers have been misled by the inaccuracy of the Byzantine historians into the belief that the country which supplied the ancient world with silk was the Punjab, and the districts of northern India adjacent to Persia, regions where silk has never yet been produced in sufficient abundance to form an article of commerce. On the contrary, the circumstances related respecting Serica, the silk-growing country, are manifestly applicable to no place but China, where silk is still produced more plentifully than in any other part of the world. Indeed the very name *Seres* appears to have been derived from this commodity; for *Se*, or, as it is pronounced in the provincial dialects, *Sér*, is the Chinese name for the silk-worm. We also find the *Sinæ* identified with the *Seres* by the ancient geographers, and we know that *Sin*, or *Chin*, has been always the name given to China by the nations of western Asia. In the preceding volume mention has been made of the embassy sent from the Romans to the Chinese, in the age of the Antonines; and it is only necessary to add, in proof of the commercial relations between this ancient empire and the western world, that a tolerably accurate account of the revolutions in the Persian and Parthian kingdoms may be found in Chinese histories.

The silk was imported from China in packages, which caravans of merchants brought across the extreme breadth of Asia, in a journey

¹ The Armenians call the Chinese *Jenk*, and China *Jenistán*. Their relations with this country ascend to the beginning of the third century of our era. About that time a Chinese colony was established in Armenia. The chief of this colony was probably one of the imperial dynasty of the Huns: driven from his country by civil wars, he at first sought refuge at the court of Ardeshir, the founder of the Sassanid dynasty in Persia, thence he passed into Persia, where he was received about A.D. 260, by Tiridates, the Armenian sovereign, who gave him the province of Jaron. This personage, whose name was Mamkon, became the founder of the family of the Memigonians, who are justly celebrated in Armenian history.

of two hundred and forty-three days, to the sea-coast of Syria. The Persians who supplied the Romans, usually made their purchases from the Sogdians, on the banks of the Oxus, and their traffic was liable to be interrupted by the White Huns and the Turks, who successively conquered that industrious people. But the difficulties of the road between the Sogdian capital, Maracanda (*Samarcand*), and the first Chinese city in the province of Shensi, led to frequent efforts for opening a new and less perilous route, which, however, proved unsuccessful. From the time they passed the Jaxartes, the enterprising Sogdians had to contend, not only with the dangers and difficulties of the intervening deserts, but also against the wandering hordes, who have always considered the citizen and the traveller as objects of lawful rapine.

It is recorded as a proof of the vast expense of the magnificent spectacles with which Julius Cæsar sought at once to dazzle and conciliate the populace, that he decorated the actors in his varied pageants with a profusion of silk dresses, which were viewed by the Italians with equal wonder and admiration. In consequence of the difficulties of transit, the vast length of desert which the caravans had to traverse, and, probably, the limited supply of silk in China itself, this article bore a very high price in Rome, and was often sold for its weight in gold. Silken dresses were esteemed too expensive and delicate for men, and were appropriated wholly to ladies of eminent rank and opulence. In the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, a law was passed enacting, "that no man should disgrace himself by wearing a silk dress." This might, however, have been a religious as well as a sumptuary ordinance, for it is a singular circumstance in the history of silk, that, on account of its being the excretions of a worm, several religious bodies in the East, but more especially the Mohammedans, consider it an unclean dress. Indeed, it has been decided by the unanimous consent of all the Sonnite doctors, that a person wearing a garment made entirely of silk, cannot offer up the daily prayers enjoined by the Koran.

The profligate and effeminate Heliogabalus was the first of the Roman emperors who wore a garment entirely of silk; and, in consequence of his example, the custom of wearing silk soon became general among the wealthy citizens of Rome, and even extended to the provinces. It seems probable, also, that the price of the article had diminished in consequence of its beginning to be imported by the maritime route through Alexandria, instead of by caravans through the arid deserts of Tartary and Turkestan. Chinese histories inform us, that an ambassador from one of the Antonines came to their remote country for the purpose of concluding a commercial treaty, and this is rendered highly probable by the fact that oriental commodities became both plentiful and cheap under and after their

dynasty. Ammianus Marcellinus informs us, that in his age (A.D. 370) silk was generally worn even by the lower classes.

After the restoration of a native dynasty in Persia under the Sassanides, and the establishment of the Eastern empire at Constantinople, a long series of wars ensued between the Persian sovereigns, who deemed themselves legitimate inheritors of the power of Cyrus, and the Byzantine emperors, who wished themselves to be considered successors of Alexander the Great. The command of the sea of Oman gave the Persians a decided advantage over the Egyptian merchants, who were forced to import oriental commodities by the tedious and dangerous navigation of the Red Sea. Until the introduction of steam navigation, the Red Sea, or *Yam Suph*¹, as it is called by the Orientals, was universally dreaded by voyagers. The strait at its entrance was significantly named by the Arabs *Bab-el-Mandeb*, or, "the gate of tears;" and it was a common proverb with Eastern sailors, "Yam-Suph is a double-locked sea; there are six months in the year that you cannot get into it, and six more that you cannot get out of it." But the Persians were not satisfied with this natural superiority; having it in their power to molest or cut off the caravans, which, in order to procure a supply for the Greek empire, travelled by land to China through the northern provinces of their kingdom, they laid such onerous transit duties on foreign merchants, that the Greeks were forced to abandon this branch of commerce, and purchase their silk from the Persians and Sogdians. These with the usual rapacity of monopolists, raised the price of silk to such an exorbitant height, that the Greek manufacturers, whose looms depended on a supply of this raw material, were thrown out of employment and nearly ruined.

The Emperor Justinian, eager, not only to obtain a full and certain supply of a commodity which was become of indispensable use, but solicitous to deliver the commerce of his subjects from the exactions of his enemies, endeavoured by means of his ally, the Christian monarch of Abyssinia, to wrest some portion of the silk trade from the Persians. In this attempt he failed; but when he least expected it, he, by an unforeseen event, attained his great object of procuring his subjects an abundant supply of silk, independent both of ships and caravans.

Two Persian monks having been employed as Christian missionaries by some of the churches which had been established in India, pursued their evangelical labours until they had penetrated into the remote country of the Seres, or Chinese (A.D. 551). There they observed the labours of the silk-worm, the mode in which these animals were fed on the mulberry-leaf; the care bestowed upon them in the several periods of insect transformation, and the attention necessary

¹ That is, "the Sea of Weeds."

to obtaining perfect cocoons. Without such knowledge, the mere possession of the insect would have been useless; for the time that elapses while the silk-caterpillar is undergoing its changes varies according to the temperature and the quantity of nourishment with which it is supplied; the health also of the insect and the subsequent perfection of the silk depend upon the mode in which these changes are made, and the intervals between the successive moultings of the skin, which take place before the animal attains its full growth. The Chinese calculate that the same number of insects, which would, if they had attained the full size in twenty-three or twenty-four days, produce twenty-five ounces of silk, would produce only twenty ounces if their growth occupied twenty-eight days, and only ten ounces if forty days. In order, therefore, to accelerate their growth, they supply the insects with fresh food every half-hour during the first day of their existence, and then gradually reduce the number of meals as the worms grow older. It deserves to be remarked as an unnoticed fact in natural theology, that the substance on which this valuable caterpillar feeds, is the leaf of the mulberry-tree; and Providence, as if to ensure the continuance of this useful species, has so ordained it, that no other insect will partake of the same food; thus ensuring a certain supply for the little spinster.

Having made themselves acquainted with these particulars, the monks repaired to Constantinople, and revealed the information they had acquired to the Emperor Justinian. Encouraged by the liberal promises of that monarch, they undertook to bring to his capital a sufficient number of these wonderful insects to whose labours man is so much indebted. They proceeded to China, and finally accomplished the object of their mission by obtaining a competent supply of the eggs of the silk-worm, which they concealed in a hollow cane. Having returned safe to Constantinople, the eggs were, under their direction, hatched by the artificial heat of a dunghill, and the insects were fed on the leaves of the wild mulberry-tree. Such care was bestowed upon them, that they soon multiplied, and worked in the same manner as in those climates where they first became the objects of human attention and care.

Justinian at first attempted to monopolize this source of profit, but the rapid increase of the worms opened the trade. A singular circumstance enables us to appreciate the speedy success of the Greeks in the manufacture of silk. Before the sixth century closed, the Turks, descending from the Altaian mountains, conquered Sogdiana. The conquered people had found the demand for silk rapidly diminishing, which they attributed to the commercial jealousy of the Persians. They complained of their losses to their new master, the Turkish khakan, who sent ambassadors to form a commercial treaty with the Persian monarch, the celebrated Nushirván. It was obviously

unwise policy to strengthen the power of the new state which had been formed beyond the Oxus; and Nushirvân was, besides, eager to open a direct communication with China, through the Persian gulf. To show his contempt for the offers of the Sogdians, he purchased up all their goods, and committed them to the flames. The khakan next sent ambassadors to Justinian II., who, after a toilsome journey, reached Constantinople (A.D. 571), just twenty years after the introduction of the silk-worm; when, to their great astonishment, they found the Byzantines in the possession of silk of their own growth, and so skilled in its use, that their manufactures already rivalled those of China. From this time the Sogdian carrying-trade declined; it was totally annihilated about the middle of the ninth century, when a fanatic insurgent, in China, murdered the foreign merchants, and cut down the mulberry-trees, to destroy the silk that enticed strangers to the celestial empire.

For nearly six hundred years, the Greeks were the only Europeans who possessed the silk-worm: at length, Roger I., king of Sicily, engaged in war with the Byzantine empire, having captured some persons skilled in the production and manufacture of silk, established factories at Palermo, which rose rapidly into celebrity. Thence the trade spread into Italy, Spain, and France; but in most of these countries the manufacture was long deemed of greater importance than the production of the raw material. France owes her present superiority in the trade to the patriotic exertions of Henry IV., who made extensive nurseries of mulberry-plants, and distributed them gratuitously to all desirous of establishing plantations. James I. endeavoured to introduce the production of raw silk, as a trade, into England: since his time the experiment has been frequently repeated, but it never has been attended with complete success. Similar trials have also been made in Ireland, but the result has not yet answered the expectations of the patriotic projectors.

SECTION V.—*The Monarchy of the Franks, under the Merovingian Dynasty.*

THE history of the Franks properly begins with the establishment of a large body of that nation in Belgic Gaul, under a chief named Mere-wig¹, from whom the dynasty received the name Merovingian². He was succeeded by his son Hilderik³, a brave warrior, but the slave of his passions. An insult that he offered to the wife of one of his officers occasioned a revolt; Hilderik was dethroned, and a Count

¹ Mere wig, *eminent warrior*.

³ Warians; that is, inhabitants of the banks of the Rhine.

² The other Franks were named Ripe-

³ Hilde-rik, *bold in combat*.

Egidius, or Giles, proclaimed king. After an exile of eight years, Hilderik was restored, and the remainder of his reign appears to have passed in tranquillity. Hlodo-wig⁴ was the next sovereign: his harsh German name was softened by the Latins into Clodoveus, or Clovis, the origin of the modern Ludovicus, or Louis. At his accession (A.D. 481), Clovis had scarcely reached his twentieth year; the ardour of youth combined with the circumstances of his position to urge him to foreign conquests; for the fertility of the Belgic soil, the purity of its waters, and its atmosphere, continually attracted fresh hordes to the lower Rhine, who sought admission into the Belgic colony. Clovis found it necessary to enlarge his frontiers, and invaded the Roman province. Near Soissons he encountered Syagrius, the son of his father's rival, Egidius, and gained a decisive victory. Syagrius sought refuge with the Visigoths, but that nation had lost much of its martial spirit; Alaric II., unworthy of the name he bore, sent the unfortunate general bound to Clovis, by whom he was beheaded.

The conqueror was now the most powerful monarch of his age, and the neighbouring princes eagerly sought his alliance: he chose for his queen, Hlodohilde⁵, or Clotilda, whose uncle was king of the Burgundians. Clotilda was a Christian; she laboured earnestly to convert her husband, and especially urged him when his crown and life were endangered by an invasion of the Germanic confederation of tribes, called the Allemans. Clovis, persuaded that he owed the great victory of Tolbiac to the prayers of Clotilda, became a convert, and received the sacrament of baptism from the bishop of Rheims (A.D. 496). He gave the prelate, as a fee, all the land he could ride round while he himself slept after dinner, a gift very characteristic of a conqueror, who felt that he had only to wake and acquire new dominions. Soon afterwards he undertook new conquests. Advancing in the direction of Genabum (*Orleans*), he crossed the Loire, spreading everywhere the terror of his name. The Bretons, long subject to the Romans, consented without reluctance to a change of masters. Clovis, having traversed their country, entered Aquitaine, pillaged the houses, laid waste the fields, plundered the temples, and returned to Paris, "leaving," as the cotemporary historian says, "nothing to the wretched inhabitants but the soil, which the Franks could not take away."

The kingdom established by Clovis extended from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, from the Alps to the ocean, but its security was very uncertain. Wherever the conqueror appeared, he met nothing but submission from the various races settled in Gaul; as soon, however, as he passed onwards, his nominal subjects closed upon his rear, retaining no more trace of his march than the furrowed wave does of a vessel's keel. Neither was the Frankish monarch absolute over

⁴ Hlodo-wig, famous warrior.

| ⁵ Hlodo-hilde, brilliant and noble.

his own soldiers; his army was composed of free men, who disdained to submit to despotic rule. They gave to their monarch his share of the booty and nothing more⁶. When they disapproved of the expedition for which they assembled, they abandoned it without scruple; or if the monarch refused to undertake a war which they deemed advisable, they forced him to comply with their wishes, not merely by menaces, but by actual force⁷.

On the death of Clovis (A.D. 511), his dominions were divided between his four sons, Hildebert⁸ (Childebert), Hlodomer⁹ (Chlodomer,) Hlodher¹⁰ (Clotaire), and Theodoric¹¹, who respectively occupied the capitals of Paris, Orleans, Soissons, and Metz. This distribution gave rise to a new geographical division; all the districts between the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Moselle, received the name of Oster-rike¹², since corrupted into Austrasia; and the country between the Meuse, the Loire, and the ocean, was named Ni-oster-rike¹³, or, as it was latinized, Neustria. All that was not comprised in this division, belonged not to the Merovingian Franks, but retained its ancient name of Gaul.

Chlodomer and Theodoric engaged in war with Gundumer¹⁴, king of the Burgundians. In a great battle fought near Vienne (A.D. 523), Chlodomer was slain¹⁵, but Theodoric gained a decisive victory, and added the Burgundian kingdom to his own dominions. Clotilda took the guardianship of her infant grandchildren, but the favour she showed to the three sons of Chlodomer provoked the resentment of Childebert, king of Paris. He secretly proposed to his brother Clotaire, that they should secure the persons of the young princes, shave

⁶ Gregory of Tours furnishes us with a curious anecdote on this subject. "About this time the army of Clovis pillaged a great number of churches and houses. His soldiers had taken away, from one of the cathedrals, a vase of surprising size and beauty. The bishop of the diocese sent a messenger to reclaim it. To this man, the king said, 'Follow me to Soissons, where the plunder will be shared, and should chance give me the vase, I will do what your prelate requires.' When they reached Soissons, they went to the place where the plunder was piled, and the king said, 'I entreat you, my brave warriors, to give me this vase in addition to my share.' Upon this, a presumptuous soldier exclaimed, 'You shall have nothing but the portion assigned you by lot.'"

⁷ The historian quoted in the preceding note says, "After this, Clotaire and Childebert (sons of Clovis) formed the design of marching against the Burgundians. Their brother, Theodoric, was unwilling to engage in the expedition, but the Franks who followed

him, said unanimously, 'If you will not join your brothers, we will quit you, and choose another leader.'"

⁸ Hilde-berth, *brilliant warrior*.

⁹ Hlodo-mer, *celebrated chief*.

¹⁰ Hlod her, *celebrated and excellent*.

¹¹ Theod-e-rik- brave amongst the people.

¹² That is, *Eastern kingdom*.

¹³ That is, *North-eastern kingdom*.

¹⁴ Gundu-mer, *pacific and great*.

¹⁵ "The brothers joined their forces at Vésèrancia, a place situated in the territory of the city of Vienne, and gave battle to Gundumer. The Burgundian having taken to flight with his army, Chlodomer pursued him, and when he was at a distance from his friends, the Burgundians, imitating the signals of the Franks, exclaimed, 'Come this way, we are thine.' He believed them, and spurred his horse into the midst of the enemy. They surrounded him, cut off his head, and fixing it on a pike, displayed it to their pursuers."—*Gregory of Tours*.

their heads¹⁶, and divide their dominions. Clotaire readily joined in the project, and put the two eldest of his nephews to death; the third, saved by faithful servants, cut off his hair with his own hands, and entering into a monastery, spent a life of celibacy¹⁷. Ten years after this event, Theodoric died, and was succeeded by his son, Theodobert¹⁸, who took the title of king of Austrasia. His uncles attempted to deprive Theodobert of his dominions, but being daunted by the mere display of his power, they turned their arms against Spain, laid waste Arragon, Biscay, and Catalonia, stormed Pampeluna, besieged Saragossa, and were only induced to retire by a present of the tunic of St. Vincent, a relic which, in that superstitious age, was deemed an invaluable treasure.

The fame of Theodobert extended to Constantinople; Justinian endeavoured to win his friendship, by the cession of the nominal claims which the empire retained over Provence, but the Austrasian

¹⁶ To shave the head, was the form of de-throning a sovereign, at this period. Among the early Franks, the crown of hair was as much a symbol of royalty as the crown of gold.

¹⁷ The account given of this transaction by Gregory of Tours is too interesting to be omitted. Clotaire readily adopted his brother's project, and came to Paris. Childebert had already spread a report that he and his brother had agreed to invest their nephews with royalty, and they sent a messenger to Clotilda, then residing in the same city, who said, 'Send your grandchildren, that they may be raised to the throne.' She, joyous, and knowing nothing of the plot, after having made the children eat and drink, sent them to their uncles, saying, 'Go, children, I will believe that my son is not lost, when I see you on the throne.' When the children came to their uncles, they were taken and separated from their servants and governors. Then they shut them up apart, the children in one place, and the attendants in another. When this was done, Childebert and Clotaire sent Arcadius (one of their officers) to the queen, with a scissiors and drawn sword. When he came into her presence, showing her these, he said, 'Thy sons, our lords, desire to know thy pleasure, gracious queen, respecting the manner in which they should treat the children. Order either their hair or their throats to be cut.' Astonished by these words, and enraged at beholding the scissiors and naked sword, the queen gave vent to her wrath, and, scarce knowing what she said, so troubled was her mind, imprudently replied, 'If they are not to reign like their father, I would rather see them dead than shaven.' Then Arcadius returned promptly to those who sent him, and said, 'You may persevere; the queen approves

what you have began, and her will is, that you complete your project.' Immediately, Clotaire, taking the eldest of the children by the arm, threw him on the ground, and stabbing him under the shoulder, put him cruelly to death. His brother terrified at the scene, threw himself at the feet of Childebert, and kissing his knees, exclaimed, 'Help me, my good father, let me not be murdered like my poor brother.' Then, Childebert, melting into tears, said to Clotaire, 'Oh! I entreat you, my very dear brother, have the kindness to spare this child's life; if you consent to spare him, I will give you whatever you may demand.' But Clotaire, overwhelming him with reproaches, said, 'Thrust the child away, or you shall die in his stead, for you were the first to urge me to this deed, though you now shrink from its completion.' Then Childebert, alarmed, pushed the child over to Clotaire, who struck his dagger into the boy's side, and slew him on the body of his brother. Afterwards they murdered the servants and tutors. When they were dead, Clotaire mounted his horse, without showing any compunction for the murder of his nephews, and retired with Childebert to the suburbs. The queen Clotilda, having placed the bodies on a bier, conducted them, with litanies, sacred songs, and profound grief, to the church of St. Peter's, where they were buried together. One was ten years old, and the other six. The third son, named Clodoald, was saved by the interference of some brave men, called *barons*. Renouncing his earthly kingdom, he became a clerk, and, persisting in good works, finally received priest's orders. The two kings shared among them the inheritance of Clodomir."

¹⁸ Theodobert, very brilliant among the people.

monarch entered into an alliance with Totila, the emperor's enemy, crossed the Alps, and quickly subdued the greater part of northern Italy. After his return, the army he left behind met with some reverses, and the inflated vanity of Justinian led him to issue a medal, on which he styled himself Conqueror of the Franks. Theodobert was so enraged at this arrogance, that he prepared to lead an army through Hungary into Thrace, and assail Justinian in his capital, but this daring enterprise was frustrated by his sudden death; he was killed by the fall of a tree (A.D. 548), while hunting the wild buffalo, a dangerous sport, to which he was passionately addicted.

Theodobald¹⁹ succeeded to the Austrasian throne, but died after an inglorious reign of seven years. Childebert soon followed him to the tomb, and thus Clotaire acquired the sole, but not the undisturbed, possession of Neustria and Austrasia. His own son, Chramnè²⁰, headed a revolt of the turbulent Bretons, but he was defeated and barbarously put to death, with his entire family²¹, by command of his cruel father. The chroniclers add, that Clotaire died the next year (A.D. 561), at Compeigne, on the anniversary of his son's death, and at the precise hour of the horrid butchery.

Clotaire left four sons,—Charibert²², Gontram²³, Chilperic²⁴, and Sigebert²⁵, who shared his dominions. The turbulent period that followed, is principally remarkable for the troubles occasioned by the crimes of two infamous women, Brunilda and Fredegonda, the wives of Sigebert and Chilperic. Fredegonda had won her way to the throne by murdering Galswintha, the sister of her rival; and the jealousy between two ambitious and unprincipled women was aggravated, on one side, by the desire of revenge, and, on the other, by the difficulty of maintaining her dignity, when she was changed from a mistress into a wife. During the long period over which their resentments spread, it is difficult to distinguish anything but murders and assassinations, in the gloomy annals of the time. Fredegonda procured the death of Sigebert, and afterwards of Chilperic and his two sons, being chiefly enraged against Merovèe²⁶, who had married Brunilda.

Childebert inherited the kingdom of his father, Sigebert, and that of his uncle, Gontram; aided by his mother, Brunilda, he maintained

¹⁹ Theodobald, *vigorous above all*.

²⁰ Hram, *warlike*.

²¹ "The two armies having come to an engagement, the count of the Bretons ran away, and was slain in flight; after which Hram (Chramnè) began to fly towards the ships he had prepared on the sea, but, whilst he was endeavouring to save his wife and children, he was overtaken by his father's army, made prisoner, and bound. When the news was brought to Clotaire, he ordered that the prince, toge-

ther with his wife and daughters, should be burned. They shut them up in a poor hut, where Hram, extended on a bench, was strangled; they then set fire to the house, and it was consumed with all its inmates."—*Gregory of Tours*.

²² Hari-bert, *glorious in the army*.

²³ Gont-ram, *generous man*.

²⁴ Ilpe-rik, *brave in combat*.

²⁵ Sighe-bert, *glorious conqueror*.

²⁶ Mere-wig, *eminent warrior*.

a long and sanguinary struggle against Fredegonda, and her young son, Clotaire; but he died early, leaving two children to divide his distracted dominions. Both of these were destroyed by Brunilda, whose hatred they had provoked by remonstrating against her crimes, and after a dreary scene of confusion, France was again united into a single monarchy, under Clotaire II., son of Chilperic and Fredegonda (A.D. 613). His first care was to punish Brunilda, the ancient enemy of his mother and his house: she was exhibited for three days, mounted on a camel, to the derision of the army, subjected to the most cruel tortures, and finally fastened to the tail of a wild horse, which tore her wretched carcass to pieces, in the presence of the soldiers.

Clotaire published a code of laws, which enjoys some reputation; but his administration was deficient in vigour, and during his reign several encroachments were made on the royal power, by the ambitious nobles. His son, Dagobert I.²⁷, succeeded (A.D. 628), and had the mortification to see his authority weakened by the growing greatness of the mayors of the palace: he died, after a feeble and dissolute reign (A.D. 638), but was strangely enough canonized as a saint²⁸.

The successors of Dagobert were mere phantoms of royalty; the entire sovereignty was possessed by the mayors of the palace, who finally acquired absolute possession of half the monarchy, as dukes of Austrasia. Pepin d'Heristal, the greatest of these nominal ministers, and real monarchs, governed France in the name of several successive kings. After his death (A.D. 714), his power descended to his grandson, Theodobald, a child only eight years of age, who was thus singularly appointed guardian to a king that was not yet sixteen. Karl²⁹, the natural son of Pepin, better known in history by the name of Charles Martel, set aside this absurd arrangement, and succeeded to more than his father's power. His numerous victories over the Saxons, Burgundians, Frisians, &c., have rendered his name illustrious; but he is more justly celebrated for his triumph over the Saracenic invaders of France (A.D. 732), between Tours and Poitiers, by which he delivered Christendom from the imminent danger of being

²⁷ Dagobert, *brilliant as the day*.

²⁸ The cause of his canonization is singularly illustrative of the superstitious of the age. Audoult, bishop of Poitiers, while on an embassy in Sicily, was miraculously, as he declared, informed of the king's death by a holy hermit, named John. This pious anchoret said, "While I was asleep last night, an old man with a long beard bade me get up, and pray for the soul of King Dagobert, who was on the point of death. I arose, and looking through the window of my hermitage, I saw, in the middle of the sea, a host of devils carrying the king's soul to hell. The unfortu-

nate soul, grievously tormented, invoked the aid of St. Martin, St. Maurice, and St. Denis. At his cries, the spirits of these holy martyrs descended from heaven, in the midst of thunders and lightnings, delivered the king's soul, and bore it up with them through the air, singing the canticle of David, *O Lord, how happy is the man that thou hast chosen*." Audoult recited this relation to the king's chancellor, on his return, by whom it was entered in the archives of the kingdom, and Dagobert enrolled amongst the number of the saints.—*Gaguin*.

²⁹ Karl, *robust*.

subjected to the Mohammedan yoke. His son, Pepin, finally compelled Chilperic III. to abdicate (A.D. 752), and the crown of France was thus transferred to the Carlovingian dynasty, from the descendants of Clovis.

SECTION VI.—*The Lombard Monarchy.*

THE Lombards were encouraged to settle on the frontiers of the empire by Justinian, who deemed that they would prove a check on the insolence of the Gepidæ. While these barbarous tribes were engaged in war, Thrace enjoyed comparative tranquillity; but when Alboin became head of the Lombard tribes, he entered into alliance with the Avars for the extirpation of the Gepidæ, purchasing their aid by a tithe of his cattle, and a promise of all the conquered lands. The emperor, Justin II., unwisely abandoned the Gepidæ to their fate; Cunimund, their monarch, hastened to encounter Alboin before he could join the Avars, but he fell in the field which proved fatal to the existence of his nation, and his skull was formed into a drinking vessel by his barbarous enemy. Rosamond, the daughter of the slaughtered king, became the prize and spouse of the victor; the bravest of the surviving Gepidæ were incorporated in the army of the Lombards. Though the Avars had contributed but slightly to the success of the war, they received a large share of the spoils; the greater part of ancient Dacia was resigned to them, and in this country their chagans ruled for more than two hundred years. Alboin's ambition was fixed on a higher object; fifteen years before, a body of Lombards had served under Narses in the conquest of Italy, and they still preserved a vivid remembrance of the wealth and fertility of the peninsula. Alboin encouraged them to hope that this fair land might yet own their sway, and to stimulate their ardour, produced some of its finest fruits at a royal feast. When his designs became known, adventurers flocked to his standard from the neighbouring Slavonic and German tribes. Having made every preparation for the expedition, the Lombards resigned their lands to the Avars, on the simple promise of receiving them back, if they failed in the conquest of Italy.

As if the court of Constantinople had resolved to aid the projects of the invaders, the brave Narses was contumeliously removed from his post by the Empress Sophia; and Longinus, a person wholly unacquainted with Italy, appointed exarch in his stead. Alboin met no army to oppose him in the field; few even of the cities ventured to resist his progress; Ticinum, or, as it began now to be called, Pavia, almost alone closed its gates against the conqueror, and detained him three years before its walls. It was at length forced to yield by the pressure of hunger; Alboin threatened a general massacre, but his

horse happening to stumble as he entered the gates, he believed that heaven had sent this omen to warn him against cruelty, and he assured the trembling multitude of pardon and safety. Before he could regulate the affairs of the kingdom he had so easily won, Alboin fell a victim to the revenge of his wife. One evening, heated with wine, he sent her the skull of her father Cunimund, fashioned, as has been stated, into a goblet, filled to the brim, with an insulting message, that she should rejoice with her sire. Rosamond, stifling her resentment, simply replied, "Let the will of the king be obeyed;" but she secretly resolved on vengeance, and by infamous means procured two officers of the household to murder her husband (A.D. 573). She was compelled by the indignation of the people to fly with her paramour to the court of Ravenna, where she was poisoned by a potion which she had prepared for the partner of her guilt.

Clepho, one of the noblest of the Lombard chiefs, was chosen king after the murder of Alboin, by the great council of the nation; but at the end of eighteen months, he was stabbed by a domestic. His cruelty gave the Lombards such a distaste for royalty, that after his death, they changed their form of government, and for ten years were ruled by a federation of thirty-six dukes, each of whom was chief of some important city. During this period, they made several efforts to acquire possession of some part of Gaul, but were invariably beaten by the Franks; in Italy, on the contrary, they were generally successful, adding considerably to their territories at the expense of the exarchate of Ravenna, and the other provinces dependent on the Greek Empire.

A confederacy between the imperial exarch and Childebert, king of the Franks, so alarmed the Lombards that they chose Autharis, son of Clepho, for their sovereign. He established a perfectly feudal monarchy, assigning their duchies to the dukes in perpetuity, on the condition of their giving one moiety of their revenue to support the royal dignity; they could not be deprived of their possessions except for high-treason, but they held power only at the sovereign's will. A similar form of government seems to have prevailed among the Franks almost from the foundation of their monarchy; but feudal law first received a complete form among the Lombards, and the rules respecting the succession, acquisition, and investiture of fiefs among other nations, were generally derived from their code. The new monarch gained several victories over the Franks, who had been bribed to invade Italy by the Emperor Maurice, and punished the hostility of the Byzantine by subduing a great part of ancient Samnium, which he formed into the duchy of Benevento. Autharis died without issue (A.D. 590), after a brief but glorious reign, and the crown was transferred to Agilulf, duke of Turin.

Hitherto the Lombards had been either Arians or pagans; but

Agilulf, instigated by his queen, established the Catholic faith throughout his dominions, and chastised several dukes who made this change a pretext for rebellion. His son and successor, Adaluald, completed the triumph of the orthodox faith, a circumstance which tended greatly to reconcile the Italians to the supremacy of the Lombards. The Arian party was, however, sufficiently powerful to raise another to the throne; both the rivals, however, died without issue, and the general assembly chose Rotharis for their sovereign (A.D. 636). This monarch, though tainted with the Arian heresy, won the affection of all his subjects by the wise laws he enacted; he also wrested some important places from the exarch of Ravenna, and reduced the imperial interest in Italy so low, that it might be said to exist only by the sufferance of the Lombards. On his death (A.D. 652), a scene of weakness and revolution followed, which was only terminated by the accession of Grimvald, duke of Benevento (A.D. 662).

Grimvald was soon involved in war with the Franks, who invaded Italy, but were completely defeated. Scarcely had he repelled this invasion when the Byzantine emperor, Constans, appeared in Italy at the head of a powerful army, and laid siege to Benevento. But the imperialists, meeting a fierce resistance from the garrison, were soon forced to retreat, and being overtaken on their march, were routed with great slaughter. Constans fled to Sicily with the shattered remnant of his forces, and was murdered in a bath by some of his own servants. Grimvald did not long survive his triumph; he died universally lamented (A.D. 672), and his death was followed by a series of obscure and uninteresting revolutions, which, however, deluged Italy with blood.

The accession of Luitprand (A.D. 711), once more restored the prosperity of the Lombards; he enacted several wise laws, rectified the evils which during the recent disturbances had crept into the administration of justice, and won the favour of the nobles who had opposed his elevation by a judicious display of courage and prudence. Unfortunately, he was prompted by ambition to attempt the complete conquest of Italy; taking advantage of the troubles occasioned by the edicts of the Emperor Leo for the destruction of images. The exarchate was invaded, and Ravenna taken; but Luitprand's success provoked the jealousy of the pope, who, though pleased with the punishment of the Iconoclasts¹, was by no means gratified with the accession of power to the Lombards. At the pontiff's instigation, the Venetians aided the exarch to recover Ravenna; but the Emperor Leo, instead of showing any gratitude to Pope Gregory II. for his interference, sent emissaries to arrest him, and he was only saved from prison by the prompt interference of Luitprand. The Italians, pro-

¹ Image-breakers.

voked at Leo's fierce zeal against images, began to revolt, and several cities voluntarily submitted to the Lombard monarch, who pretended to an extravagant zeal for the Catholic faith. The pope, however, dreaded Luitprand, and sought a protection in Charles Martel against the emperor of Byzantium, who was equally hostile to the Lombards and the pontiff. Italy was now distracted by religious disputes and political jealousies, while the death of Luitprand, at this critical period (A.D. 743), afflicted the Lombards with a new series of revolutionary wars.

After some minor changes, Astulphus was chosen king (A.D. 751); during his reign, the kingdom of the Lombards touched the summit of its greatness; he subdued the exarchate of Ravenna, and changed it into a new dukedom, and then led his forces against Rome, which, nominally subject to the emperor, was really governed by the pope. Alarmed at the danger that threatened him, Pope Stephen first applied for aid to the emperor, but finding that the Byzantine court cared little for Italy, he appealed to Pepin, the first monarch of the Carlovingian dynasty in France. Pepin immediately crossed the Alps with a powerful army, besieged Astulphus in Pavia, and forced him to purchase peace by the cession not only of the places he had seized in the Roman dukedom, but also of the exarchate and the marches of Ancona, to the Holy See. The Franks had to return a second time to compel the fulfilment of these engagements; Astulphus once more submitted, but secretly resolved to renew the war on a favourable opportunity; before his preparations were completed, however, he was killed by a fall from his horse, and the Lombard kingdom distracted by a disputed succession.

By the aid of the pope, Desiderius prevailed in the contest; but subsequently being exposed to the jealousy of the pontifical power, he tried to secure himself by giving his daughters in marriage to Charles and Carloman, the two sons of Pepin. This alliance was of no long duration; Charles divorced his wife under pretence of her barrenness; and Desiderius, in revenge, endeavoured to persuade the pope to anoint Carloman's children monarchs of the Franks. Adrian I., who then filled the pontifical chair, steadily refused; Desiderius invaded his dominions, and the pope, unable to make effective resistance, placed himself under the protection of Charles, or, as he is more generally called, Charlemagne. The king of the Franks crossed the Alps, and, after a brief war, put an end to the kingdom of the Lombards by the capture of Pavia (A.D. 774). Desiderius and his family were sent into France, where they died in obscurity; Charlemagne, as conqueror, received the iron crown of Lombardy.

SECTION VII.—*The Anglo-Saxons.*

WHEN Britain, was deserted by the Romans the country remained exposed to the savage incursions of the Picts and Scots; the inhabitants, unable to protect themselves, and refused aid by the emperors, who were oppressed by other barbarians, deserted their habitations, abandoned their fields, and sought shelter in the hills and woods, where they suffered equally from famine and the enemy. When the retreat of the barbarians afforded them a temporary respite, they wasted their energies in theological controversies arising out of the Pelagian heresy; and when the invasions were renewed, domestic rancour prevented their combining for their common defence. Vortigern, prince of Dumnonium, advised his countrymen to seek foreign aid; and they, forgetting prudence in the extremity of their fears, invited the Saxons to their aid from Germany.

The Saxons and Angles, from small beginnings, had gradually extended their sway from the mouth of the Rhine to the coast of Jutland; their piratical vessels scoured the seas of western Europe; and the maritime cities of Gaul, Spain, and Britain were frequently plundered by their corsairs, or forced to purchase safety by the payment of a large tribute. Among the chiefs of their warlike tribes, none enjoyed greater authority than the two brothers Hengist and Horsa, who claimed to be descended from Woden, the tutelary god of the nation. To these leaders the application of Vortigern was made; they readily accepted his invitation, and, accompanied by about sixteen hundred of their countrymen, landed in the isle of Thanet. The Picts and Scots were subdued with so much facility, that the adventurers began to reflect how easily they might conquer a nation unable to resist such feeble invaders; instead of returning home, they invited over fresh hordes of their countrymen, and received from Germany a reinforcement of five thousand men. A long and cruel series of wars ensued, in which the Saxons and another barbarous tribe, the Angles, continually supported by crowds of volunteers from Germany, triumphed over the Britons in almost every encounter, and finally drove the miserable remnant of the nation to seek refuge in the mountains of Wales and Cornwall. The struggle lasted nearly one hundred and fifty years, and ended in the division of southern Britain into seven Saxon kingdoms, commonly called the Heptarchy.

The Christian religion was first established in the kingdom of Kent, the earliest and long the most powerful of the Saxon monarchies. Ethelbert, its sovereign, though a pagan, had married a Christian princess, Bertha, the daughter of Caribert, one of the successors of Clovis, and had promised to allow her the free exercise of her religion. Bertha, by the excellence of her conduct, acquired considerable

influence over the mind both of her husband and his courtiers; her popularity was probably one of the principal motives that induced Pope Gregory the Great to send missionaries into England¹. Augustine the chief of the mission, was honourably received at the court of Ethelbert (A.D. 597), and began to preach the gospel to the people of Kent. The rigid austerity of his manners, and the severe penances to which he subjected himself, wrought powerfully upon the minds of a barbarous people, and induced them readily to believe the pretended miracles he wrought for their conversion. Ethelbert and the great majority of his subjects were soon received into the church, and Augustine was consecrated the first archbishop of Canterbury.

The petty wars between the princes of the Heptarchy are totally devoid of interest, and the history of the separate kingdoms is little more than a list of obscure names. An exception may be made in favour of Offa, king of Mercia, who zealously laboured to extend the power of the Romish See in England, and founded the magnificent monastery of St. Alban's. So considerable were his power and fame, that the Emperor Charlemagne sought his friendship and alliance; Offa, at his desire, sent the celebrated Alcuin to the court of Charlemagne, and this learned Saxon became the emperor's preceptor in the sciences. To Alcuin France was indebted for all the polite learning it boasted of in that and the following ages; the universities of Paris, Tours, Fulden, Soissons, and many others, owe to him their origin and increase; those of which he was not the superior and founder, being at least enlightened by his doctrine and example, and enriched by the benefits he procured them from Charlemagne.

The kingdom of Mercia had nearly obtained the sovereignty of the Heptarchy when Egbert ascended the throne of Wessex (A.D. 799), as the kingdom of the West Saxons was called. He broke down the Mercian power, aided not a little by the hatred with which the tyrannical conduct of the Mercians had inspired the subject nations. His policy was as conspicuous as his valour, and both enabled him to unite the realm of England into an orderly monarchy, possessing tranquillity within itself, and secure from foreign invasion. This great event occurred (A.D. 827), nearly four hundred years after the first arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain.

¹ It is said that this prelate, while yet in a private station, beheld some Saxon youths exposed for sale in the slave-market at Rome. Struck with their beauty, he inquired to what country they belonged, and being told they were Angli, exclaimed, "They would not be Angli, but *Angeli* (angels), if they were Christians." Continuing his questions, he asked the name of their province; he was told *Deiri* (a district of Northumberland). "*Deiri*" he exclaimed; "*De ira* (from the wrath of God),

they are summoned to his mercy." He further asked the name of their king, and hearing that it was *Ælla*, or *Allah*, he joyously cried out, "*Alleluiah*! we must endeavour that the praises of God be sung in that country." Moved by these punning allusions, he designed to visit Britain himself as a missionary, but being detained by the Roman people, he embraced the earliest opportunity of entrusting the task to qualified legates.

CHAPTER II.

THE RISE AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
SARACENIC POWER.SECTION I.—*Political and Social Condition of the East at the
coming of Mohammed.*

THE reign of Justin II., the nephew and successor of Justinian, at Constantinople, was remarkable only for disgrace abroad and misery at home. At his death (A.D. 578), he bequeathed the empire to Tiberius, whose virtues amply justified his choice; but the reign of Tiberius lasted only four years; he was succeeded by Maurice, who inherited many of his predecessor's virtues as well as his crown. Soon after his accession, the attention of the emperor was directed to the unsettled state of Persia, which had been distracted by sanguinary civil wars since the death of the great Nushirván. Hormúz, the son and successor of that monarch, was deposed and slain; Bahram, a brave general, but a feeble statesman, usurped the throne, and Khosrú or Chosroes, the legitimate heir, sought shelter in the Byzantine empire. Maurice levied a powerful army to restore the royal exile, and entrusted its command to Narses, a valiant general, who was himself of Persian descent. The expedition was crowned with success; Bahram, driven beyond the Oxus, died by poison, and Khosrú, grateful for his recovered throne, entered into close alliance with the emperor.

Freed from all danger on the side of Persia, Maurice resolved to turn his arms against the Avars; but the incapacity of his generals, and his own avarice, provoked the resentment of the soldiers; they mutinied, and marched to Constantinople under the command of one of their centurions, named Phocas. Had the metropolis continued faithful, this sedition might have been easily quelled; but the licentious populace, disgusted by the parsimony of their sovereign, assaulted him as he walked in a religious procession, and compelled him to seek safety in his palace. The unfortunate emperor was compelled to abdicate; Phocas was tumultuously invested with the purple, and welcomed into Constantinople by the acclamations of a thoughtless people. The tyrant commenced his reign by dragging Maurice from the sanctuary where he had sought refuge, murdering his five sons successively before his eyes, and then putting the deposed monarch to death by torture (A.D. 602). One of the royal nurses attempted to save the prince entrusted to her charge, by presenting her own child to the executioners in his stead; but Maurice refused to sanction the

deceit, and as each blow of the axe fell on the necks of his children, he exclaimed, with pious resignation, "Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just are thy judgments!"

The usurpation of Phocas was basely sanctioned by Pope Gregory, who received in return for his adulation the title of Universal Bishop. But the pontiff's flatteries could not save the tyrant from the resentment of his subjects, who soon discovered their error in preferring such a miscreant to the virtuous Maurice. Heraclius, exarch of Africa, invited by the unanimous voice of the empire, sailed to Constantinople; scarcely had his fleet appeared in the Hellespont, when the citizens and imperial guards entered the palace, bound Phocas in chains, and sent him a helpless captive to his rival (A.D. 610). Heraclius reproached him with his manifold vices, to which the deposed tyrant simply replied, "Wilt thou govern better?" These were the last words of Phocas; after suffering much variety of insult and torture, he was beheaded, and his mangled body thrown into the sea.

But the death of Phocas did not deliver the empire from the calamities his crimes had produced; Khosrú Parvîz had no sooner learned the sad fate of his benefactor Maurice, than he assembled the entire strength of Persia to avenge his murder. The unwise system of persecution which had been gradually established both by the Byzantine prelates and emperors, supplied the invader with allies in every province; the Jews, the Nestorians, and the Jacobites, believed with reason, that they would find the worshippers of fire more tolerant than the orthodox Christians; and scarcely had the Persians crossed the Euphrates, when insurrections were raised in their favour throughout Syria. Khosrú, victorious in two decisive battles, was encouraged to undertake the hereditary enterprise of the Sassanid dynasty,—the restoration of the Persian empire, as it existed in the age of Cyrus the Great. Heraclius had scarcely ascended the throne, when he received intelligence of the fall of Antioch; and this was soon followed by the account of the storming of Jerusalem, where the Jews, encouraged by the Persians, wreaked dreadful vengeance on the heads of their Christian persecutors (A.D. 614). The fugitives from Palestine sought refuge in Egypt, where they were hospitably entertained by the archbishop of Alexandria. But Egypt itself, where the din of arms had not been heard since the reign of Dioclesian, was invaded, conquered, and for a time annexed to the Persian empire (A.D. 616). Asia Minor was subdued with equal facility; in a single campaign, the armies of the Persians advanced from the banks of the Euphrates to the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus, and during ten years their hostile camp was in sight of the towers of Constantinople.

While Khosrú was indulging in the pride that such brilliant conquests inspired, and dazzling his subjects by the display of his

magnificent plunder, he received an epistle from the almost unknown city of Mecca, written by an obscure individual, who yet claimed the king's obedience, and demanded to be recognised as the prophet of God. The grandson of Nushirván was indignant at such a claim; he tore the letter to pieces, and flung the fragments to the winds. When this was reported to the writer, Mohammed, then beginning for the first time to taste the sweets of gratified ambition, and to find his prospects enlarging as he ascended the height of power, he exclaimed, "It is thus that God will rend the kingdom of Khosrú!" a prophecy which, like many others, not a little accelerated its own accomplishment.

While the Asiatic provinces were thus a prey to the Persians, Constantinople itself was so hardly pressed by the Avars, that Heraclius was on the point of abandoning the capital, and seeking refuge with his treasures in Carthage. He was with difficulty dissuaded from this dishonourable measure by the entreaties of the patriarch; but his prospects appeared to become darker every hour; the Avars, by a treacherous attack, had nearly seized the capital, and the ambassadors sent to supplicate pardon and peace from Khosrú, were dismissed with contumely and scorn; the Persian despot declaring, that he would not grant peace until either Heraclius was brought bound in chains to his footstool, or had abjured Christianity and embraced the Magian religion.

For about twelve years Heraclius had patiently witnessed the calamities of the empire without making any effort to protect his subjects; but this last insult roused his slumbering energies, and he entered on a career as glorious as his former inactivity had been disgraceful. He did not venture with his raw levies to attack the Persian camp at Chalcedon; but he passed over to the coast of Cilicia, and fortified himself on the ground where Alexander had fought the battle of Issus, not far from the modern town of Scanderoon, whose excellent harbour offered a good station for the imperial fleet. A splendid victory over the Persian cavalry enabled him to establish his winter-quarters in Cappadocia, on the banks of the Halys (*Kizil Irmak*), and to mature his plans for one of the boldest enterprises recorded in history,—the invasion of Persia through its northern provinces (A.D. 623). Early in the ensuing spring, Heraclius, with a chosen band of five thousand men, sailed from Constantinople to Trebizond, assembled his forces from the southern regions, and, joined by the Christians of Armenia, entered the province of Atropatene (*Azerbiján*). Tauris (*Tabriz*), the ancient and modern capital of the country, was taken by storm, almost in sight of Khosrú's army, while the Persian monarch had neither the courage to hazard a battle, nor the justice to conclude on equitable peace. Several equally glorious campaigns followed: the greater part of Persia was overrun by the victorious Byzantines; they defeated the

Asiatics wherever they encountered them, and marched in one direction as far as the Caspian, in the other to Ispahan, destroying in their progress all Khosrú's splendid palaces, plundering his hoarded treasures, and dispersing in every direction the countless slaves of his pleasure. Khosrú made no effort to stop the mighty work of ruin, and ye the rejected the terms of peace offered him by the humanity of the conqueror. His subjects soon lost all regard for a monarch whom they deemed the sole cause of the desolation of his country; a conspiracy was formed against him, he was deposed by his eldest son Shirouch, cast into a dungeon, and put to death, by an unnatural prince, who pretended that he was compelled to the parricide by the clamours and importunities of the people and nobles of the empire.

After six glorious campaigns, Heraclius returned to Constantinople, bringing with him the wood of the "True Cross," which Khosrú had taken at Jerusalem,—a precious relic, which was deemed a more splendid trophy of his victories than all the spoils and conquests. The kingdom of Persia, exhausted by the late sanguinary contest, was left to perish under the accumulated evils of a dreadful famine, the disputes of proud and luxurious nobles, a succession of weak sovereigns, or rather pageants of power, and the attack of a new and terrible enemy. The flame which Mohammed had kindled in Arabia already began to spread, and to threaten an equal fate to the degraded and decaying monarchies of Byzantium and Persia.

Victory itself was fatal to Heraclius; the best and bravest of his soldiers had perished in the sanguinary war, his treasury was empty, taxes were levied with difficulty in the desolated provinces, and the emperor himself, as if exhausted by his great efforts, sunk into hopeless lethargy. While Heraclius was enjoying the empty honours of a triumph, the Saracens appeared on the confines of Syria: thenceforth the empire sunk rapidly before their fanatic valour; and in the last eight years of his reign, the emperor lost to them all that he had rescued from the Persians.

SECTION II.—*State of Arabia at the coming of Mohammed.*

THE peninsula of Arabia is in shape a large and irregular triangle, between Persia, Syria, Egypt, and Ethiopia; its extreme length is about fifteen hundred miles, and its mean breadth about seven hundred. Though it contains several lofty ranges of mountains, the greater part of the country consists of level, sandy, and arid plains, which can support but few inhabitants. Water is difficult to be obtained; there is scarcely any wood to shelter from the direct and intense rays of a tropical sun; the winds, instead of being refreshing breezes, frequently come loaded with pestilential vapours, or raise

eddy billows of sand that have overwhelmed, not only caravans, but entire armies. The high lands that border on the Indian Ocean are distinguished by a superior abundance of wood and water, and hence this part of the peninsula has been called Happy Arabia: but the groves, even of this favoured district, are thinly scattered; the streams, though pure, are small; and the country could only be deemed delightful by persons whose eyes were unaccustomed to vegetation, and who had often felt the want of a cooling shade or a refreshing drink. The northern part of Arabia is occupied by ranges of naked, rocky mountains, from which it received the name of Arabia Petraea, or the Stony; but notwithstanding its rugged and desert aspect, it was in ancient times the centre of a flourishing trade, being the great high road of trade between Egypt and south-eastern Asia.

The Arabs are an original and unmixed race; they boast that their country has never been subdued, but the greater part of it has little that could tempt the cupidity of a conqueror. In the reign of Trajan, the Romans made Arabia Petraea a province; Yemen, or Arabia Felix, has been frequently subject to Persia, and about the time of Mohammed's appearance, the southern part of the peninsula was ruled by the Najashi of Ethiopia. The Arab is not very robust, but he is active and well made, able to endure great fatigue, and, both from habit and education, reckless of danger. In his mental constitution, he displays quickness rather than intelligence; his imagination is warm, but his judgment is not vigorous. In all his pleasures, dangers, and fatigues, he makes the horse and camel of his deserts associates rather than servants, and these animals appear to have obtained an actual superiority in Arabia, from being elevated into the companions of their masters. The horse of Arabia is equally remarkable for speed, temper, and power of endurance; and it is remarkable that the best breeds of this animal in Europe, Asia, and Africa, have been derived from an Arabian stock. The camel and dromedary of the desert are regarded by the Arab as scarcely inferior to his horse. This patient and powerful animal supplies him with milk for his sustenance, transports his property and family from one quarter of the desert to another, and, when occasion requires, enables him to pursue or fly from his enemy with almost incredible speed.

The ancient religion of the Arabs was the Sabean form of idolatry, which consisted in the worship of the sun, moon, and planets; but long before the coming of Mohammed, they were distracted by a great variety of creeds; some adhered to the faith of their ancestors, others embraced Judaism, and several tribes became Christians. Unfortunately Christianity, when introduced into the peninsula, had been deeply sullied by man's devices; the different Christian tribes were imbued with a fierce sectarian spirit, and hated each other more bitterly than Jews or pagans. The vivid imaginations of the Arabs

led them to investigate questions beyond the powers of man's understanding; and the consequence was so abundant a supply of new doctrines, that one of the early fathers described Arabia as the land most fruitful in heresies.

The principal Arabian cities of ancient times were in Yemen; but their fame was destined to be eclipsed by the glories of Mecca and Medina, both in the Hejaz, the two great sanctuaries of the national religion. Mecca was a place of considerable trade from the earliest ages, being situated at the intersection of two important routes, that between Syria and Arabia Felix, and that between Abyssinia or Upper Egypt and south-eastern Asia. Commerce flourished under the sanctuary of religion. The temple of Mecca was regarded as the national metropolis of the Arabic faith, before Judaism and Christianity appeared in the peninsula; its custody raised the Koreishites to a rank above the other tribes, and the failure of the attempt made to storm it by the Ethiopians in the very year that Mohammed was born, may be considered the great check that impeded, or rather prevented, the further extension of Christianity in the country. Mecca is built in a winding valley at the foot of three barren mountains; the soil is a rock, and the waters brackish. The pastures are remote from the city, and good fruits cannot be procured at a nearer place than the gardens of Tayef, which are about seventy miles distant.

The Arabs believe that Mecca was founded by Adam, and the temple erected by Abraham. Its early prosperity they ascribe to Ishmael, who fixed his residence there, because, as their traditions assert, the brackish well Zemzem was that to which Hagar was directed by the angel. It must have been a very ancient city if, as commentators suppose, it was the Mesha which Moses mentions as inhabited by the posterity of Joktan¹.

Medina, called Yatrib before the appearance of Mohammed, enjoys more natural advantages than Mecca; but it is not so conveniently situated for traffic. Its citizens appear to have been always jealous of the supremacy claimed by the Meccans, and this probably induced them to espouse the cause of Mohammed when he was banished by their rivals.

Literature was zealously cultivated by the ancient Arabs; they were enthusiastically attached to eloquence and poetry, for both of which their rich, harmonious language affords peculiar facilities. A meeting of the tribes was held annually, at which the poets recited their compositions, and those which were judged the best, were preserved in the public treasury. The most celebrated of these were seven poems called Moallakat, which were written on Egyptian silk in letters of gold, and suspended in the Kaaba, or temple of Mecca.

¹ Gen. x. and xxxi.

Science was not similarly valued; their history was merely genealogical tables; their astronomy such a rude knowledge of the stars as served to mark the variation of the seasons; and the mechanical arts were almost wholly neglected. They used to say that God had given them four peculiarities,—turbans instead of diadems; tents instead of houses; swords instead of fortresses; and poems instead of written laws.

SECTION III.—*The Preaching of Mohammed.*

MOHAMMED, the great legislator of the Arabians, and the founder of a religion which has long prevailed over the fairest portions of the globe, was born at Mecca. His father, Abdallah, was an idolater; but his mother, Emina, was a Jewess who had been converted to Christianity, and from her early instructions, he probably derived the religious impressions for which he was distinguished even in boyhood. Both his parents died while he was yet a child, but their place was supplied by his uncles, Abd-al-Motalleb, and Abu-Taleb, the latter of whom became a tender parent to the orphan. At the age of thirteen he accompanied Abu-Taleb on a mercantile journey into Syria, and soon after made his first campaign against some neighbouring tribes of predatory Arabs.

From this time Mohammed appears to have engaged actively in trade. He displayed so much talent, that a rich widow, named Kadijab, appointed him her chief pastor; and after some years, was so pleased with his zeal and industry, that she gave him her hand in marriage, and made him master of her splendid fortune. After his marriage Mohammed ranked among the first citizens of Mecca, and it must be added that he was not corrupted by good fortune. The earliest use he made of prosperity was to relieve his kind guardian and uncle Abu-Taleb, who had fallen into distress; he placed Abu-Taleb above want, and undertook the education of a portion of his family.

Little is known of Mohammed's history during the next fifteen years, but there is every reason to believe that this interval was spent in maturing his plans for the great revolution he contemplated. Every year he retired for a month to a cave in Mount Hira, near Mecca, where he spent his time in meditation and prayer. His travels as a merchant had made him acquainted with the principal forms of religion that then prevailed in the East. In Syria he met Christians of various sects, Jews, Magians, and Sabæans; Arabia presented to him countless varieties of idolatry; exiles from the Persian and Byzantine empires informed him of the dangerous doctrines preached by Mani and Mazdak. A singular dream led him to believe that he was chosen by the Deity to reconcile all these

jarring creeds, and to unite mankind in the worship of the one true God. In the solitude of his cave he dreamed that the angel Gabriel appeared to him, and hailed him as a prophet. On his return he announced his mission to Kadijah, who at once recognised his claims. Her example was followed by Ali, the son of Abu-Taleb, by Abu-Beker, Othman, and a few friends accustomed to regard the recluse of Hira with reverence.

These converts were called Mussulmans, that is, persons resigned to the divine will; their faith was confirmed by revelations which Mohammed pretended to receive from Gabriel, and which, as he did not then know how to read and write, or at least but imperfectly, he communicated orally to his disciples. These revelations were preserved by them in a volume, which they called the Koran, or book that ought to be read. The progress of the new religion was slow; many of Mohammed's friends rejected his prophetic claims with something like horror, and three years elapsed before he ventured to announce his mission publicly. Having invited his friends and relatives to a splendid banquet, he declared to them that God had chosen him to preach the doctrine of the divine unity; Ali, with the generous enthusiasm of youth, warmly offered to support the prophet's claims, but many of the other guests doubted or laughed them to scorn.

Undismayed by the imperfect result of his first essay, Mohammed began to preach to the people of Mecca in the market-place. Converts were made slowly; and the guardians of the city opposed doctrines that threatened to subvert the influence they derived from the worship of the Kaaba. Several of the Mussulmans, most remarkable for their zeal, were forced by persecution to abandon their homes, and seek refuge in Abyssinia; but the spirit of Mohammed quailed not; he refused to quit Mecca, and when asked to suspend his preaching for a season, he replied, "Were my enemies to place the sun on my right hand, and the moon on my left, they would not reduce me to silence."

At one of the great annual fairs held in Mecca, Mohammed preached his mission to the merchants assembled from all parts of Arabia. Among his auditors were some citizens of Yatreb, or, as it was afterwards called, Medina, whom peculiar circumstances rendered attentive to his claims. The Yatrebites had just conquered a Jewish tribe; they heard their captives boast of their speedy liberation on the coming of the Messiah, and supposing that the new prophet might be the expected deliverer, they resolved to conciliate his favour, Mohammed profited by their delusion; and this appears to have been his first direct step in imposture, though in the tangled web of human motives, it is hard to say where enthusiasm ends and fraud begins.

Inspired by his success with the Yatrebites, and some other tribes

in the interior of Arabia, Mohammed who had hitherto preached patience and submission under persecution, directed his disciples to defend themselves when attacked, declaring that all who died in defence of his person or his creed, would assuredly inherit Paradise. At the same time he averred that he had been taken up into heaven by Gabriel, and admitted to a personal interview with the Omnipotent. The Meccan chiefs, enraged at his hardihood, took measures for his destruction, and he could only save his life by a speedy retreat to Yatreb. This event, called Hejira (the flight), occurred about the fifty-third year of the prophet's age (A.D. 622), and is the era used by all Mohammedan nations.

Mohammed was received in triumph at Yatreb; he changed its name to Medinet al nabi (*the city of the prophet*), or Medina (*the city*), which it still retains. Converts flocked to Medina, and were formed into warlike bands, which infested all the roads to Mecca, and took severe vengeance for the insult offered to their master. The plunder was shared equally among the soldiers; enthusiasm generally insured success; and warriors from all parts of the peninsula were attracted by the hopes of wealth and glory. In one of the frequent encounters between the Meccans and Mussulmans, near the well Bedr, Mohammed was on the point of being defeated, when he stooped down, took up a handful of dust and flung it towards the enemy, exclaiming, "May their faces be confounded!" this simple action revived the courage of his followers: they gained a decisive victory, which he failed not to ascribe to a miraculous interposition.

After this success Mohammed made a great change in the character of his religion; hitherto he had preached patience and toleration; he now began to inculcate the doctrine of propagating the true faith by the sword, and of executing divine vengeance on idolaters and unbelievers. "In the shade of the crossing scimitars," he declared, "Paradise is prefigured," and this sublime orientalism was long the favourite war-cry of his followers. The Jews became special objects of his hatred; he seems to have hoped that they would acknowledge him as their Messiah, but they were too well acquainted with their sacred Scriptures to believe that the liberator of Israel should be descended from the bond-woman. A severe defeat at Ohod increased rather than abated the pride and fanaticism of Mohammed; he ascribed it to the fault of his companions in having granted quarter to their enemies on a former occasion, and thenceforward the war assumed a most murderous and sanguinary character. The Meccans suffered much more severely than their adversaries; depending for their prosperity, and almost for their existence, on commerce, they saw their trade almost annihilated, their caravans plundered, and their flocks swept away. They made one great effort to remove their enemy, and besieged Mohammed in Medina, but were soon forced to retire with great loss.

"Hitherto they have sought us," exclaimed the prophet, "it is now our turn to go in search of them."

After this defeat, the Meccans seem to have lost all courage; Mohammed rapidly became the most powerful prince in Arabia, his followers received his words as the inspired oracles of God, nor were they undeceived by the gross licentiousness in which the pretended prophet indulged. At length, he marched against Mecca, but found the defiles which led to the city too strongly garrisoned to allow of an attack with any prospect of success. Under these circumstances, he concluded a truce, much against the will of his followers, by which a peaceful admission into the city was secured to him in the ensuing year. Feeling that his power was now established, Mohammed sent ambassadors, inviting the most powerful kings of the earth, especially the emperors of Persia and Constantinople, to become his disciples. Khosrú Parvîz, who then ruled in Irán, was indignant at receiving a letter, in which "a poor lizard-eater," as the Arab was then called by his haughty neighbours, dared to place his name before that of "the king of kings." He tore the paper to pieces, and dismissed the ambassador with insult; when this was told to Mohammed, he exclaimed, "Thus God hath torn his kingdom." The Byzantine emperor, Heraclius, treated the message with respect, though he declined acceding to the invitation. During the year that preceded the pilgrimage to Mecca, Mohammed subdued several of the surrounding tribes that had hitherto spurned his power; but the seeds of mortal disease were sown in his constitution by a dose of poison, which a Jewess administered as a test of his prophetic pretensions.

At length the day arrived which was to consummate the triumph of Islamism; Mohammed made his public entry into Mecca with unparalleled magnificence; he did homage to the national faith by worshipping in the Kaaba; and such was the effect produced by his presence, that many of his former enemies, and among others, the chief guardian of the idolatrous sanctuary, proclaimed themselves his disciples. Soon after this success he began his first foreign war. The ambassador he sent to the Byzantine governor of Bosrah, having been murdered at Muta, a little town south of the Dead Sea, an army was sent, under the command of Zeid, the freedman of the prophet, to avenge the insult. The Mussulman general, and the two officers that succeeded, were slain; but the command devolving upon Khaled, the son of Walid, he obtained a decisive victory, and returned to Medina laden with booty. This success induced Mohammed to break his truce with the Meccans; disregarding their remonstrances and offers of submission, he marched against the city; an entrance was forced by the fiery Khaled, and the prophet with difficulty prevented his followers from involving his fellow-citizens in one promiscuous massacre. The Kaaba became the property of the conqueror; all traces of

idolatry were removed from this national sanctuary; the only emblem of former superstition permitted to remain, was the celebrated Black Stone, an aërolite which the Arabs had venerated from an unknown age, the reverence for which was too deeply graven in their hearts to be easily eradicated. This success led to the subjugation of most of the northern Arabian tribes; ambassadors flocked to congratulate the prophet from every side; the lieutenant of Khosrú, at the western side of the Euphrates, became a Mussulman; the governor of the provinces that the Najáshí of Abyssinia held in Arabia, followed the example; and Mohammed might be regarded as the undisputed sovereign of the peninsula. His two great objects seemed thus to be effected; Arabia was liberated from the yoke of foreign powers, and the Arabs began to regard themselves as one nation. A second expedition against the southern provinces of the Byzantine, or, as it was still called, the Roman empire, was crowned with success; and so rapid had been the progress of Islamism, that when the prophet performed his last pilgrimage to Mecca, his followers amounted to nearly one hundred thousand warriors, independent of women, slaves, and other attendants.

On his return to Medina, the poison which Mahommed had taken from a Jewess, who is said to have taken this means of testing his claim to the title of Messiah, began to show its effects. He was seized with mortal disease; and, at his own request, was removed to the house of his favourite wife Ayesha, on whose prudence he depended for concealing any incautious avowal he might make under the pressure of sickness. On the 8th of June, 632, he died, declaring with his last breath that he was about "to take his place with his fellow-citizen on high," meaning the angel Gabriel. He made no will, he appointed no successor, owing to the contrivance of Ayesha, who feared that Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the prophet, would be nominated the heir of his power; and that she would thus be inferior to her beautiful step-daughter, Fatima, the wife of Ali.

SECTION IV.—*Early Progress of the Saracens.*

THE fabric of Islamism was shaken to its very foundation after Mohammed's death, by the disputes that arose respecting the choice of a successor. Ali had the best hereditary claims, but his literary tastes, and ascetic manners, rendered him unpopular with the fierce soldiery; and he had a powerful enemy in Ayesha, whom he had once charged with infidelity. After three days of fierce dispute, the controversy was decided by Omar's proffering the oath of fidelity to Abú Bekr, the father of Ayesha, and one of Mohammed's most faithful followers.

Abú Bekr assumed the title of Khaliph, or vicar, which thence-

forth became the designation of the Saracenic emperors. Having superintended the sepulture of his illustrious predecessor at Medina, the khaliph sent an army against Mosseilama, an impostor, who, following the example of Mohammed, attempted to found a new religion. Mosseilama and his followers were exterminated by the gallant Khaled, surnamed from his fiery valour "the sword of God," and Islamism was thenceforward established in Arabia.

Perceiving that it was necessary to find employment for the energetic spirits by which it was surrounded, Abú Bekr prepared to invade the Byzantine and Persian empires, both of which had fallen into a state of deplorable weakness. Osâma, the son of Zeid, ravaged Syria, while the province of Irák, the ancient Babylonia, was subdued by Khaled. The conquest of Syria was a more important enterprise; circulars announcing the undertaking, were sent to the principal Arabian tribes; and the army which assembled on the occasion was the most numerous that had yet been raised by the Saracens. The Emperor Heraclius, alarmed at the approach of such formidable forces, sent a large detachment to meet the enemy on the frontiers, which was defeated with great slaughter. But the imperialists were more successful at Gaza, where they gained a victory over a Moslem division, commanded by Abu Obeidah. The khaliph invested Amrú with the supreme command of the expedition, but entrusted Obeidah's division to Khaled. The latter made himself master of the city of Bosra, and after gaining several other advantages over the Romans, laid siege to Damascus.

Jerusalem was regarded with as much veneration by the Mussulmans as by the Jews or Christians, and Abú Bekr felt that the capture of so holy a city would give immense strength to the cause of Islám. In his celebrated directions to his generals he displays great knowledge of the country as well as much political wisdom. But these directions are still more remarkable for their almost verbal coincidence with a passage in the Book of Revelations (chap. ix. verse 4), which most commentators have regarded as a prophetic description of the Saracens. A reference to the passage will enable the reader to see the striking similarity between the language of the Apostle and of the khaliph. When the army was assembled, Abú Bekr addressed the chief commander in the following terms, "Take care, Yezid-Abn-Abu Sofian, to treat your men with tenderness and lenity. Consult with your officers on all pressing occasions, and encourage them to face the enemy with bravery and resolution. If you conquer, spare the aged, the infirm, the women, and the children. Cut down no palm-trees, destroy not the fields of corn. Spare all fruit-trees, slay no cattle but such as are absolutely necessary for food. Always preserve your engagements inviolate; spare the religious persons who dwell in monasteries, and injure not the places in which they worship God.

As for those members of the synagogue of Satan, who shave their crowns, cleave their skulls, unless they embrace Islamism or pay tribute."

But Jerusalem was not the only city to which sanctity was ascribed in the Mussulman traditions; it was reported that Moham-med, after viewing the lovely and fertile plains in which Damascus stands, from one of the neighbouring heights, proclaimed it to be the earthly Paradise designed to be the inheritance of true believers. The fiery Khaled recited this tradition to his enthusiastic followers as he led them before the walls, and thus excited their ardour for the siege to a fury that bordered on insanity.

Heraclius sent an army of 100,000 men to relieve the capital of Syria, but the imperialists were thrice routed; and in the last of these battles more than half their number fell in the field. This calamity led to the fall of Damascus, one side of which was stormed by Khaled, just as the other capitulated to Abu Obeidah. A warm dispute arose between the generals as to the claims of the citizens to the benefit of the capitulation; but mercy finally prevailed, and the lives of the Damascenes were spared. Abú Bekr died on the very day that Damascus was taken (A.D. 634); his memory was justly venerated, not only because he pointed the Saracens the way to conquest beyond Arabia, but because he gave their religion its permanent form, by collecting the scattered passages of the Koran, and arranging them in the order which they hold to the present day.

His character was remarkable for generosity and moderation; he did not reserve for himself any portion of the vast wealth acquired by his victorious armies, but distributed his share to his soldiers and to the poor. He was always easy of access, no petitioner for mercy or claimant of justice went unheard from his presence; both by precept and example he laboured to maintain the republican simplicity so remarkable in the early history of the Saracens; and though the partisans of Ali regard him as a usurper, they still reverence his memory on account of his moderation and his virtue.

Omar was chosen second khaliph by the unanimous consent of the army. Soon after his accession he received the intelligence of the capture of Damascus; but instead of evincing his gratitude, he yielded to the suggestions of petty jealousy, and transferred the command of the army from Khaled to Abu Obeidah. The conquest of Syria was followed by the subjugation of Persia. Yezdijird, the last monarch of the Sassanid dynasty, sent a large army to recover Irák, under the command of Ferokshad, a general of high reputation. Saad-ebn-Wakass, the leader of the Saracens, relying upon the impetuous courage of his soldiers, eagerly sought a general action; and Ferokshad, after many vain efforts to protract the war, was forced to a decisive engagement in the plains of Kadseah, or Kadesia. The

battle lasted several days, and ended in the almost total annihilation of the Persian army, while the loss of the Arabs did not exceed three thousand men. The celebrated standard of Persia, originally the apron of the patriotic blacksmith Gávah, but which had been enlarged, by successive monarchs, to the length of twenty-two feet and the breadth of fifteen, enriched with jewels of the highest value, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and was broken up for distribution. Nor was this the only rich booty obtained by the "sons of the desert," who were yet ignorant of its value. "I will give any quantity of this yellow metal for a little white," was an exclamation made, after the battle was over, by an Arabian soldier, who desired to exchange gold, which he had never before seen, for silver, which he had learned to appreciate (A.D. 638).

Yezdijird assembled a new army in the northern and eastern provinces, while the khaliph reinforced the invaders with fresh bodies of enthusiasts. The battle which decided the fate of Persia was fought at Navahend (A.D. 641). Noman, the leader of the Saracens, attacked the Persians in their intrenchments; nothing could resist the fury of the onslaught; the Persian lines were completely broken; it was a carnage rather than a battle. For ten years Yezdijird, "a hunted wanderer on the wild," protracted a faint but unyielding resistance; he was at length slain by a miller with whom he had sought refuge (A.D. 651). Thus ended the dynasty of Sassan, which ruled Persia for four hundred and fifty years, and the memory of which is still cherished by a nation, whose ancient glory is associated with the fame of Ardeshr, Shah-púr, and Nushirván.

Nor were the Saracens less successful in Syria; Abu Obeidah's caution tempered the fiery zeal of Khaled, and rendered victory more secure, though less rapid. City after city yielded to the Moslems, and the army which Heraclius sent to the defence of his unfortunate subjects was irretrievably ruined in the battle of Yermûk. Inspired by this victory, Abu Obeidah laid siege to Jerusalem, and in four months reduced the garrison to such distress, that a surrender was unavoidable. The Khaliph Omar came in person to receive the submission of the holy city. His equipage was a singular characteristic of the simplicity that still prevailed among the Saracens. He rode upon a red camel, with a sack of corn and water-bag slung from the saddle, to supply his wants during the journey. A wooden platter was the only utensil he brought with him; his dress was of camel's hair, coarse and torn; a single slave constituted his attendance and escort. In this guise he reached the Moslem camp, where he recited the public prayers, and preached a sermon to his troops. He then signed the capitulation, securing to the Christians of Jerusalem protection in person, property, and religious worship, on the payment of a moderate tribute, and entered the city in triumph (A.D. 637). In

his triumphal entry the khaliph marched at the head of his troops, in familiar conversation with Sophronius, the Christian patriarch of Jerusalem, whom he hoped to protect from the fanaticism of his followers by this exhibition of confidence. Nor was this the only proof of good faith displayed by Omar; he refused to pray in any of the Christian churches, lest the Mussulmans should take advantage of his example and convert it into a mosque. He chose the ground on which the temple of Solomon anciently stood for the foundation of the mosque which bears his name; and as it was covered with filth of every kind, he set the example of clearing the spot, to his soldiers, by removing some of the rubbish in his robe.

Aleppo, the ancient Berœa, was the next city besieged by the Saracens; it was valiantly defended for four months, but was finally taken by assault, and its governor Gukinna, with several of his principal officers, embraced the Mohammedan faith. Antioch and Cæsarea were taken with less difficulty; the Emperor Heraclius fled from the province, and his son, after a few unsuccessful efforts, followed him to Constantinople. In six years from their first appearance in Syria, the Saracens completed the conquest of that province, and of Palestine, and secured their acquisitions by occupying the mountain-fortresses on the borders of Cilicia. Egypt was next attacked by Amrú, and subdued without much difficulty. Alexandria alone made a vigorous defence; but it was finally taken by storm, and its valuable library consigned to the flames, through the fanaticism of Omar, who was ignorant of literature and science. In the midst of these triumphs the Khaliph Omar was assassinated by a slave (A.D. 643). During his reign of ten years and a half, the Saracens could boast that they had subdued Syria, Chaldæa, Persia, and Egypt; taken thirty-six thousand cities, towns, and castles; destroyed four thousand Christian churches, fire and idol temples, and built fourteen hundred mosques.

Omar's memory is held in the highest veneration by the Soonnees, and is equally execrated by the Sheeahs. His severity and simplicity, which bordered on barbarism, are strikingly contrasted with the luxury and magnificence of his successors. He had no state or pomp, he lived in a mean house; his mornings were spent in preaching or praying at the mosque, and during the rest of the day he was to be found in the public market-place, where, clothed in a tattered robe, he administered justice to all comers, directed the affairs of his increasing empire, and received ambassadors from the most powerful princes of the East. To him the Arabs are indebted for the era of the Hejira; before his reign they counted their years from such epochs as wars, famines, plagues, remarkable tempests or harvests of unusual plenty. He was the first to establish a police in Medina and the other great cities of the empire. Before his reign, the Arabs, accustomed to lawless independence, would admit of no restraint, and the im-

mense conquests of the Saracens had caused such a concourse of strangers in the seats of government, that cities became nearly as insecure places of residence as the open country. Omar also established a regular system of pay for soldiers in the field, and he also instituted pensions for the wounded and disabled soldiers; indeed the old companions of Mohammed, those who had borne the dangers and difficulties that beset the Prophet in the earlier part of his career, having been rendered incapable of acquiring fresh plunder by wounds and age, would have perished miserably, but for the provision which Omar made for their support in their declining years.

Omar, by his will, appointed six commissioners to elect a new khaliph, and their choice fell on Othman-ebn-Affán, whose pliancy of disposition appears to have been his chief recommendation. The change of their sovereign did not abate the rage for conquest among the Saracens. They ceased to limit their exertions to land; a fleet fitted out by Moawiyáh, the governor of Syria, subdued the island of Cyprus (A.D. 647), while the Syrian and Egyptian armies penetrated into Armenia and Nubia. The island of Rhodes was a still more important acquisition: it yielded to Moawiyáh almost without a struggle; its celebrated Colossus was broken to pieces and sold to a Jew, who loaded nine hundred camels with the metal that it contained. Othman's weakness soon rendered him odious to his warlike subjects. The Egyptian army revolted, and marched to besiege him in Medina; their discontents were appeased for a time by the exertions of Ali, but the insurgents having reason to suspect that the khaliph meditated vengeance, retraced their steps, and murdered him in his palace (A.D. 656). The Koran, stained with the blood of Othman, is said to be still preserved at Damascus.

Immediately after the murder of Othman, Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, was proclaimed Khaliph. His accession was the signal for disorders, which threatened the speedy ruin of the Saracenic empire. His old enemy Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, excited a revolt in Arabia, affecting to avenge the murder of Othman, though she had more than consented to his death; Moawiyáh headed a revolt in Syria; and the turbulent army of Egypt set their sovereign's authority at defiance. The first combat was against the partisans of Ayesha, who were routed with great slaughter, and she herself made prisoner. Ali not only spared the life of this turbulent woman, but assigned her a large pension.

Moawiyáh was a far more dangerous enemy. By his affected zeal for religion, he had won the friendship of many of the companions of the Prophet, while his descent from the ancient chiefs of Mecca procured the support of many who had yielded reluctantly to the sway of Mohammed. The rival armies met in the plains of Saffein, on the western bank of the Euphrates, and more than ninety days were spent

in indecisive skirmishes. At length Moawiyáh, finding his forces rapidly diminishing, adopted the following singular expedient, on the recommendation of Amrú; he ordered a copy of the Koran to be fixed on the top of a pike, and directed a herald to proclaim, in the presence of both armies, that he was willing to decide all differences by this sacred code. Ali's soldiers forced him to consent to a truce; two commissioners were chosen to regulate the articles of peace; and Amrú, who appeared on the part of Moawiyáh, contrived to have his friend proclaimed khaliph. The war was renewed, but no decisive battle was fought. At length some enthusiasts met accidentally at Mecca and began to discuss the calamities that threatened the ruin of Islamism. One of them remarked that no one of the claimants of the throne deserved to reign, since they had jointly and severally inflicted great sufferings on the faithful, and brought religion into jeopardy. Three of them then agreed to devote themselves for the public good, and on the same day to assassinate Amrú, Moawiyáh, and Ali. The two former escaped; Ali became a victim (A.D. 661), and Moawiyáh, without much resistance, became chief of the Saracenic empire, and founded the Ommiade dynasty of Khaliphs.

There is a tradition that Mohammed, a little before his last illness, declared, "The khaliphate will not last more than thirty years after my death;" if this prediction was not devised after the event, it was singularly fulfilled by the murder of his nephew and son-in-law. Ali's memory is justly venerated by the Mussulmans; he was inferior in statesmanship to his predecessors, but he was certainly the most amiable of the khaliphs. His mildness, placidity, and yielding disposition, which rendered him so beloved in private life, were however fatal to him in an age of distraction and civil warfare. His family continued to be revered long after his death; but their popularity excited the jealousy of succeeding khaliphs, and most of them perished by open violence or secret assassination. The martyrdom of Hassan and Hossein, the sons of Ali, is yearly celebrated by the Shechs of India and Persia with great solemnity; and on these occasions the affecting incidents of these events are so vividly represented, that travellers would suppose the bursts of grief they witness, to be caused by some recent and overwhelming calamity.

During these commotions the career of Saracenic conquest had been suspended; but under the Ommiade dynasty the military spirit of the Arabs was restored to its former strength. Egypt furnished an excellent key to southern Europe and western Africa. Thrice the Saracens were compelled to abandon their enterprise against the countries west of Egypt; but at length their perseverance was crowned with success, and the creed of Mohammed was extended through northern Africa to the shores of the Atlantic.

Count Julian, a Gothic noble, irritated by the treatment he had

received from his sovereign, Roderic, invited the Saracens into Spain (A.D. 710). A numerous army of adventurers crossed the straits, and, aided by the resentment of the persecuted Jews, subdued the entire peninsula, with the exception of a small district in the Asturian mountains. Not content with this success, the Saracens crossed the Pyrenees, and advanced through France to the Loire; they even meditated a plan of conquest, which would have subjected all Christendom to their yoke; they proposed to conquer France, Italy, and Germany, and then descending the Danube to exterminate the Greek empire, whose capital they had already twice assailed. The valour of Charles Martel, who completely defeated the Saracens in a memorable battle, that lasted seven days (A.D. 732), rescued Europe from the Mohammedan yoke. His grandson, Charlemagne, drove the Saracens back to the Ebro; and though they subsequently recovered their Spanish provinces, they were forced to respect the Pyrenees as the bulwark of Christendom.

The revolution which transferred the khaliphate from the descendants of Moawiyáh to the posterity of 'Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed, led to the dismemberment of the empire. Mohammed, the grandson of Abbas, had long been engaged in forming a party to support the rights of his house, and from his obscure residence in Syria, sent emissaries into the remotest parts of the empire, to secure partisans for an approaching struggle. On the death of Mohammed, his son, Ibrahim, succeeded to his influence and his claims; he sent Abu Moslem as the representative of his party into Khorassan, and there that intrepid warrior for the first time raised the black standard of the house of Abbas. From this time the parties that rent the Saracenic empire were distinguished by the colours chosen as their cognizance; black was the ominous badge of the Abassides, white of the Ommiades, and green of the Fatimites, who claimed to be descended from Mohammed, through Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet and the wife of Ali. Abûl Ablas, surnamed Al Saffah, or the Sanguinary, overthrew the last of the Ommiade line near the river Jab, and not only put him to death, but massacred all the princes of his family whom he could seize, broke open the sepulchres of all the khaliphs from Moawiyáh downwards, burned their mouldering contents, and scattered the ashes to the winds.

Ninety members of the Ommiade family were living at Damascus after their submission, under what they believed the safe protection of Abdallah-Ebn-Ali, the uncle of the khaliph. One day, when they were all assembled at a feast to which they had been invited by the governor, a poet, according to a preconcerted arrangement, presented himself before Abdallah and recited some verses enumerating the crimes of the house of Moawiyáh, calling for vengeance on their devoted heads, and pointing out the dangers to which their existence exposed

the house of Abbas. "God has cast them down," he exclaimed; "why dost not thou trample upon them?"

This abominable exhortation fell upon willing ears; Abdallah gave the signal to the executioners whom he had already prepared, and ordered the ninety guests to be beaten to death with clubs in his prescence. When the last had fainted under the hands of the executioner, he ordered the bodies of the dead and dying to be piled together, and carpets to be thrown over the ghastly heap. He then, with the rest of his guests, ascended this horrible platform, and there they revelled in a gorgeous banquet, careless of the groans and agony below!

Abd-er-rahman, the youngest son of the late khaliph, alone escaped from this indiscriminate massacre. After a series of almost incredible adventures, he reached Spain, where the Saracens, fondly attached to the memory of Moawiyáh, chose him for their sovereign, and he thus became the founder of the second dynasty of the Ommiade khaliphs.

This example of separation was followed by the Edrissites of Mauritania, and the Fatimites and Aglabites of eastern Africa. Bagdad, founded by Almansúr, became the capital of the Abbasside dynasty. The khaliphs of this line were generous patrons of science, literature, and the arts, especially Harún-al-Rashid, the hero of the Arabian Nights, and his son, Al Mamún. The love of learning spread from Bagdad into the other Saracenic countries; the Ommiade khaliphs founded several universities in Spain, the Fatimites established schools in Egypt, and the Mahommedan nations were distinguished for their attainments in physical science, while Europe remained sunk in barbarism. The Saracenic empire gradually passed from splendour into weakness; the Turkish mercenaries employed by the later khaliphs became the masters of their sovereign; and the dignity, after being long an empty title, was finally abolished (A.D. 1258).

CHAPTER III.

RESTORATION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

SECTION I.—*The Life of Charlemagne.*

WHEN the last of the feeble descendants of Clovis was dethroned by Pepin, France, by being brought into close connexion with the See of Rome, became the most prominent state in Europe, and the foundation was laid for the system of policy which has since prevailed in Europe, by the union of the highest ecclesiastical authority with the most extensive civil power. Many circumstances had previously conspired to give the popes, as the bishops of Rome were called from an unknown period, great and commanding authority over the Christian nations of the West. Among the most influential, was the extravagant claim to the ancient sway of the Caesars, gravely urged by the Byzantine emperors, when they had neither means nor ability to support their pretensions. Wearied by the pride and cruelty of the Greeks, the Italians supported the papal power as a counterpoise to the imperial, and were eager to have the bishop of Rome recognised as head of the Christian church, to prevent the title from being usurped by the patriarch of Constantinople. The recognition of Pepin's elevation to the throne of France was something more than a mere form; it was a ratification of his claims by the only authority that was respected by the nations of western Europe. In return, Pepin gave military aid to the popes, in their wars with the Lombards, and openly proclaimed himself the champion of the church. The French king entrusted the command of the armies he employed in Italy to his youthful son, Karl, better known by his French name, Charlemagne. The prince, thus early brought into public life, displayed more than ordinary abilities, both as a general and a statesman; he acted a distinguished part in the subjugation of Aquitaine, and deservedly obtained the fame of adding that fine province to the dominions of the Franks.

Pepin did not long survive this acquisition; pursuing the pernicious policy which had already proved so destructive to the preceding dynasty, he divided his dominions between his sons Charles and Carloman. Their mutual jealousies would have exploded in civil war, but for the judicious interference of their mother Bertha. At length Carloman died suddenly; his wife and children fled to the Lombards, his subjects, with one accord, resolved to have Charlemagne for their sovereign, and thus the French monarchy was again reunited under a single head. The protection granted to the family of Carloman was not the only ground of hostility between Charlemagne and the

Lombard king Desiderius; Charlemagne had married, and afterwards repudiated, that monarch's daughter; Desiderius menaced war, but had not the means of executing his threats; Charlemagne was prevented from crossing the Alps, by the appearance of a more formidable enemy on his eastern frontiers.

The Saxons and other Germanic tribes were still sunk in idolatry; they frequently devastated the frontier provinces of the Christian Franks, and showed particular animosity to the churches and ministers of religion. A missionary, St. Libuinus, had vainly endeavoured to convert the Saxons by denouncing the vengeance of heaven against their idolatry; irritated by his reproaches they expelled him from their country, burned the church erected at Dauter and slew the Christians. The general convocation of the Franks, called from the time of meeting the Champ de Mai, was at the time assembled at Worms under the presidency of Charles; its members regarded the massacre at Dauter as a just provocation, and war was declared against the Saxons. As the assembly of the Champ de Mai was at once a convention of the estates and a review of the military power of the Franks, an army was in immediate readiness; Charlemagne crossed the Rhine, captured their principal fortresses, destroyed their national idol, and compelled them to give hostages for their future good conduct. He had scarcely returned home, when he was summoned into Italy, to rescue the pope from the wrath of Desiderius, who, enraged at the pontiff's refusal to recognise the claims of the sons of Carloman, had actually laid siege to Rome. Like Hannibal in ancient, and Napoleon in modern times, Charlemagne forced a passage over the Alps, and was actually descending from the mountains before the Lombards knew of his having commenced his march. Desiderius, after vainly attempting to check the Franks in the defiles, abandoned the field, and shut himself up in Pavia. The city was taken after a year's siege: during the interval, Charlemagne visited Rome, and was received with great enthusiasm by the pope and the citizens. Soon after his return to his camp Pavia surrendered, Desiderius and his queen were confined in separate monasteries, and the iron crown, usually worn by the kings of Lombardy, was placed upon the head of the French monarch.

The Saxons and Lombards made several vigorous efforts to shake off the yoke, but their insurrections were easily suppressed; while, however, alarming discontents prevailed in both nations, Charlemagne was involved in a new and perilous war. A Saracenic prince sought refuge in the French court, and persuaded the monarch to lead an army over the Pyrenees. The frontier provinces were easily subdued, owing to the disputes that divided the Mohammedans in Spain. Charlemagne gained a decisive victory over the Saracens at Saragossa, but before he could complete his conquest, he was recalled home by a new

and more dangerous revolt of the Saxons. The rear-guard of the French, commanded by the gallant Roland, was treacherously assailed on its return, by the Gascons, in the defiles of Roncevalles, and almost wholly destroyed¹. The celebrated valley of Roncevalles is the line of communication between France and Navarre; the road through it is rugged and tortuous, with narrow gorges between steep mountains. Whilst the Franks were toiling through these defiles, the Gascons and Navarrese formed ambuscades on the summits of the mountains, concealed by the thick forests with which they abound. After the greater part of the army had passed, the mountaineers suddenly rushed down the steeps, fell upon the rear-guard, and the divisions entrusted with the charge of the baggage. The Franks were surprised but not disheartened; they made a desperate resistance, and vainly tried to cut their way to the main body; but the assailants had the advantage of a light equipment and a favourable position; the whole of the rear-guard was cut off, and the baggage plundered, before Charlemagne knew that they were endangered; and the mountaineers disappeared so rapidly with their booty that all pursuit was unavailing. Such was the battle of Roncevalles, which has been strangely exaggerated and misrepresented by writers of romance.

But though the legendary account of Roncevalles contains a very small portion of truth, it is not devoid of historical importance, because there never was a history which possessed wider influence than this romantic tale. It was by singing the song of Roland that the Normans were encouraged at the battle of Hastings, and the French inspired to their most glorious deeds. We must therefore give an abstract of the ancient tradition.

According to the legend, Charlemagne, in a war which lasted more than seven years, had nearly completed the conquest of Spain. The Moorish monarch, whom the romancers are pleased to designate Marsiles, in dread of total ruin, held a council of his principal emirs and nobles, who unanimously recommended him to conciliate Charles by immediate submission. A Saracen ambassador, with the usual inconsistency of romance, is said to have been pitched close to the Spanish marches, and he addressed the monarch in the following words: "God protect you! Behold here are presents which my master

¹ Mrs. Hemans describes this fatal fight in one of her chivalrous ballads, from which we may venture to quote a couple of stanzas.

In the gloomy Roncevalles' strait,
There are helms and lances cleft
And they that moved at morn's elate
On a bed of heath are left
There's many a fair young face
Which the war steed hath gone o'er;
At many a board there is kept a place
For those that come no more.

There is dust upon the joyous brow,
And o'er the graceful head,
And the war horse will not wake him now,
Though it bruise his greensward bed!
I have seen the stripling die,
And the strong man meet his fate,
Where the mountain winds go sounding by,
In the Roncevalles' strait

sends; and he engages if you withdraw from Spain to come and do you homage at Aix-la-Chapelle."

Charlemagne summoned his twelve paladins to council, to deliberate on this offer. Roland strenuously opposed entering into any terms with an infidel, and declared that it was their duty to rescue Spain from the dominion of the crescent, and place it under the banner of the cross. Two of the paladins, however, Ganelon and the duke Naimes, maintained that it was contrary to the rules of chivalry to refuse grace to a conquered enemy. Charlemagne, who in the romances is represented as a perfect model of knightly courtesy, yielded to the arguments of the friends of peace, and inquired which of his peers would undertake to return with the ambassador, and bear back a suitable reply to the king Marsiles. Ganelon proffered his services, but Roland contemptuously declared him unfit for such a duty, and offered himself in his stead.

A warm debate arose in the council: Ganelon, irritated by the scorn with which Roland treated his pretensions, and indignant at some imputations on his fidelity and courage, said angrily to his rival, "Take care that some mischief does not overtake you." Roland, among whose virtuous qualities moderation cannot be enumerated, replied, "Go to, you speak like a fool! We want men of sense to carry our messages; if the emperor pleases, I will go in your place." In great irritation Ganelon replied, "Charles is commander here; I submit myself to his will." At these words Roland burst into an immoderate fit of laughter; but this act of discourtesy so offended the rest of the paladins, that with one voice they recommended Ganelon as the most suitable ambassador to be sent to Marsiles.

The Saracenic ambassador had received private information of the angry discussion which had taken place in the imperial council. As he returned to his court, he took every opportunity of reminding Ganelon of the insult he had received, and though he did not immediately succeed, he certainly weakened the paladin's loyalty and led him secretly to deliberate on the possibility of obtaining revenge by means of treason. At his first interview with Marsiles, he maintained the pride and dignity of a French Chevalier. "Charles is now old," said the Moorish monarch, "he must be close upon a hundred years of age; does he not think of taking some repose?" Ganelon firmly replied, "No! no! Charles is ever powerful; so long as he has round him the twelve peers of France, but particularly Oliver and Roland, Charles need not fear a living man." Subsequent conversations, however, enabled the Moorish monarch to work upon Ganelon's cupidity, and his jealousy of Roland, so effectually, that he agreed to supply him with such information as would enable him to cut off the rear of the Christian army, when it returned to Roncesvalles, according to the terms of the treaty.

Ganelon returned to the Christian camp, and informed the emperor that Marsiles had consented to become his vassal, and pay him tribute. Charles immediately gave orders that the army should return to France; he took the command of the van in person; the rear-guard, entrusted with the care of the baggage and plunder, followed at a little distance through the passes of Roncesvalles.

In the mean time Marsiles had collected an immense army, consisting not merely of his own subjects, but of numerous auxiliaries from Barbary, Morocco, and the wild tribes in the interior of Africa. According to the instructions of Ganelon, he sent large detachments of his men to occupy the woods and mountains which overhung "the gloomy Roncesvalles' strait."

When the Christians were involved in the pass, they were suddenly attacked, at the same moment, in front, flank, and rear. Oliver clambered up a tree in order to discover the number of the enemy. Perceiving that their hosts were vastly superior to the French, he called out to Roland, "Brother in arms! the pagans are very numerous, and we Christians are few; if you sounded your horn the emperor Charles would bring us succour." Roland replied, "God forbid that my lineage should be dishonoured by such a deed! I will strike with my good sword Durandel; and the pagans falling beneath my blows, will discover that they have been led hither by their evil fate." "Sound your horn, companion in arms!" reiterated Oliver; "the enemies hem us in on every side." "No!" repeated Roland, "our Franks are gallant warriors; they will strike heavy blows, and cut through the hosts of the foul paynim." He then prepared his troops for action. Archbishop Turpin, perceiving that the fight would be desperate and bloody, commanded all the soldiers to kneel, and join in a general confession of faith, after which he bestowed upon them absolution, and his episcopal benediction.

The Christians made a gallant defence; but numbers finally triumphed over valour. "Down went many a noble crest; cloven was many a plumed helmet. The lances were shivered in the grasp of Christendom's knights, and the swords dropt from their wearied arms." Turpin, Oliver, and Roland still survived, and faintly maintained the fight. At length, Roland turning to Oliver, exclaimed, "I will sound my horn, Charles will hear us, and we may yet hope again to see our beloved France." "Oh! shame and disgrace," answered Oliver, "why did you not sound when first I asked you? The best warriors of France have been sacrificed to your temerity: we must die with them!" Turpin, however, insisted that the horn should be blown as a signal to the emperor; and Roland blew such a blast, that the blood spurted from his mouth, and his wounds opened afresh poured forth torrents. Charles, though thirty leagues distant, heard the sound, and said, "Our men are engaged at disadvantage;

we must haste to their assistance." "I do not believe it," replied the traitor Ganelon, and dissuaded the emperor. Roland once more, with his dying breath, rung a wailing blast from the horn. Charles knew the character of the sound. "Evil has come upon us," he exclaimed; "those are the dying notes of my nephew Roland!" He hastily returned to Roncesvalles; but Roland, and all his companions, lay dead upon the plain, and the emperor could only honour their corpses with Christian burial.

Such are the salient points in the old romance, on which the song of Roland is founded. So late as the close of the fifteenth century the narrative was received as an historical fact; and when John, king of France, a little before the fatal battle of Poitiers, reproached his nobles that there were no Rolands to be found in his army, an aged knight replied, "Sire, Rolands would not be wanting, if we could find a Charlemagne."

The devastations of the Saxons, which recalled Charlemagne from Spain, exceeded anything which Europe had witnessed since the days of Attila. Witikind, prince of Westphalia, was the leader of this dangerous revolt; he had united his countrymen into one great national confederacy, and long maintained a desperate struggle against the whole strength of the French monarchy. He was at length irretrievably routed, and submitting to the conqueror, became a Christian. Several minor revolts in his extensive dominions troubled the reign of Charlemagne, but he quelled them all, and secured the tranquillity of Germany, both by subduing the Saxons, and destroying the last remnant of the barbarous Avars who had settled in Hungary. The brief intervals of tranquillity were spent by this wise monarch in extending the blessings of civilization to his subjects, by establishing schools, and patronising science and literature. In these labours he was assisted by Alcuin, an English monk, the most accomplished scholar of his age. Such was the fame of the French monarchy at this time, that embassies came to the court from the most distant cotemporary sovereigns. The most remarkable was that sent from the renowned Harún-er-Rashíd, kaliph of Bagdad; among the presents they brought were some beautiful pieces of clock-work, which were regarded as something almost miraculous in western Europe, where the mechanical arts were still in their infancy.

But in the midst of these glories, Charlemagne was alarmed by the appearance of a new enemy on the coasts of France, whose incursions, though repelled, filled the monarch's prescient mind with sad bodings of future danger. These were the Northmen, or Normans, pirates from the distant shores of Scandinavia, whose thirst of plunder was stimulated by the desire of revenging the wrongs that their idolatrous brethren, the Saxons, had endured. At their first landing in France, they had scarcely time to commit any

ravages, for they fled on the news of the dreaded king's approach. Charlemagne saw their departing ships without exultation, he burst into tears² and predicted that these "sea-kings" would soon prove a dreadful scourge to southern Europe.

Probably about the same time that Charles was excited by the appearance of these pirates, whose ferocity and courage he had learned to dread during his expeditions into the north of Germany, three ships of a similar character to those described, entered one of the harbours on the south-eastern coast of Britain, about a century and a half after the Anglo-Saxons had established their dominion over the southern part of the island, and given it the name of Angle-Land, or England.

Here the sight of the strange ships produced the same doubts as in France. The Saxon graf, or magistrate of the district, proceeded to the shore to inquire who these strangers were, and what they wanted. The foreigners who had just disembarked, attacked him and his escort without provocation, slew them on the spot, pillaged the neighbouring houses, and then returned to their vessels. Some time elapsed before it was discovered that these pirates were the Danes, or Normans, names with which the ears of Anglo-Saxons were destined soon to form a terrible familiarity.

Soon after the retreat of the Normans, Charlemagne was induced to visit Italy, both to quell the rebellion of the duke of Beneventum, and to rescue Pope Leo from his insurgent subjects. He succeeded in both enterprises, and the grateful pontiff solemnly crowned his benefactor EMPEROR OF THE WEST. A project was soon after formed for re-establishing the ancient Roman Empire, by uniting Charlemagne to the Byzantine empress, Irene, but this was prevented by the factions of Constantinople; the degraded Greeks dreaded nothing so much as the vigorous administration of such a sovereign as the restorer of the Western Empire.

Charlemagne intended to divide his dominions equally between his three sons; but two of them died while the arrangements were in progress, and Louis, the weakest in mind and body, became sole heir to the empire. His claims were solemnly recognised in a national assembly of the Frank nobility, at Aix-la-Chapelle; soon after which, the emperor died, in the seventy-second year of his age, universally lamented throughout his extensive dominions.

² The monk of St. Gall tells us, that when Charlemagne was asked the cause of these tears, he replied, "My faithful friends, do you inquire why I weep thus bitterly? Assuredly it is not that I dread any annoyance to myself from the piracy of those wretches; but

I am deeply affected to find that they have dared to visit these coasts even in my lifetime; and violent grief overwhelms me, when I look forward to the evils they will inflict on my subjects."

SECTION II.—*Decline and Fall of the Carolingian Dynasty.*

THE Western Empire, established by Charlemagne, extended from the Ebro in the west to the Elbe and Raab in the east, and from the duchy of Beneventum and the Adriatic sea to the river Eyder, which separated the Germanic tribes from the Scandinavian hordes, or, as they began about this time to be called, the Danes and Normans. It consequently included all ancient Gaul, a great portion of Spain and Italy, several islands in the Mediterranean, especially Corsica, Sardinia, and the Baleares, western and northern Germany, with a considerable part of Pannonia, or Hungary. No other European power could compete with that of the Franks; the monarchies of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and Russia, were not yet founded; England, was still divided by the Heptarchy; the Saracenic empire in Spain was distracted by civil commotions, and the Christian kingdom of the Asturias was barely struggling into existence; finally, the Byzantine empire was sunk into hopeless lethargy, and owed its continued existence only to the decay of the spirit of enterprise among the Arabs, after the seat of the Khaliphate was removed to Bagdad. But the continuation of an empire including so many nations essentially different in interests, habits, and feelings, required a superior genius in the sovereign. Louis the Debonnaire, the son and successor of Charlemagne, was deficient in every quality that a ruler should possess; foolish, weak, and superstitious, he could not make himself beloved, and he failed to inspire fear. Yielding to the suggestions of his queen, Hermengarde, Louis sanctioned the murder of his nephew Bernard, and forced the three natural sons of Charlemagne to assume the clerical tonsure, by which they were for ever prevented from taking a share in temporal affairs. These crimes had scarcely been committed when Louis became the victim of remorse. Unable to stifle the reproaches of conscience, he appeared before the general assembly of his subjects, and publicly confessed that he had been deeply criminal in consenting to the murder of Bernard, and in forcing his brothers to enter religious orders; he humbly besought pardon from all present, solicited the aid of their prayers, and undertook a solemn penance. This strange scene rendered Louis contemptible in the eyes of his subjects; some doubted his sincerity, others questioned his motives, but all believed this public confession a needless sacrifice of the royal dignity.

Louis chose for his second wife, Judith, the daughter of a Bavarian count. His three sons were indignant at a marriage which threatened to produce new shares in their inheritance, but nearly four years elapsed without any appearance of such an event. At length the empress gave birth to a child, afterwards known as Charles the Bald, who was popularly said to be the son of her unworthy favourite, Bernard, count of Barcelona. The three former sons of Louis not

only refused to acknowledge their new brother, but took up arms to force their father to dismiss his ministers and divorce his wife. After a desultory war Louis prevailed over his rebellious children, but the fatigues of campaigning broke down his feeble constitution, and put an end to his inglorious life. The seeds of discord were thickly sown during his life, they were forced into maturity after his death by the unwise distribution of his dominions between his three sons.

Scarcely had Louis been laid in the grave, when his sons Louis the Germanic and Charles the Bald took up arms against their elder brother Lothaire, and engaged him in a general battle at Fontenay, which proved fatal to the flower of the ancient Frank nobility (A.D. 841). After a desultory war, the brothers finally agreed on a partition of the empire, by which Lothaire obtained Italy, and the eastern provinces of France; Louis received his father's Germanic dominions; and to Charles were assigned the provinces of France west of the Saône and the Rhone, together with the Spanish marches (A.D. 843). Thus Charles the Bald may be considered as the founder of the French monarchy properly so called, for hitherto the sovereigns of the Franks were Germans in language, customs, country, and blood. It is unnecessary to detail the petty revolutions in the family of Charlemagne; it is sufficient to say, that the empire was momentarily reunited under Charles the Fat, younger son of Louis the Germanic (A.D. 884), but he being deposed by his subjects, its dissolution became inevitable; from its fragments were formed the kingdoms of Italy, France, and Germany, with the states of Lorraine, Burgundy, and Navarre.

These new states owed their origin less to the disputes that convulsed the Carlovingian family than to the exorbitant power of the nobles, which had been increasing rapidly from the death of Charlemagne. The titles of duke and count were not in that age merely honorary; they conferred nearly despotic sway over the provinces. The great feudatories of the crown were invested not merely with the administration of justice and regulation of police in their respective districts, but had also the command of the army and the direction of the revenue. It is easy to see that the union of such different and important departments of government in a single person must necessarily have been dangerous to royal authority, and constantly tempted ambitious nobles to proclaim their independence. Charlemagne saw this evil, and endeavoured to abate the danger by dividing the great duchies into several counties; but in the civil wars among his posterity, rival competitors, to secure the support of powerful feudatories, offered the restored duchies as tempting bribes, and further weakened themselves by alienating the royal domains to secure the favour of the church. Taking advantage of this impolicy, the dukes and counts contrived to make their dignities hereditary; and this dangerous innovation was not only sanctioned by Charles the Bald, but extended

to all fiefs (A.D. 877), in a parliament held at Chiersi, towards the close of his reign. The principle of inheritance, thus introduced, may be regarded as the foundation of the feudal system, and the source of the calamitous wars between rival nobles which convulsed all central and south-western Europe.

The Normans, like the Saxons and Franks, were a branch of the great Teutonic race; but the conversion of the latter to Christianity was viewed by their brethren of the north as an act of treason against the national religion of Germany, and their indignation was still further exasperated, by the tales of wrong and suffering related by the crowds of idolatrous Saxons, who fled to the isles of the Baltic from the merciless persecutions of Charlemagne. The maritime Teutones from the earliest ages were distinguished for their hardihood, their ardent passion for adventure, and their contempt of death. They navigated the dangerous seas of the north with more courage and freedom than the Greeks and Romans exhibited in the Mediterranean; they did not despair when they lost sight of land; they did not come to anchor when clouds obscured the stars. On board every vessel there was a cast of hawks or ravens, and when the adventurers were uncertain in what direction the land lay, they let loose one of the birds, knowing that he would make with instinctive sagacity for the nearest coast, and by his flight they steered their course. Towards the close of the eighth century the Normans became formidable as pirates to Western Europe; they particularly infested the coasts of Britain, Ireland, and France. Their leaders assumed the proud title of sea-kings, though the limits of each royalty did not extend beyond the deck of a single vessel, and all superiority was at an end when the expedition was over. A sea-king had only to announce his intention of undertaking some buccancering enterprise, and he was sure to find crowds of adventurous youth ready to volunteer their services as his associates. Whither the adventurous sea-king would steer, provided that there appeared a reasonable chance of plunder, was a matter of perfect indifference to him and his associates. They effected a landing when least expected; no mercy was shown to age or sex, the fate of those who submitted or resisted was alike, but the special objects of their vengeance were the clergy and the churches, because they regarded themselves as the avengers of the insults offered to Odin, and of the persecutions with which Christian sovereigns afflicted their worshippers in their dominions. Sir Walter Scott has drawn the character of an ancient sea-king with so much poetic force and historic truth, that the extract will supersede the necessity of further description.

Count Witikind came of a regal strain,
And roved with his Norsemen the land and the main;
Woe to the realms which he coasted! for there
Was shedding of blood and rending of hair,

Rape of maiden and slaughter of priest,
 Gathering of ravens and wolves to the feast !
 When he hoisted his standard black,
 Before him was battle, behind him wrack ;
 And he burn'd the churches, that heathen Dane,
 To light his band to their barks again.

On Erin's shores was his outrage known,
 The winds of France had his banners blown ;
 Little was there to plunder, yet still
 His pirates had foray'd on Scottish hill ;
 But upon merry England's coast,
 More frequent he sail'd, for he won the most.
 So far and wide his ravage they knew,
 If a sail but gleam'd white 'gainst the welkin blue,
 Trumpet and bugles to arms did call,
 Burghers hasten'd to man the wall ;
 Peasants fled inland his fury to 'scape,
 Beacons were lighted on headland and cape ;
 Bells were toll'd out, and aye as they rung
 Fearful and faintly the grey brothers sung,
 ' Save us, St. Mary, from flood and from fire,
 From famine and pest, and Count Witikind's ire.'

Thierry has collected the principal characteristics of a sea-king from the Icelandic sagas. "He could govern a vessel as the good rider manages his horse, running over the oars whilst they were in motion. He would throw three javelins to the mast-head, and catch them alternately in his hand without once missing. Equal under such a chief, supporting lightly their voluntary submission, and the weight of their coat of mail, which they promised themselves would soon be exchanged for an equal weight of gold, the pirates held their course gaily, as their old songs express it, along the track of the swans. Often were their fragile barks wrecked and dispersed by the north sea storm, often did the rallying sign remain unanswered, but this neither increased the cares nor diminished the confidence of the survivors, who laughed at the wind and waves from which they had escaped unhurt. Their song in the midst of the tempest was—

The force of the storm helps the arms of our rowers,
 The hurricane is carrying us the way which we should go.

Nearly all the information which we possess respecting these formidable pirates is derived from the *sagas*, or songs of the Skalds; these singular compositions are unlike any other form of literature, they are records of adventure in verse or measured prose, in which no notice is taken of historical events, and no regard paid to chronology.

The Skalds, or bards, were more honoured by the Scandinavians than their priests; indeed it is doubtful whether they had any regular sacerdotal caste, or order. Some of their heroes prided themselves on defying the gods themselves; thus Gauthakor, when asked his religion,

by Olaf the saint, who was anxious to introduce Christianity among his countrymen, replied, "My brothers in arms and I are neither Christians nor pagans. We have no faith but in our arms, and our strength to vanquish our enemies, and those we have ever found sufficient." So far was the character of a pirate or Vikingar from being disgraceful, that it was eagerly sought by men of the highest rank, and was only accorded to those who had given distinguished proofs both of their bravery in battle and their skill in navigation. An ancient law enacted, that a man in order to acquire glory for bravery, should attack a single enemy, defend himself against two, and not yield to three, but that he might without disgrace fly from four.

Every king, whether of sea or land, had a chosen band of champions, called *Kempe*; warriors pledged to the personal service of their chief, and whose only hope of advancement arose from the performance of some exploit, which common fame, and the songs of the *Skalds*, might spread over the north.

Each sea-king laid down the rules for the government of his own champions, and fame was assigned to him whose regulations were the most strict and rigorous. Thus we are told, that Half and Hiorolf, the sons of a Norweigan king, both devoted themselves to maritime adventure, or, in plain terms, to piracy.

Hiorolf collected a great number of ships, which he manned with volunteers of every kind both of serfs and freemen; he was defeated in all his expeditions. On the other hand his brother Half had only one ship, but his crew were all picked men. They were at first but twenty-three in number, all descended from kings; the troop was subsequently increased to sixty.

To obtain admission into the company, it was necessary that the champion should lift up a large stone which lay in the front of Half's residence, and which could not be moved by the force of twelve ordinary men. These champions were forbidden to take women and children, to seek a refuge during a tempest, or to dress their wounds before the battle was ended. Eighteen years Half's band carried terror to all the shores of Western Europe. Finally, when the sea-king was returning to enjoy the wealth he had acquired, his vessel, overladen with plunder, appeared on the point of sinking within sight of the Norwegian shore. The brave crew immediately drew lots to determine who should throw themselves into the sea, for the purpose of saving their chief and the cargo; those on whom the lot fell, instantly jumped overboard and swam to shore, while the vessel relieved of the weight reached the harbour in safety.

Sometimes these warriors, like the Malays in Java, were seized with a kind of frenzy, either arising from an excited imagination, or from the use of stimulating liquors. In this state they were called "*berserker*," a word of frequent occurrence in the sagas. Whilst under the

of this madness, the champions committed the wildest extravagances; they danced about, foamed at the mouth, struck indiscriminately at friends and foes, destroyed their own property, and like the mad Orlando waged war against inanimate nature, tearing up rocks and trees. Sivald, king of Sweden, had five sons, all of whom became *berserker*; when the fit was on them they used to swallow burning coals and throw themselves into the fire. They and their father were slain by Halfdan, whom Sivald had previously dethroned, the nation having become impatient of the extravagances of the frantic princes. Halfdan had a contest with another *berserker*, named Hartben, who came to attack him accompanied by twelve champions. Hartben was a formidable pirate, but, when the fit was on him it was as much as his twelve companions could do to prevent him devastating every thing around him. Halfdan challenged the pirate and his entire crew, Such an insult so inflamed Hartben, that he was immediately seized with a fit of frenzy, during which he killed six of his companions; he rushed against the king with the remaining six, but the pirates were slain, by the irresistible blows of the mace of Halfdan.

The sons of Arngrim, king of Helegoland, the most celebrated pirates of their age, are described as suffering severely from the *berserk* madness; when under its influence they slaughtered their crews and destroyed their shipping; sometimes they landed on desert places and vented their fury on the stocks and stones. After the fit was over they lay quite senseless from sheer exhaustion.

A sea-king rarely condescended to the blandishments of courtship. If he heard of any noble or royal damsel celebrated for beauty, he at once demanded her from her father, and if refused, equipped a vessel to take her away by force. He generally brought away, if successful, her dowry at the same time, and thus could boast of a double victory.

A Swedish pirate, named Gunnar, having heard the Skalds celebrate the charms of Moalda, a Norwegian princess, sent to her father Regnald a peremptory demand for the fair lady's hand. Regnald rejected such a suitor with scorn, but aware of the consequences of a refusal, he made instant preparations for defence. Before marching against the pirates, he had a cavern hollowed out in the mountains, within which he concealed the princess and his choicest treasures, leaving her a proper supply of provisions. Scarcely were his arrangements completed than the fierce Gunnar appeared off the coast; Regnald met the pirates on the shore, a desperate battle ensued, and the king was slain. After this victory, Gunnar sought out the place where Moalda was concealed, and carried away the princess with her treasures to Sweden. A second and a third conquest of this kind often followed the first, for polygamy was sufficiently common among these adventurers. The ladies themselves could not view with indifference heroes who risked

their lives to obtain their hands, and whose exploits, immortalized by the Skalds, were sung in all the islands and in all families.

France suffered most severely from their hostilities; their light barks ascended the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Rhone, carrying fire and sword into the very centre of the kingdom. Most of the principal cities were laid waste; Paris itself was thrice taken and pillaged; and the French, at length losing all courage, refused to meet the northern warriors in the field, but purchased their retreat with large bribes. This remedy was necessarily as inefficacious as it was disgraceful, for it stimulated the barbarians to fresh incursions in the assured hope of gain. Nor were the Normans regardless of permanent conquests; Ruric, a leader of their adventurous bands, founded the Russian monarchy towards the close of the ninth century; Iceland was colonized, and the greater part of Ireland subdued, at a still earlier period; and the northern and western islands of Scotland were successively occupied as convenient stations for their piratical navies. Finally, they obtained fixed establishments in France; the province of Neustria, now called Normandy, was ceded to Rolf or Rollo, the chief of a large horde of these northern pirates, by Charles the Simple (A.D. 912); the province gained great advantages by the exchange, for Rollo becoming a Christian, was baptized by the name of Robert, and applied himself with equal diligence and success to improve the condition of his new subjects.

Charles also ceded to Rollo all the pretensions of the crown to that part of Brittany which no longer recognised the sovereignty of the kings of France, and Rollo came to the borders of his new province to perform liege homage and confirm the articles of peace. The Norman swore allegiance to Charles, who in return presented his daughter to the adventurer, and gave him the investiture of Neustria. The French prelates, who assumed the regulation of the ceremonies employed on all solemn occasions, had introduced the degrading prostrations of the Orientals into the forms of European homage; they now informed Rollo that after receiving a gift of so much value, he should on his bended knees kiss the feet of the king. "Never," replied the haughty barbarian, "will I bend my knees before another mortal,—never will I kiss the foot of man." As the prelates however were urgent, he ordered one of his soldiers to perform the ceremony in his stead. The soldier advancing, rudely seized the foot of Charles, and by a sudden jerk threw the monarch on the ground. The Normans who witnessed the transaction, applauded their comrade's insolence, while the French nobles deemed it prudent to conceal their indignation. The ceremony was continued as if nothing had happened; the several Norman lords took the usual oaths of allegiance, after which the king returned to Laon. He had chosen this city for his capital, because Paris was included in the fief of one of the great vassals of the crown.

The establishment of the Normans in Neustria put an end to the system of piracy and plunder which for more than a century had devastated western Europe; the repetition of pillage had so wasted Germany, Gaul, and Britain, that the plunder to be acquired no longer repaid the hazards of an expedition, and as war was no longer profitable, Rollo resolved to cultivate the arts of peace. To prevent the future incursions of his countrymen, he fortified the mouths of the rivers, restored the walls of the cities, and kept his subjects in constant military training. Under Rollo the feudal system, which had been slowly forming, received its full development; immediately after his baptism, he divided the lands of Neustria among his principal followers, to each of whom he gave the title of count, and these counts subdivided the land among their soldiers. The Normans displayed the same ardour in cultivating their new estates which they had formerly shown in devastating them; the peasants resumed the cultivation of their fields; the priests restored their ruined churches; the citizens resumed their trading occupations; strangers were invited from every country to cultivate the waste lands: and the most rigorous laws were enacted for the protection of person and property. Robberies were so efficiently checked, that Rollo, as a bravado, hung up a golden bracelet in a forest near the Seine, which remained untouched for three years.

While the Normans devastated the coasts, central Europe was devastated by the Hungarians, or, as they called themselves, the Magyars, who extended their ravages into Greece and Italy. Germany suffered most from their hostilities, and was the longest exposed to their fury. These incursions, to which must be added occasional enterprises of the Slavonians and Saracens, destroyed the political institutions that Charlemagne had formed, and threw Christendom back into the barbarism from which it had just begun to emerge. England, under the government of Alfred, for a brief space preserved the elements of civilization; he expelled the Normans from the island (A.D. 887), restored the ancient seminaries of learning, and founded new schools. But his glorious reign was followed by fresh calamities; the Danish-Normans reappeared in England, and spread trouble and desolation throughout the country.

From the reign of Charles the Bald, the royal authority rapidly declined in France, while the power of the feudal lords constantly increased. The dukes and counts, usurping regal rights, raised, on the slightest, or without any provocation, the standard of revolt: the kings, to gain some, and secure the allegiance of others, abandoned to them successively the most valuable royal domains and privileges, until the Carlovingian monarchs, so far from being able to counterbalance the power of the nobility, were unable to support the expenses of their own courts. A change of dynasty was thus rendered inevit-

able, and the throne was certain to fall to the lot of the most powerful or most daring of the nominal vassals. This event, which had been long foreseen, took place on the death of Louis the Sluggard, the last of the Carolingian dynasty, who died without issue at the early age of twenty (A.D. 987). Hugh Capet possessed already the centre of the kingdom; he was count of Paris, duke of France and Neustria, while his brother Henry held the duchy of Burgundy. It was not difficult for so powerful a noble to form a party, by whose favour he was invested with the title, after having long enjoyed the power of royalty (A.D. 987). Charles of Lorraine, the late king's uncle, took up arms in defence of his hereditary rights; but he was betrayed to his rival by the bishop of Laon, and ended his days in prison. Hugh became the founder of the Capetian dynasty in France, a branch of which still retains possession of that crown. But for many years after the accession of Hugh Capet, France was an aristocratic republic rather than a monarchy, for the royal authority was merely nominal. The domains of the count of Paris were indeed annexed to the crown, and thus the Capetians had greater territorial possessions, and consequently greater influence, than the Carolingians. But the peers of France, as the great feudatories were called, still preserved their independence; and their tacit assent to Hugh's usurpation was anything rather than a recognition of his authority. In the south of France, Languedoc, no notice was taken of Hugh's elevation; and the inhabitants for many years dated their public acts by the nominal reigns of the children of Charles of Lorraine.

SECTION III.—*The Foundation of the Germanic Empire.*

FROM the first foundation of the Germanic empire by the treaty of Verdun, the royal authority was extremely limited, and Louis, its monarch, was obliged to swear in a national assembly, held at Marone (A.D. 851), that "he would maintain the states in all their rights and privileges." His youngest son, Charles the Fat, was deposed by his subjects; and Arnold, the natural son of Prince Carloman, was elected to the vacant throne. The custom of electing emperors was thus established in Germany, and it continued almost to our own times. Arnold was succeeded by his son Louis; the states chose Conrad, duke of Franconia, as his successor, to the exclusion of Charles the Simple, king of France, the legitimate heir male of the Carolingians. On the death of Conrad, the states elected Henry, surnamed the Fowler, as his successor (A.D. 919), the first of the Saxon dynasty of kings and emperors.

Henry I., by his civil and military institutions, raised Germany to the highest rank among the states of Europe. Profiting by the

intestine commotions of France, he conquered the province of Lorraine, which he divided into two duchies, that of Upper Lorraine, or the Moselle, and that of Lower Lorraine, or Brabant. The former retained the name of Lorraine; it was long governed by the family of Gerard, duke of Alsace, whose descendants obtained the Germanic empire in the eighteenth century. Brabant was assigned to Godfrey, count of Louvain, whose descendants retained it, with the title of duke, until, on the failure of male heirs, it passed by marriage into the hands of the dukes of Burgundy, who thus found means to render themselves masters of a great portion of the Netherlands. Henry successfully repelled the invasions of the Slavonians and Hungarians; by the defeat of the latter he freed the Germans from the disgraceful tribute with which they had been compelled to purchase the forbearance of these barbarians, and the memory of his victory was annually commemorated by a grateful people for several succeeding centuries.

The great merits of Henry secured the election of his son Otho to the Germanic throne. His reign was disturbed by frequent revolts of the powerful feudatories; their faction and insubordination effectually prevented him from giving his subjects a code of laws, the great object of his ambition; he was forced to yield to the turbulent spirit of the times, and leave some more fortunate sovereign to gather the laurels of a legislator. One incident will serve to mark the character of the age better than any laboured dissertation. During one of the national assemblies or diets, it was debated "whether children could inherit the property of their fathers during the lifetime of their grandfathers." After a long discussion, in which the point became more obscure than ever, it was gravely resolved to leave the matter to the decision of a duel. An equal number of combatants, chosen on both sides, entered the lists; the champions of the children prevailed, and from thenceforward the law of inheritance was considered to be fixed.

Italy had been raised into a kingdom after the partition of the Carolingian dynasty, and several of its princes had taken the imperial title; but the government of these feeble rulers exposed the peninsula to dreadful calamities; it was harassed by the private wars of the nobles, and devastated by invasions of the Hungarians and Saracens. Adelaide, the widow of Lothaire, king of Italy, menaced with the loss of her dominions by Berenger, or Berengarius the younger, supplicated the aid of Otho, and her request was strenuously supported by Pope John XII. (A.D. 951). Otho passed into Italy, conquered several of the strongest cities, and gave his hand in marriage to the queen whom he had come to protect. Berenger was permitted to retain the crown of Italy on condition of doing homage to Otho; but the tyranny and faithlessness of this prince excited such commotions, that the German sovereign was once more summoned to cross the

Alps by the united entreaties of the Italian princes and prelates. Otho entered Italy at the head of an army which his rival could not resist; he marched directly to Rome, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm (A.D. 962). The pope revived in his favour the imperial title which had been thirty-eight years in abeyance, proclaimed him Augustus, crowned him emperor of the Romans, and acknowledged him Supreme Head of the Church. But the pontiff's gratitude was not of long duration; enraged by the emperor's remonstrances against his vicious courses, he took advantage of Otho's absence in pursuit of Berenger to enter into alliance with Adelbert, the son of his ancient enemy, and to form a secret league for the expulsion of the Germans from Italy.

Otho heard the intelligence of John's treachery with great indignation; he returned to Rome, held a council, in which the pope was accused of the most scandalous immoralities, and on his refusal to appear, he was condemned as contumacious, deposed, and a new pontiff, Leo VIII., elected in his stead. All Italy, as far as the ancient kingdom of the Lombards extended, thus fell under the sway of the Germans; there were only some maritime places in Lower Italy which, with Apulia and Calabria, still remained subject to the Greeks. Otho transmitted this kingdom, with the imperial dignity, to his successors on the German throne; but from his reign to that of Maximilian I., no prince took the title of emperor until he had been consecrated by the pope. Maximilian designated himself "Emperor Elect" (A.D. 1508), and his example was followed by his successors down to our times.

Otho I. died after a prosperous reign (A.D. 975), and was succeeded by his son Otho II. His reign was occupied in sanguinary wars, which harassed Germany and Italy. Otho having married the Greek princess Theophano, claimed the provinces of Apulia and Calabria as her dowry. After a tedious struggle, the emperor was mortally wounded by a poisoned javelin in a battle with the Greeks (A.D. 983). His death is said to have been accelerated by indignation at the joy which Theophano showed for the victory of her countrymen, though it was obtained over her own husband.

Otho III., when elected successor to his father, was only twelve years of age; ambitious rivals prepared to dispute his title, but the affection of the Germans for his family enabled him to triumph over all opposition. His authority was more fiercely questioned in Italy, where Crescentius, an ambitious noble, became such a favourite with the Roman populace, that he deposed Pope Gregory, and gave the pontifical dignity to John XVI. Otho hastened to Italy, captured Rome, and put both Crescentius and John to death. These severities did not quell the turbulence of the Italians; fresh insurrections soon compelled the emperor to return to the peninsula, where he was

poisoned by the widow of Crescentius, whom he had seduced under a promise of marriage (A.D. 1002). He died without issue.

After some competition, the electors chose Henry, duke of Bavaria, descended from the Othos in the female line, emperor of the West. His reign was disturbed by repeated insurrections, both in Germany and Italy; he succeeded in quelling them, but was so wearied by these repeated troubles, that he seriously designed to abdicate and retire into a monastery. The clergy took advantage of his piety and liberality to extort from him several rich donations, which proved, in an after age, the cause of much evil. His death (A.D. 1024) put an end to the Saxon dynasty.

Conrad II., duke of Franconia, being chosen by the electors, united the kingdom of Burgundy, or, as it was called, Arles, to the empire. But this was an acquisition of little real value; the great vassals of the kingdom, the counts and the bishops, preserved the authority they had usurped in their respective districts, leaving to the emperors a merely nominal sovereignty. It is even probable that the high authority possessed by the Burgundian lords, induced the German nobles to arrogate to themselves the same prerogatives. The power of the clergy was increasing even more rapidly than that of the nobles, for they extorted fresh privileges and grants from every successive sovereign; Conrad, who was naturally of a generous disposition¹, impoverished the state by imitating the unwise liberality of his predecessors. Italy, during his reign and that of Conrad's son and successor, Henry III., continued to be distracted by rival factions; but Henry was an energetic supporter of the imperial authority; he deposed three rival popes, who claimed succession to St. Peter at the same time, and gave the pontifical chair to a German prelate, Clement II. He even exacted an oath from the Romans, that they would never elect a pope without having previously received the imperial sanction. The imperial power, wielded by an energetic monarch like Henry, was still formidable, but its resources were exhausted; and when a feeble sovereign attempted to exercise the sway over the church which his father had held, he found the papacy stronger than the empire.

The great struggle between the papal and imperial power began in the reign of Henry IV., whose long minority, for he succeeded his father when only five years old, necessarily weakened the influence of the sovereign. On the other hand, the circumstances of Europe, at this crisis, were peculiarly favourable to the policy of the popes. The Saxon line, restored in England by Edward the Confessor, had lost its nationality: Edward conferred the chief ecclesiastical dignities of his

¹ Many remarkable anecdotes are related of the imperial service, Conrad ordered that his of Conrad's generosity; one deserves to be boot should be filled with gold coins, to defray recorded. A gentlemen having lost his leg in the expenses of his cure.

kingdom on foreigners, or persons remarkable for their foreign attachments; and thus those who wielded the power of the church in the island, were more like missionaries, labouring for the benefit of a distant see, than clergymen, attentive only to their flocks. In Spain, the new provinces wrested from the Moors, when the unity of their empire was destroyed by the subversion of the Omniade Khaliphs, became closely attached to the Roman See. The spread of Christianity in Norway, Poland, Russia, and the other northern states, gave additional vigour to the papal power; for the Northerners, with all the zeal of new converts, became eager to prove their sincerity by some enterprise in support of the pontiff, whom they regarded as the great director of their faith.

But the most potent allies obtained by the Church were the Normans of England and Italy. William, the natural son of Robert, duke of Normandy, had been nominated heir of the English throne by Edward the Confessor, who had no right to make any such appointment. Harold, the son of Godwin, earl of Kent, was the favourite of the English people, and it was generally known that he would be elected to the throne on the death of the Confessor. Unfortunately Harold's brother was detained as a hostage in Normandy, and in spite of the warnings of King Edward, he crossed the sea in order to obtain his deliverance. The vessel in which the Saxon chief crossed the Channel was wrecked near the mouth of the Somme, and, according to the barbarous custom of the age, the court of Ponthieu seized upon the shipwrecked strangers, and threw them into prison, for the purpose of obtaining large ransom. Harold and his companions appealed to Duke William, who procured their liberation, and invited them to his court. A grand council of the Norman prelates and nobles was then convoked, in whose presence William required Harold to swear that he would support with all his might William's succession to the crown of England, so soon as a vacancy should be created by the death of Edward. Harold's life was in the duke's power, and he consented to take the oath, secretly resolving to violate its obligations. But an artifice was employed, which, in that superstitious age, was supposed to give the oath such sanctity as to render its violation an inextinguishable crime. By the duke's orders, a chest was secretly conveyed into the place of meeting, filled with the bones and relics of the saints most honoured in the surrounding country, and covered with a cloth of gold. A missal was laid upon the cloth, and at William's summons Harold came forward and took the required oath, the whole assembly joining in the imprecation, "So help you God, at his holy doom." When the ceremony was concluded, the cloth of gold was removed, and Harold shuddered with superstitious horror when he found that his oath had been taken on the relics of saints and martyrs.

On Edward's death, Harold, notwithstanding his oath, allowed

himself to be elected king by the English nobles and people; but the papal clergy refused to recognise his title, the pope issued a bull excommunicating Harold and his adherents, which he sent to Duke William, accompanied by a consecrated banner, and a ring, said to have contained one of St. Peter's hairs set under a valuable diamond. Thus supported by the superstitious feelings of the period, William found no difficulty in levying a numerous army, with which he passed over into England. The fate of the kingdom was decided by the battle of Hastings, in which Harold and his bravest soldiers fell. William found little difficulty in completing the conquest of England, into which he introduced the inheritance of fiefs, and the severities of the feudal law. He deprived the native English nobles of their estates, which he shared amongst his own needy and rapacious followers, and he treated his new subjects with more than the cruelty that barbarous conquerors usually display towards the vanquished.

About the same time, some Norman adventurers laid the foundation of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, in southern Europe. The provinces that compose it were shared among the Lombard feudatories of the empire, the Greeks, and the Saracens, who harassed each other with mutual wars. About a hundred Normans landing on the coast (A.D. 1016), offered their services to the Lombard princes, and displayed so much valour, that they obtained from the duke of Naples a grant of territory, where they built the city of Aversa. Encouraged by their success, Tancred, with another body of Norman adventurers, undertook the conquest of Apulia, which was completed by his son, Robert Guiscard. This warrior subdued Calabria also, and took the title of duke of both provinces. To secure his possessions, he entered into alliance with the pope, securing to the pontiff homage, and an annual tribute, on condition of receiving investiture. Nicholas II., who then filled the chair of St. Peter, willingly ratified a treaty by which the papacy gained important advantages, at the price of an empty title; he stimulated Guiscard to undertake the conquest of Sicily also, an enterprise in which that adventurer completely succeeded. Thus, at the moment that the papacy was about to struggle for power with the empire, the former had been strengthened by the accession of powerful allies and vassals, while the latter had given away the greater part of its strength by the alienation of its domains, to gratify the Church, or to win the favour of feudatories whose influence was already formidable.

SECTION IV.—*State of the East from the Establishment to the Overthrow of the Khaliphate.*

THE history of the Byzantine empire, in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, is little better than a tissue of usurpation, fanaticism, and perfidy. "Externally surrounded by foes, superior in numbers, in discipline, and in valour, it seemed as if its safety was guaranteed by cowardice, and its security confirmed by defeat. Internally were at work all the causes that usually effect the destruction of states:—dishonour and profligacy triumphant in the palace;—ferocious bigotry, based at once on enthusiasm and hypocrisy, ruling the church;—civil dissensions, equally senseless and bloody, distracting the state;—complete demoralization pervading every rank, from the court to the cottage;—so that its existence seemed owing to the antagonising effect of the causes that singly produce the ruin of empires." In the tenth century these causes seemed to have reached their consummation; emperor after emperor perished by poison, or the dagger of the assassin; parricide and fratricide were crimes of such ordinary occurrence, that they ceased to excite feelings of horror or disgust. Theological disputes, about questions that pass the limits of human knowledge, and a jealous rivalry between the patriarch of Constantinople and the pope of Rome, produced a division between the Eastern and Western churches, which the disputes respecting the Bulgarians aggravated into a formal schism. These barbarians were converted to Christianity by Greek and Latin missionaries; the patriarch and the pope contended for the patronage of the new ecclesiastical establishments; the Greeks prevailed in the contest, and forthwith banished their Latin adversaries, while the court of Rome took revenge by describing the Greeks as worse than the worst of the heathen. A brief display of vigour by Nicephorus, Phocas, and John Zimisce, arrested the progress of the Saracens, who were forming permanent establishments within sight of Constantinople. But Zimisce was poisoned at the very moment when his piety, courage, and moderation had averted impending ruin, and promised to restore some portion of the empire's former strength and former glory. His feeble successors swayed the sceptre with unsteady hands, at a time when the empire was attacked by the fiercest enemies it had yet encountered, the Normans in Sicily, and the Seljukian Turks in Asia Minor.

The names Turk and Tartar are loosely given to the inhabitants of those regions which ancient authors included under the designation of Scythia. Their uncivilized tribes possessed the countries north of the Caucasus and east of the Caspian, from the river Oxus to the wall of China: hordes issuing from these wide plains had frequently devastated the empire of Persia, and more than once placed a new race of sovereigns on the throne. It was not, however, until the

eighth century that they themselves were invaded in turn; the Saracens, in the first burst of their enthusiasm, passed the Oxus, subdued Kharasm and Transoxiana, and imposed the religion and law of Mohammed on a race of warriors more fiery and zealous than themselves. Soon after the establishment of the khaliphate at Bagdad, the Saracenic empire began to be dismembered, as we have already stated, and the khaliphs, alarmed by the revolt of their armies, and surrounded only by subjects devoted to the arts of peace, began to entrust the guard of their persons and their capital to foreign mercenaries. Al Moutassem was the first who levied a Turkish army to protect his states (A.D. 833); and even during his reign, much inconvenience was felt from the pride and insolence of soldiers unconnected with the soil they were employed to defend. The evil went on daily increasing, until the emirs, or Turkish commanders, usurped all the real authority of the state, leaving to the khaliphs the outward show and gewgaws of sovereignty, with empty titles, whose pomp was increased as the authority they pretended to represent was diminished. The revolution was completed in the reign of El Khadi (A.D. 936); hoping to arrest the progress of the revolution, he created a new minister, called the Emir-al-Omra¹, to whom far greater powers were given than had been entrusted to the ancient viziers. This, as might have been expected, aggravated the evil it was designed to prevent. The family of the Bowides, so called from their ancestor Buyáh, usurped this high office and the sovereignty of Bagdad; the khaliph was deprived of all temporal authority, and was regarded simply as the chief Imán, or pontiff of the Mohammedan faith.

Such was the state of the khaliphate, when a new horde from the interior of Turkistán appeared to change the entire face of Asia. This horde, deriving its name from Seljúk, one of its most renowned chiefs, was invited to cross the Oxus by the Ghaznevid² sultans³, who had already established a powerful kingdom in the east of Persia, and subdued the north of Hindostan. The Seljúkians finding the pasturages of Khorassan far superior to those of their native country, invited new colonies to the fertile land; they soon became so powerful that Togrul

¹ "Lord of the lords," or "Commander of the commanders."

² The Ghaznevid dynasty was founded by Sebektágén, who is said to have been originally a slave (A.D. 977). But his fame is eclipsed by that of his son Mahmúd, whose conquests in northern India rival those of a hero of romance. His desire of conquest was rendered more terrible to those he attacked by his cruel bigotry, for in every country that he subdued, the horrors of war were increased by those of religious persecution. At his death, the empire of Ghizni included a great part of Persia, Afghanistan, and northern India, to

the provinces of Bengal and the Deccan. But the rise of this great dynasty was not more rapid than its downfall, which we may date from the death of that monarch, to whom it owes all its lustre in the page of history (A.D. 1028). Little more than a century after Mohammed's death, the last of the Ghaznevids was deposed by Mohammed Gouri, the founder of a new dynasty, equally transitory as that which it displaced.

³ The title of Sultan, which in the Chaldaic and Arabic languages signifies a sovereign, was first assumed by the Ghaznevid princes.

Beg proclaimed himself a sultan, and seized several of the best provinces belonging to the khaliphate. Finally, having taken Bagdad, he became master of the khaliph's person (A.D. 1055) and succeeded to the power which had formerly been possessed by the Bowides. Togrul transmitted his authority to his nephew and heir, the formidable Alp Arslan⁴. This prince renewed the war against the Greek empire, obtained a signal victory over its forces in Armenia, and took the emperor, Romanus Diogenes, prisoner (A.D. 1070). The distractions produced by this event in the Byzantine dominions, enabled the Turks not only to expel the Greeks from Syria, but also to seize some of the finest provinces in Asia Minor.

Under Malek Shah, the son and successor of Alp Arslan, the Seljukian monarchy touched the summit of its greatness. This wise prince extended his dominions from the Mediterranean to the wall of China. Guided by the wise counsels of the vizier, Nezam-al-Mulk, the sultan ruled this mighty empire with great justice and moderation, Asia enjoyed tranquillity, to which it had been long unaccustomed, and learning and civilization began to revive.

In the midst of this prosperity, a circumstance occurred, which, though little noticed at the time, became the source of unparalleled misfortunes to the East. This was the seizure of the mountain-castle of Alamút, and the foundation of the order of the Assassins, by Hassan Sabah. This formidable enthusiast had become a convert to the Ismaëlian doctrines, in which the creed of Islam was mingled with the darker and more gloomy superstitions of Asiatic paganism. His followers, persuaded that obedience to the commands of their chief would ensure their eternal felicity, never hesitated to encounter any danger in order to remove his enemies. Emissaries from the formidable Sheikh al Jebal⁵ went in disguise to palaces and private houses, watching the favourable opportunity of striking the blow, to those who had provoked the hostility of their grand master. So dreadful was this scourge, that Oriental historians, during a long period of their annals, terminate their account of each year with a list of the men of note who had fallen victims during its course to the daggers of the assassins. After the death of Malek Shah (A.D. 1092), disputes arose between his sons, which led to sanguinary civil wars, and the dismemberment of the empire. Three powerful sultanies were formed from its fragments, namely Iran, Kerman, and Rúm, or Iconium. That of Iran was the most powerful, for it possessed the rich provinces of Upper Asia, but its greatness soon declined. The emirs, or governors of cities and provinces, threw off their allegiance, and under the

⁴ His name signifies the Conquering Lion. | name is commonly translated "Old Man of
⁵ "Lord of the Mountain;" from the equi- | the Mountain."
vocal sense of the Arabic word *Sheikh*, the

modest title of Atta-begs⁶, exercised sovereign authority. The Seljûkians of Rûm, known to the crusaders as the sultans of Nice, or Iconium⁷, were first raised into notice by Soleiman. Their history is important only from its connexion with that of the crusadës. These divisions were the cause of the success which attended the early wars of the Christians in Palestine, and of the qualified independence of the late khaliphs, who shook off the Seljûkian yoke, and established themselves in the sovereignty of Irak Arabi, or the province of Bagdad.

CHAPTER IV.

GROWTH OF THE PAPAL POWER.

SECTION 1.—*The Origin of the Papacy.*

THERE is nothing more remarkable in the clerical organization of Christianity at its first institution, than its adaptation to all times and all circumstances. Without entering into any controverted question, we may generally state, that in the infant Church, provision was made for self-government on the one hand, and general superintendence on the other; and that, before the Gospel was preached beyond the bounds of Judæa, the two great principles of the independence of national churches, and the authority of a council to ensure the unity of the faith, were fully recognised. Infidels have endeavoured to trace the form of church government to Constantine, though the slightest glance at the history of the preceding age suffices to prove that the ecclesiastical constitution was, long before that emperor's accession, perfected in all its parts. The management belonged to the local priesthood, the government to the bishops, the superintendence of all to the council. This is the general outline of the apostolic model, and we may see in it one mark, at least, of a more than human origin, its capability of unlimited expansion.

The best institutions are open to abuse, and the Christian clergy were exposed to two different lines of temptation, both, however, tending to the same point, acquisition of power. The emperors of Constantinople endeavoured to make the clergy their instruments in establishing a perfect despotism, while the people looked upon their spiritual guides as their natural protectors against the oppressions of their temporal rulers. Under these circumstances, episcopacy formed a new

⁶ *Atta-beg* is a Turkish word, and signifies "father or guardian of the prince."

⁷ Cogni, or Iconium, is a city of Lycaonia,

which these sultans made their capital, after Nice had been taken by the crusaders.

power in the empire, a power continually extending, because it was soon obvious that a common faith was the only bond which would hold together nations differing in language, institutions, and blood. But this political use of Christianity naturally suggested a gross and dangerous perversion of its first principles; when unity of faith appeared to be of such great value, it was natural that toleration should be refused to any great difference of opinion, and consequently, persecuting edicts were issued against paganism and heresy. This false step led to a still more dangerous confusion between spiritual and temporal power; when ecclesiastical censures produced civil consequences the priest was identified with the magistrate, and every hour it became more difficult to separate their functions. In the decline of the empire, also, the temporal power was deservedly hated and despised; a profligate court, a venal magistracy, and a cowardly soldiery, constituted the ordinary materials of the imperial government; and compared with these, the sacerdotal body, in the worst stage of its degradation, had powerful claims to respect if not to esteem.

It is of importance to remember that the corruption of the episcopal power was produced by the general corruption of the empire, and, consequently, instead of furnishing an argument against episcopacy as an institution, it may rather be urged as a proof of its excellence. The Church had fallen, indeed, from its original purity, but the State was a mass of unmixed evils; ecclesiastical power was frequently abused, but the temporal authorities scarcely went right by accident; whatever principles of justice and rectitude remained in the world, owed their conservation to the Christian clergy; and to the examples of ecclesiastical traffic, there might easily be opposed a longer and more honourable list of instances, in which bishops supported the dignity of their order, by protecting the interests of morality against the craft of courtiers and the vices of sovereigns.

While the discipline of the Church was injured by the clergy having temporal power forced upon them,—in the first instance at least,—without their solicitation, the doctrines of Christianity were corrupted by a practice arising from the best feelings of our nature. The saints and martyrs who had faced danger, torture and death, to promulgate Christianity, were remembered with just gratitude, when that religion became triumphant. Their bones were removed from unhonoured graves to tombs more worthy of their virtues, and a generation enjoying the advantages that their toils and their blood had purchased, testified its thankfulness by rich offerings at their shrines. Thus the avaricious and the designing were tempted to multiply the number of relics, and to exaggerate their importance, until the feeling of thankful reverence was gradually changed into one of religious adoration. These steps in the progress of error were easy, they were likewise profitable; crafty men propagated stories of miracles wrought

at the tombs of the martyrs, prayers were soon addressed to persons supposed to be possessed of such supernatural powers, the invocation of saints and the worship of relics naturally led to the introduction of images and pictures, and to the revival of many pagan ceremonies, which had, perhaps, never fallen into complete oblivion.

But an ecclesiastical establishment must not bear the entire blame of the introduction of image-worship into the Christian Church. The desire of possessing representations of those whom we venerate is natural to the human mind, and in an age of ignorance, the symbols of a creed were found useful aids in teaching the multitude the historical facts of Christianity. It must, however, be observed that the ignorance and credulity of the laity had a far greater share in leading to a corrupt use of images, than the craft of the clergy; the perversion was in many, perhaps in most, instances, forced upon the priesthood by the flock, and it was still further supported by the monastic bodies, which have, in every age, been the most prominent among the originators and supporters of every superstition.

It is unnecessary to enter here into any investigation of the origin of monastic institutions. They appear to have begun in Egypt, the fruitful parent of religious corruptions, and to have been imitations of Eastern pagan practices. The hermits, monks, and anchorets, professed to resign their property, and all care of temporal affairs, in order to devote themselves exclusively to the contemplation of heavenly things. The sacrifices they made were remunerated by the fame they acquired; it was said that their divine philosophy, acquired by simple meditation, surpassed the highest exertions of science and reason. Their popularity opened to them the road to power, and many of these hermits were violently placed on the episcopal throne; the chief bishoprics began to be filled from the monasteries, and it was discovered that the vow of voluntary poverty opened a sure road to wealth and power. The monks owed their influence to delusion, and could only retain it by the same means; they propagated countless stories of the miracles wrought by hermits and ascetics, they added a fresh host to the catalogue of the Christian saints, they extended everywhere the practice of image-worship, they corrupted the evidence of history, they substituted for the Gospels a host of idle legends, which display the fiction without the graces of poetry.

The monastics were the first who introduced what is called the voluntary principle, into the Christian Church; they were also the first to allow self-ordained instructors to interfere with the duties of the proper pastors. Fanaticism and superstition were the necessary results of these disturbing forces, and by none was the progress of evil more seriously lamented, than by the parochial clergy and the regular bishops.

The charge of idolatry was justly urged against the Christian

Church in the beginning of the eighth century, both by the Jews and the Mohammedans. The latter were far the more formidable, for to the arguments of truth they added the weight of victory. There was scarcely an Eastern city which was not fortified by the possession of some miraculous image, supposed to be the palladium of its safety; but in spite of this protection they had fallen, one after the other, into the hands of the Mussulmans. Ashamed of the reproaches they encountered and convinced practically of the inefficiency of these objects of their devotion, many of the Eastern bishops began to oppose the worship of images, but their exertions were rendered unavailing by the influence and obstinacy of the monks, until Leo the Isaurian ascended the throne of Constantinople.

A fierce struggle ensued: the Iconoclasts, as the opposers of images were called, made a vigorous effort to restore the purity of the Christian worship, and at the Synod of Constantinople (A.D. 754) three hundred and thirty-eight bishops pronounced and subscribed a unanimous decree, "that all visible symbols of Christ, except in the eucharist, were either blasphemous or heretical; that image-worship was a corruption of Christianity, and a revival of paganism; that all such monuments of idolatry should be broken or erased; and that those who should refuse to give up the objects of their private superstition should be deemed guilty of disobedience to the authority of the Church and of the emperor."

The enemies of the Iconoclasts have spared no terms of reproach in denouncing the proceedings of this synod, but an impartial view of the authentic relics of its proceedings, which have been preserved, proves that its members displayed more of reason and piety than could have been expected in their age. They seem, indeed, to have felt that they were fighting the battle of episcopacy against monachism, and that the safety of their order was compromised by the assumptions of volunteer instructors; but they made no direct attack upon monastic institutions, and only assailed the abuses which they encouraged.

Six successive emperors supported the cause of reason and religion against idolatry in the eastern Church, but the worshippers of images finally triumphed. Still, down to a very late period, there were prelates in the East who resisted the corruption, and the Armenians especially refused to admit images into their churches even in the twelfth century. But the contest was decided much sooner in Western Europe, by the promptitude with which Pope Gregory II. appealed to arms against his sovereign and the Iconoclasts. The ambitious pontiff found sufficient support in the national enmity between the Greeks and Latins; he had the art to persuade the Italians that there was some connexion between the new superstition and their hereditary glory; and that, while they supported the worship of images they were imposing a necessary restraint on Byzantine tyranny. The

Lombards embraced the religious pretext to expel the Greeks from Italy, but the pope finding that the conquerors were anxious to impose a yoke upon him more grievous than that which had just been shaken off, invoked the assistance of the Franks. Supported by the arms of Pepin and Charlemagne, the popes maintained the independence of the Roman territories, and were thus raised to the rank of temporal princes. Grateful for the aid they received, the pontiffs, as has been already mentioned, decided that it was lawful for the Franks to depose an imbecile sovereign, and substitute in his place one who had proved an able protector of the state, and a generous benefactor to the Church; and in consequence of this sentence, Pepin was solemnly crowned at Paris.

The proper history of the papacy begins at this union of temporal and spiritual jurisdiction. Three transactions combined to give it form, the revolt against Leo, the establishment of the Roman principality, and the coronation of Pepin. In the first of these, the popes were hurried forward by circumstances to lengths which they had not anticipated; neither the second nor third Gregory wished to destroy completely the power of the Byzantine emperor, and they continued to acknowledge the successors of Constantine as their rulers, until the Lombards subverted the exarchate of Ravenna. But in spite of their moderation, real or affected, they had established to some extent the dangerous precedent, that the heresy of a sovereign justifies a withdrawal of allegiance in his subjects, though they themselves never asserted such a principle, and indeed seem never to have contemplated it.

The independence of the Roman principality, and the establishment of the pope as a temporal sovereign, necessarily resulted from the dread which the Latins, but especially the Romans, had of the Lombards. It was impossible to revert to the sovereigns of Constantinople; independent of the unpopularity produced by their Iconoclast propensities, they wanted the power of retaining the Italian provinces, even if the government had been offered them; there was no choice between the assertion of independence and submission to the Lombards; there were no materials for constructing a national government outside the precincts of the Church, and the popes consequently became princes by the pressure of a necessity which was confessed by the unanimous consent of their subjects.

In sanctioning the usurpation of Pepin, Pope Zachary pronounced his opinion more as a statesman than a prelate. There was an obvious expediency for dethroning the weak Chilperic, and giving the title of king to him who really exercised the functions of royalty. There was nothing authoritative in the sentence,—it did not command the Franks to dethrone one king and elect another,—it merely declared that considerations of public safety justified a people in changing its rulers: it did nothing new, but it ratified what had been done already. But the

new dynasty eagerly sought in the proceeding for a confirmation of their defective title; it was Pepin and his friends, rather than the pontiff, who perverted the opinion of a casuist into the sentence of a judge and the oracle of a prophet.

Thus popery, like most human institutions, was founded on opinions in which truth and falsehood were strangely mixed; and it is fortunately easy to separate the parts. In rejecting the Byzantine yoke, the popes asserted a right to resist, but not to depose, sovereigns; in becoming temporal princes, they declared that there could be a union between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, but not that they were necessarily connected, and still less that they were inherited of right by the successors of St. Peter; finally, in the most equivocal case, the sanction of Pepin's election, the pope put forward the expediency of having an intelligent umpire to decide in cases of a dispute, not that he was necessarily that umpire, and still less that he had authority to act as supreme judge in a court of appeal. It is sufficiently obvious, however, that the truths are easily capable of being perverted into the falsehoods, and that there were strong temptations to the change. Ere a generation had passed away, the truths sank into oblivion, and the falsehoods were everywhere proclaimed as the true foundation of the papal system.

SECTION II.—*The early development of the Political System of the Papacy.*

THE Iconoclast controversy, and the mutual obligations of the popes and the Carolingian family, form the important links between ancient and modern history, as well as between civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Pepin recognised the pope's arbitration as an authoritative act, though, as we have seen, it was merely an opinion founded on expediency, and furthermore might have been justified on constitutional grounds, for the monarchy of the Franks was originally elective, and the principle of hereditary right was an innovation gradually introduced by the successors of Clovis. But Pepin naturally felt that he would weaken the title of his sons to the succession, if he rested his claims on popular election; and he was therefore anxious to invest his dynasty with the mysterious sanction of religion. It is doubtful whether the Roman pontiffs foresaw the importance of the measures they adopted, but prudence and prophecy united could scarcely have suggested better means for extending the papal power. They revived the Jewish ceremonial of anointing kings; and Pepin, as well as his successors, regarded this ceremony as an assertion of a divine right to the crown; while the popes represented it, not as a simple recognition, but almost an appointment of the sovereign. Both the kings and the pontiffs

shared in a profitable fraud, which gave security to the one, and power to the other; the Frank nobles murmured, without being able to discover the exact nature of the principles which destroyed for the future their ancient rights of election, though these principles were very intelligibly expressed by a new effort of Pope Stephen to gratify the new dynasty. Pressed by his enemies in Italy, Stephen III. sought Pepin's court to obtain aid, and gratified the monarch by solemnly crowning both his sons. In Pepin's case, the coronation had followed the election, and might have been regarded as a confirmation of the people's choice; but, in the second instance it was a substitute for election; and thus the popular rights were abolished almost at the moment that they were most strongly asserted. Royalty and popery gained, but not in equal proportions; for though the principles of divine right and inheritance by descent were established for kings, the higher power of pronouncing on these rights was reserved for the pontiffs.

The Carolingians, grateful for the security thus given to their title, enlarged the papal dominions by territories wrested from the Lombard kingdom,—the Greek exarchate. To secure these acquisitions, the pontiffs had recourse to a more daring fraud than any they had yet perpetrated; a forged deed was produced, purporting to be a donation from the first Christian emperor, Constantine, to the successors of St. Peter, of the sovereignty over Rome, Italy, and the western provinces. Thus the gift of the French monarch was made to appear the restitution of ancient possessions, and the temporal power of the popes, while yet in its infancy, was invested with the sanction of remote antiquity. It is useless to expose the falsehoods of this audacious forgery, which is now condemned by even the most bigoted writers of the Romish church; but in its day it was universally received as valid, and was long regarded as the legal instrument by which the papal power was established.

Adrian I. was the pontiff who first combined the elements of the papacy into a system. He was startled at the very outset by a difficulty which seemed to threaten the foundation of his power. The Greek empress, Irene, who administered the government during the reign of her son, Constantine the Porphyrogenete, re-established the worship of images, and persecuted the Iconoclasts. Adrian, however, was naturally reluctant to return under the Byzantine yoke, and were he even so inclined, he would probably have been prevented by the Romans; the popes had tasted the pleasures of sovereignty, and the people of freedom; neither, therefore, would sacrifice such advantages to the Greeks. A closer union was made with the Franks, though Charles and his bishops had stigmatized the worship of images, and declared that they should be regarded only as objects of reverence. But the pope foresaw that the use of images would soon lead

to their adoration, and he courted Charlemagne as a friend and protector.

Leo III., who succeeded Adrian, sent to Charlemagne the standard of Rome, requesting him to send delegates to receive the allegiance of the Romans. From the latter circumstance it has been rather hastily inferred that the popes acknowledged the sovereignty of Charles; but, in truth, the relations between the pontiffs and the Frank monarchs were purposely left indefinite; any attempt to state them would have shown that the claims of both were irreconcilable, but their mutual interests required that they should combine, and each avoided explanations that might provoke a contest.

Leo soon experienced the benefits of his moderation; driven from Rome by the relatives of the late Pope, he sought refuge among the Franks; and Charlemagne not only sent him back with a powerful escort to his capital, but went thither in person to do him justice. Leo was permitted to purge himself by oath of the crimes laid to his charge, and, in gratitude for his acquittal, he solemnly crowned Charles, Emperor of the West. The ceremony was performed on the festival of Christmas, in the last year of the eighth century; and the pontiff who had so recently stood before his sovereign as a criminal making his defence, now appeared as his superior, conferring on him the highest earthly title by the authority of heaven.

There was obvious danger to papal ambition in the establishment of an empire; the successors of the Cæsars must of necessity have been formidable rivals to the successors of St. Peter; but there were many important advantages to be gained, which did not escape the notice of the crafty pontiffs. The secure enjoyment of their temporal dominions, as the most honourable species of fief or benefice, was obviously an immediate result, but there was a remote one of much greater importance, the change of the precedence, universally conceded to the Romish See, into an acknowledgment of its supremacy.

It is not easy to discover at what time the papacy directly fixed its attention upon destroying the independence of national churches, but assuredly the period was not very remote from that which we have been considering. The contests between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, like those of more modern times between the archbishops of York and Canterbury, were struggles for dignity rather than power. The primacy which Boniface III. assumed, by taking the title of universal bishop, was nothing more than presidency; this was a good foundation for a future claim to supremacy, but there is no proof that any such claim was contemplated by Boniface, and every probability is against the supposition.

But when the independence of nations was compromised by the establishment of an empire, it was very natural that the independence of national churches should also be endangered. In the age of Charle-

magne, law, order, and intelligence, had no sure support but religion: the popular opinion identified with ecclesiastical influence all that society enjoyed or hoped for; it was the bond that held the discordant parts of the empire together, and the emperor joined with the pope in giving it strength and unity.

The death of Charlemagne relieved the pontiffs from the pressure of imperial power; his successor, Louis the Debonnaire, had not strength of mind sufficient to support the weight of empire, while the popes stood ready to grasp the reins of power as they slipped from his hands; they began to exercise their pontifical functions immediately after their election, without waiting for the confirmation of their power, and Louis, embarrassed by nearer dangers, was unable to punish the usurpation. Louis divided his empire among his sons; a fatal error, for in their contests for supremacy the sovereign authority was sacrificed to the feudal lords, and to the spiritual power.

It must, however, be confessed, that the usurpations of the Church, during the sanguinary wars between the successors of Charlemagne, were almost rendered necessary by the circumstances of the time. The competitors for empire were weak and cruel, the profligacy of the feudal lords was only equalled by their ignorance, and the Church alone preserved the semblance of justice. The clergy of all ranks profited by the popular opinion in their favour; usurpation followed usurpation without provoking opposition: Charles the Bald acknowledged the right of the bishops to depose him, and the bishops of his council bound themselves by a canon to remain united, "for the correction of kings, the nobility, and the people." This gross assumption was applauded by the laity, at once ignorant, wicked, and devout: it was felt by all parties that supreme power should exist somewhere; kings, nobles, and commons equally felt the want, and, in a greater or less degree, the consciousness that it could not safely be entrusted to themselves. Nicholas I., more bold than any of his predecessors, constituted himself the judge of bishops and kings; he deposed the archbishop of Ravenna for asserting his independence, and would not permit him to be restored until he acknowledged himself a vassal of the holy see; he even cited the king of Lorraine to appear before his tribunal (A.D. 860). Lothaire, king of Lorraine, had divorced his first wife, Theutberga, on a charge of adultery, and, by the advice of his council, chosen a beautiful young lady, called Valrade, for his second queen. The pope annulled the second marriage, and compelled Lothaire to take back his first wife; he persevered in enforcing his edict, even after Theutberga herself had submitted to the pretensions of her rival.

Adrian II. was chosen successor to Nicholas: the imperial ambassadors were excluded from the election, and their remonstrances treated with neglect. He interfered on the side of justice, to secure

the inheritance of Lorraine for the emperor Louis II., but the pontiff was foiled by the firmness of Charles the Bald, and his claims to decide between the competitors refuted by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims. Adrian resolved to conciliate the prince whom he could not subdue, and won Charles to submission by promising him the succession to the empire. This project was executed by Adrian's successor, John VIII.; finding that the king of France was determined to have the title of emperor on any terms, he made him stipulate to acknowledge the independence of Rome and its territory, and to confess that he only held the empire by the gift of the pope.

In an assembly held at Pavia (A.D. 878), Charles was recognised by the Italian prelates and nobles, in the following memorable words: "Since the Divine favour, through the merits of the holy apostles and of their vicar Pope John, has raised you to the empire, according to the judgment of the Holy Ghost, we elect you unanimously for our protector and lord." The pontiff by no means suffered Charles to forget that the empire was his gift: when the Saracens invaded Italy, he wrote to Charles, reproaching him for his delay in affording succour, and desiring him "to remember the hand that had given him the empire, lest, if driven to despair, we should change our opinion."

But while the popes were thus triumphant over the emperors, they were severely harassed by the turbulent feudal lords, who had taken advantage of the weakness of their sovereign, to establish a virtual independence. They interfered in the pontifical elections, and generally controlled them; they insulted, imprisoned, and murdered the pontiffs; while the claims of the apostolic see to complete supremacy were tacitly acknowledged throughout Europe, it was itself held in disgraceful servitude by petty tyrants. Two infamous prostitutes, by their influence with the profligate nobles, procured the throne of St. Peter for their paramours, and their illegitimate children; and the disorders of the Church finally attained such a height that the imperial power was once more raised above the papal, and Pope John XII. deposed by the Emperor Otho.

The vices of this dark period are not justly attributable to popery; they were the result of feudalism, and so far as the papal system was able to exert any influence, it was employed in counteracting these evils. The great error of the pontiffs was, that they did not arrange a judicious plan for elections; they left their power thus exposed to the disturbances of a disputed succession which had already proved fatal to the imperial power: had the arrangements been such as to prevent any lay interference, ecclesiastical influence would have gone on increasing without interruption. But the vice and violence of the Roman nobles rendered popery, as a system, for a time inoperative, and prevented a Nicholas from anticipating a Hildebrand.

SECTION III.—*The Struggle for Supremacy between the Popes and Emperors.*

OTHO, deservedly called the Great, was the third emperor of Germany, elected by the suffrages of the German princes. His high character pointed him out to Pope John XII. as a proper protector for the Church and the republic, against the fierce nobles of Lombardy, but especially against Berengarius, who claimed the kingdom of Italy. Otho crossed the Alps, tranquillized Italy, and was rewarded with the iron crown of Lombardy, and the revived title of Emperor of the West. But both the pope and the Romans were jealous of their benefactor, and even during the ceremony of his coronation, Otho had to take precautions against the daggers of assassins. John soon found that the German emperor was not content with an empty title; enraged at the progress of the imperial authority, he entered into a secret compact with Adelbert, the son of his ancient enemy, to expel foreigners from Italy, and, at the same time, he invited the Hungarians to invade Germany.

Otho promptly returned to Italy, and having entered Rome, he compelled the nobles and people to renew their oath of allegiance. He then summoned a council for the trial of Pope John, whose immoralities were flagrant and notorious. The charges against the pontiff contained a dreadful catalogue of crimes, but we cannot vouch for the integrity of the witnesses, or the impartiality of the court. There is, however, no doubt, that John was a licentious profligate, whose vices not only disgraced his station, but were shocking to humanity. The pope refusing to appear before the tribunal, was condemned as contumacious, after having been twice summoned in vain. Leo VIII. was elected to the papacy, in the room of John, and he not only took an oath of obedience and fidelity to the emperor, but issued a bull, ordaining that Otho and his successors should have a right of appointing the popes, and investing bishops and archbishops; and that none should dare to consecrate a bishop without the permission of the emperor.

This fatal blow to the papacy was unpopular with the bishops; they complained that Leo had subverted, at one blow, the structure which his predecessors had toiled to raise during two centuries. When John, after the emperor's departure, returned to Rome, he easily procured the deposition of Leo, and the acknowledgment of his own claims. The restored pope began to exercise great cruelties against his opponents; but in the midst of his career, he was assassinated by a young nobleman, whom he had rivalled in the affections of his mistress. Such horror had this pontiff's crimes inspired, that many of the Romans believed that Satan in proper person had struck the fatal

blow which sent him to his dread account, "with all his imperfections on his head."

The adherents of John still refused to acknowledge Leo, and without consulting the emperor, they chose Benedict to succeed the murdered pontiff. But the return of Otho threw them into confusion: Benedict hastily tendered his submission to Leo, by whom he was banished; and the Roman nobility and clergy promised the emperor, that they would never confer the papal dignity on any but a native of Germany. On the death of Leo, the electors, obedient to their promise, chose John XIII. by the emperor's permission. The pope was too grateful to his sovereign, to resist the encroachments of the imperial power on the city and the Church: the turbulent Romans revolted and threw John into prison, but Otho soon came to suppress these disturbances. He restored John, and severely punished the authors of the revolt. Thus the political system of popery seemed utterly ruined, the pontiff ruled the Roman states as a lieutenant instead of a prince, and far from being regarded as the supreme umpire of monarchs, he was reduced to the condition of a subject.

We have seen that the papacy owed its first success to the national hatred between the Latins and the Byzantines; strength for a new struggle to retrieve its fortunes was derived from the animosity with which the Germans were regarded by the Italians. The death of Otho (A.D. 973), was the signal for new convulsions in Italy; the feudal lords aimed at independence, the cities tried to establish freedom; Pope John tried to uphold the imperial cause, but he was arrested by Cincius, the head of the popular party, and strangled in prison.

Cincius and his faction chose Boniface VII. for their spiritual head; the aristocratic party, headed by the counts of Tuscany, elected Benedict VII.; the former was soon driven from the capital; he sought shelter at Constantinople, where he strenuously urged the Greek emperors to invade Italy. These princes took his advice, and, uniting themselves with the Saracens, subdued Apulia and Calabria. Otho II. vanquished these enemies; but when he returned to Germany, Boniface came back to Italy, made himself master of Rome, and threw his rival into a prison, where he was starved to death. Four months afterwards, the murderer died suddenly, and was succeeded by John XV.

So low had the papacy now sunk, that the entire of John's reign was occupied by a struggle for the government of the city of Rome. Crescentius, an ambitious noble, eager to establish his own despotism under the name of freedom, persuaded the citizens to reject the authority both of the pope and the emperor. Otho II. crushed the revolt, and so firmly established the imperial authority, that he was enabled to nominate one of his creatures successor to John; and the cardinals

received as their head Bruno, a Saxon stranger, who took the title of Gregory V¹.

Crescentius had little trouble in exciting a new insurrection; but the Italians were too feeble to contend with the entire strength of the empire; they were defeated with ruinous loss; their leader was captured and beheaded. On the death of Gregory, Otho nominated Gerbert to the papal dignity, and he was installed under the title of Sylvester II. Although he did not foresee the consequences, Sylvester may be regarded as the first who made any progress in restoring the power of popery. His personal virtues removed the scandal which had long weakened the influence of his see, his patronage of learning restored to the Church its superiority in intelligence, and, through his intimacy with the emperor, he obtained a renewal of the temporal grants which Charlemagne and Pepin had made to his predecessors. The popes now began to support the imperial cause against the turbulent nobles of Italy; in return they were aided by the emperors in their struggles with the Roman princes and citizens; but by this alliance the pontiffs were the principal gainers, for the emperor's attention was distracted by various objects, while the popes were always on the spot to secure the fruit of every victory. So rapidly had their power been retrieved, that when Benedict VIII. crowned the Emperor Henry, to whom he owed the preservation of his dignity, he demanded of his benefactor, before he entered the church, "Will you observe your fidelity to me and my successors in everything?" and the emperor had the weakness to answer in the affirmative.

But the factions of the Roman nobles and citizens prevented the papal power from being consolidated; three rival popes, each remarkable for his scandalous life, shared the revenues of the Church between them (A.D. 1045); they were finally persuaded to resign by John Gratian, a priest of piety and learning, and he was elected to the vacant throne by the title of Gregory VI. The Emperor Henry procured the deposition of Gregory, and the election of Clement II.

The most remarkable of the deposed popes was Benedict IX.; he was the son of a Tusculan count, and was raised to the chair of St. Peter at the early age of ten years. His vices induced the Romans to raise rivals against him; but, supported by the aristocratic faction, he would probably have held his place, had he not been bribed to resign in favour of Gregory. The agent in this transaction was Hildebrand, the son of humble parents, who had raised himself by the force of his abilities and his reputation for piety to high rank in the Church, and commanding influence in the state. Gregory was undoubtedly a better ruler than his immediate predecessors; he expelled the robbers

¹ Every pope changes his name on his accession, in imitation of St. Peter, whom Our Lord called Cephas, or Peter, instead of Simon.

and freebooters who infested the roads around Rome; he opened a secure passage for the pilgrims who wished to visit the shrine of St. Peter, and he vigorously exerted himself to reform the administration of justice. It was imprudent in the Emperor Henry to depose such a man at the instigation of the enemies of order; Clement II. felt great aversion to the proceeding, and very reluctantly consented to his own elevation.

Gregory and Hildebrand, to the great regret of the Italian people, and especially of the citizens of Rome, were driven into exile; they retired to the celebrated monastery of Clugni, where Gregory died of vexation, leaving Hildebrand the heir of his wealth and his resentment. Clement was poisoned by an emissary of Benedict nine months after his consecration; and his successor, Damasus II., shared the same fate. When the news reached Hildebrand, he immediately departed from the imperial court, hoping to have some influence in the nomination of the next pope, but on the road he learned that the Diet at Worms, directed by the emperor, had elected Bruno, bishop of Toul, under the title of Leo IX.

We have now reached an important crisis in the struggle between the papal and the imperial power; the latter had touched the highest point of its greatness, and was destined to fall by the dauntless energies of one man, Hildebrand, the humble monk of Soano by birth, the controller of the destiny of nations by talent and position.

SECTION IV.—*Revival of the Papal Power.*

FROM A.D. 1018 TO A.D. 1070.

WE have seen that papal usurpation began by an attack on the power of the Greek empire, and prevailed over the Byzantine court, because it was supported by the public opinion of Western Europe. To secure its acquisitions, the papacy entered into alliance with the Carlovingian dynasty on terms favourable to both; but in the struggle that followed the partition of Charlemagne's empire, it was shorn of its strength, for the growth of its greatness was too rapid to be permanent. When the nobles of Italy had attained the rank of petty princes, the territorial possessions of the Church naturally excited their cupidity, and when the German emperors had extended their sway beyond the Alps, they felt that a controlling influence in the papal elections was necessary to the permanence of their power. Had both combined, the papacy would have been annihilated, the pope would have been a mere vassal of the emperor, and his temporal dominions would have been rent in sunder by rival princes. But even when the papacy was enslaved, either to aristocratic factions, or

to despotic autocrats, it was secretly collecting materials for its liberation and future triumph. It was generating an opinion which gave the papacy, as an institution, greater strength and surer permanence than it possessed in the days of its former prosperity.

It was under the pressure of the feudal system that the organization of popery was completed and defined; opposed both to princes and emperors, it was thrown for support entirely on the people. By its numerous gradations of rank, the Church of the middle ages linked itself with every class of the community: its bishops were the companions of princes; its priests claimed reverence in the baronial hall; its preaching friars and monks brought consolation to the cottage of the suffering peasant. Great as were the vices of individuals, the organization of the clerical body continued to be respectable, and this was an immense advantage when every other portion of civilized society was a mass of confusion. When the distinction of caste was rigidly established in all the political forms of social life, the Church scarcely knew any aristocracy but that of talent; once received into holy orders, the serf lost all traces of his bondage; he was not merely raised to an equality with the former lord, but he could aspire to dignities which threw those of temporal princes into the shade. The clerical was thus identified with the popular cause, and the bulk of the laity not only received the claims of the priesthood, but gave them additional extension.

Hildebrand was the first who perceived the tendency and the strength of this current, and he probably was sincere in his belief that the Church supplied the only means by which the regeneration of Europe could be effected. Feudalism, the worst of foes to social order, stood opposed to the sovereignty of the monarch and the liberty of the subject; the emperors were too weak, the people too ignorant, to struggle against it; and the wise arrangements of Providence, by which good has been so frequently wrought out of evil, made the revival of popery the instrument by which Europe was rescued from barbarism. Hildebrand's personal character is really a matter of no importance; his measures in the present age would justly subject him to the charge of extravagant ambition and blundering tyranny; but in the eleventh century, every one of these measures was necessary to counteract some evil principle, and milder or more justifiable means would not have been adequate to the occasion. We must not pass sentence on an institution without examining the opinion on which it is founded; and before we judge of the opinion, we must estimate the circumstances by which it was engendered. The disorganized state of Europe produced a strong opinion that some power for appeal and protection should be constituted,—a power with intelligence to guide its decisions, and sanctity to enforce respect for them: the revived papacy seemed an institution suited to these conditions, and

under the circumstances it was capable of being rendered the great instrument for reforming civil society.

Hildebrand's own writings prove that his design was to render the papacy such an institution as we have described; it was indeed a beautiful theory to base power upon intelligence, and concentrate both in the Church. But Hildebrand did not make a discovery which too often has eluded reformers and legislators, that his plan was suited only to peculiar circumstances, that it was only applicable to a period when state power was corrupt and popular intelligence restricted, and that to give it permanence was to extend its duration beyond the period of its utility, and consequently prepare the way for its becoming just as mischievous as the evils it had been devised to counteract.

This general view of the state of society will enable us to form a better judgment of the struggle in which Hildebrand engaged than could be done if we confined ourselves to a simple narrative; we shall now proceed to relate the course adopted by the enterprising monk to exalt the spiritual power.

Leo IX., on whom the emperor, as we have said, conferred the papacy, was a prelate of virtuous principles and strict integrity, but he was a man infirm of purpose, and weak in understanding. Hildebrand was well aware of the advantages that might be derived from the pope's character, and in his first interview he gained such an ascendancy over Leo's mind, that henceforth the pope was a passive instrument in the hands of his adviser. The pontiff naturally dreaded that the circumstance of his having been nominated by the emperor, and elected by a German diet, would render him unpopular in Italy; but Hildebrand smoothed the way, and by his personal influence secured Leo a favourable reception at Rome. This service was rewarded by an accumulation of dignities; Hildebrand soon united in his person the titles and offices of cardinal, sub-deacon, abbot of St. Paul, and keeper of the altar and treasury of St. Peter. The clergy and people of Rome applauded these proceedings, because the favourite had induced Leo to gratify the national vanity, by submitting to the form of a new election immediately after his arrival in the city.

Leo made unremitting exertions to reform the clergy and the manastic orders; but in the fifth year of his reign, he marched against the Normans, who were ravaging the south of Italy, and was unfortunately taken prisoner. Though the conquerors showed every respect to their captive, the misfortune weighed heavily on his proud spirit; and his grief was aggravated by the reproaches of some of his clergy, who condemned him for desecrating his holy office by appearing in arms. He died of a broken heart soon after his liberation, and the deposed Benedict IX. seized the opportunity of reascending the papal throne.

Hildebrand was opposed to the imperial influence, but he hated more intensely the nearer and more dangerous power of the Italian nobles, and therefore he became an active and energetic opponent of their creature Benedict. The monastic orders supported one whom they justly regarded as the pride and ornament of their body, and by their means Hildebrand gained such a commanding influence over the Roman people, that he could truly represent himself to the emperor as their delegate in choosing a new pope. Henry nominated a German bishop to the dignity, who took the name of Victor II., and the cardinal-monk hoped to exercise the same authority in the new reign that he had possessed under Leo IX. The new pope, however, soon became weary of having "a viceroy over him;" he sent his ambitious minister into France with the title of legate, under the honourable pretext of correcting the abuses that had crept into the Gallican Church. Hildebrand performed his task with more rigour than it would have been prudent for a less popular minister to display; he excommunicated several immoral priests and bishops, and even sentenced some monks to death for a breach of their monastic vows. After a year's absence he returned to Rome more powerful than ever, and Victor was content to receive him as his chief adviser and director.

In the mean time the Emperor Henry died, and was succeeded by his son of the same name, who was yet an infant. Hildebrand was too sagacious not to discover the advantage with which the papal power would struggle against the imperial during a minority, and he secretly prepared for the contest. The death of Victor, speedily followed by that of his successor, Stephen IX., delayed, but did not alter, the cardinal-monk's intentions, for circumstances compelled him to appear as an advocate of the imperial authority.

On the death of Stephen, the aristocratic faction, presuming on the minority of the emperor, rushed at night, with a body of armed men, into the Vatican church, where they declared John, bishop of Velitri, one of their body, pope, with the title of Benedict X. Hildebrand received this intelligence as he returned from Germany; it was brought to him by the terrified cardinals and bishops who had fled from Rome; he assembled the fugitives at Sienna, and prevailed upon them to elect the bishop of Florence, who took the name Nicholas II. The emperor's sanction was easily procured for the latter election, and the imperial court was persuaded that it was supporting its own interests when it placed Nicholas upon the papal throne.

Circumstances soon occurred to prove that the Germans had been deluded; Nicholas assembled a council at Rome, in which it was decreed that the cardinals alone should in future have a voice in the election of the pope; but to avoid any open breach with the emperor, a clause was added, reserving to him all due honour and respect. A less equivocal proceeding soon followed; the Normans, who had

settled in the south of Italy, had become more amenable to the Church than they had been in the days of Leo. The lust of conquest was abated, and they were now anxious to obtain some security for their possessions; they therefore tendered their alliance and feudal allegiance to the pope, on condition of his confirming their titles. By the advice of Hildebrand, Nicholas gave to Richard Guiscard the principality of Capua, and granted Robert Guiscard the title of duke, with the investiture of all the lands he had conquered, or should conquer, in Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria.

The pope readily granted that to which he had no right, a proceeding that might have cost him dear, if the old emperor had survived: the Normans, in return, lent their aid to punish the enemies of Nicholas in the Roman territory. The lands of the turbulent aristocracy were ravaged with unsparing cruelty, and it is to the desolation thus produced, that the depopulation of the country round Rome, even at the present day, must be attributed.

While Hildebrand was maturing his plans for re-establishing the papacy, many circumstances occurred, which proved the expediency of establishing a central controlling power in the Church. The ecclesiastics of Milan had been, for nearly two hundred years, independent of the Holy See, and their church had become the scandal of Italy. Benefices were openly sold, immoralities flagrantly practised, until at length a respectable portion of the laity requested the interference of the pope. Peter Damian was sent as a legate to Milan, but the populace, incited by the priests, raised a formidable insurrection, and threatened to murder him for menacing their independence. Peter, undismayed, ascended a pulpit in one of their principal churches, and made such an effective discourse, that the rioters not only submitted, but encouraged him to pursue his task of investigation. The inquiry proved, that nearly every priest in Milan had purchased his preferment, and lived with a concubine. The archbishop, after an obstinate resistance, was brought to confess, that he had transgressed the canons; but he was pardoned by the legate, on condition of swearing, with his clergy, to observe the ecclesiastical rules for the future. Scarcely however, had the legate departed, when the clergy assailed the archbishop for betraying the rights of their church, and compelled him to retract the conditions to which he had so recently sworn. The riot in Milan burst out afresh, and the profligacy of the clergy have been increased by the temporary interruption.

Before Nicholas could make any effort to terminate the disorder, he was seized by a mortal disease; his death made a void in the authorities, and the political aspect of Italy, for the Church party, changed. Alexander II. only brand, set both the emperor and the aristocracy against the reign of this cardinals and bishops, without waiting for the impact of any former pontiff. He transferred the papacy on Anselmo, bishop of Lucca, who faults or to the

Alexander II.; on the other hand, the counts of Tuscany, hoping to recover the lands that had been wrested from them by the Normans, declared that they would support the emperor's right of nomination. The Roman nobles had hitherto owed their partial success to their having supported a national prelate; they soon found that their strength was gone, when they gave their aid to a foreign competitor. Supported by a German and Lombard army, Cadislaus, who had been chosen by the emperor, appeared before the gates of Rome, but the citizens refused him admission. At first the imperialists gained some advantages, but the arrival of Duke Godfrey, with an auxiliary force of Normans, changed the fortunes of the war, and Cadislaus was compelled to make a hasty retreat. He sought refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, where he was closely besieged. Soon afterwards, the young emperor, having been removed by a stratagem from the protection of his mother, was placed under the control of the archbishops of Bremen and Cologne; at their instigation he recognised Alexander as the legitimate pope, and Cadislaus, finding himself abandoned by his principal protector, fled in disguise from the castle of St. Angelo to his native diocese, where he died in obscurity.

During the brief reign of Alexander, Hildebrand was the real governor of the Church. As soon as the war with Cadislaus was ended, he directed his attention to the affairs of Milan, excommunicated the perjured archbishop, and ordering that all the priests who were married, or who lived in concubinage, should be ejected from their cures. Supported by the populace and a large body of the nobles, the papal legate not only enforced this decree, but obtained from the clergy and people a solemn oath, that, for the future, they would hold no election of a bishop valid, unless it was confirmed by the pope.

The excommunicated archbishop resigned his see, and sent the insignia of his office, the pastoral rod and ring, to the emperor. Godfrey, a deacon of Milan, was appointed to supply the vacancy, by the imperial council; but the citizens of Milan refused to receive him, and chose for their archbishop, Atto, a nominee of the pope. A fierce war raged between the rival prelates, and Alexander, indignant at the support that Godfrey received from the emperor, summoned the emperress to appear before his tribunal, on a charge of simony, and the imperial investitures without the approbation of the see of Rome. rests when it; the ambition nor the cares of Pope Alexander, or rather

Circumstances Hildebrand, were confined to the Italian peninsula. By deluded; Nicholas popularity which the pretensions of the mendicant friars decreed that the order throughout Europe, he established an interest election of the pope; y part of Christendom. Faithful agents kept a strict a clause was added, proceedings of the Emperor Henry, legates were sent less equivocal procedure, the allegiance of the king of Bohemia was sion to wear the mitre, and the virtual independence

of the Anglo-Saxon Church was destroyed by the Norman conquest, to the success of which the interference of the pope and of Hildebrand materially contributed.

The pretexts of the pontiffs are characteristics of the superstitions of the age. Harold, the last Saxon monarch of England, had, during an accidental visit to Normandy, been forced to swear that he would favour the succession of William, whose claims were founded on a real or pretended promise of Edward the Confessor. This compulsory oath, it seems, would not have been considered binding, had not Harold unwittingly sworn it on a chest of relics, collected from all the surrounding churches. When, therefore, on the death of Edward, he accepted the crown, proffered to him by the free voice of the Anglo-Saxons, he was regarded, not as a patriot resolved to maintain his country's independence, but as a perjured wretch who had trampled on the most solemn obligations. Hildebrand eagerly seized this opportunity of establishing the papal supremacy over a national church, whose claims to independence had long given offence at Rome. At his instigation, the claims of the Norman duke to the English crown were solemnly recognized by the papal council; a bull containing this decision was sent to William, together with a consecrated standard, and a ring, said to contain a hair from the head of St. Peter, inclosed in a diamond of considerable value. But we learn from a letter, subsequently addressed by Hildebrand to the Conqueror, that there were some in the conclave who opposed this iniquitous interference with the rights of nations, and severely reproached the cardinal-monk, for advocating the cause of a tyrannical usurper.

But Hildebrand did not extend to the Normans in Italy the same favour that he showed to their brethren in England. Aided by the forces of the Countess Matilda, a devoted adherent of the Church, and heiress to a considerable territory, he forced them to resign the districts they had wrested from the Holy See. Anxious to retain this sovereignty, Hildebrand violently opposed a marriage between the Countess and Godfrey Gobbo, a son whom her step-father had by a former wife, before his marriage with her mother. Such a union, indeed, was warranted by the strict letter of the canonical degrees, but still it was, in some degree, revolting to the feelings. Gobbo was excommunicated, but Hildebrand secretly hinted, that he might be reconciled to the Church, on making proper submissions.

But all these political struggles were cast into the shade, by the daring citation of the Emperor Henry: every one regarded it as a declaration of war between the spiritual and temporal authorities, and it must have been obvious to all, that the death of Alexander II. only delayed the contest. More had been done during the reign of this pope to extend the authority of the papacy, than in any former pontificate; but this must not be attributed either to the faults or to the

merits of Alexander, who was a mere instrument in the hands of ambitious minister. The monks, to raise Hildebrand's fame, publish tales of the numerous miracles he wrought, which were greedily received by the superstitious populace, and tended greatly to extend his influence: we have taken no notice of these legends; a greater miracle than any they record, is, that rational beings should be found sufficiently credulous, to believe and repeat such monstrous absurdities.

SECTION V.—*Pontificate of Gregory VII.*

FROM A.D. 1073 TO A.D. 1086.

THERE were few statesmen in any part of Christendom, who did not dread the accession of Hildebrand to the papacy, but there were none prepared to provoke his resentment by interfering to prevent his election. The irregular and precipitate manner in which he was chosen, seems to prove, that some opposition was dreaded by his partisans; and Hildebrand himself found it necessary to disarm hostility, by an affectation of submission to the emperor. He wrote to Henry, that he had been chosen against his will, that he had no wish for the office, and that he would not be consecrated without the imperial sanction. Deceived by this hypocrisy, Henry ratified the irregular election, and Hildebrand was enthroned with the title of Gregory VII.

No sooner was he secured on the throne, than he began to put in execution his favourite plan for securing the independence of the Church, by preventing lay interference in the collation of benefices. Before he had been a month elected, he sent a legate into Spain, to reform the ecclesiastical abuses of that kingdom; but principally to claim for the Apostolic See all the conquests that had recently been made from the Moors, under the pretence that the Spanish peninsula, before the Saracenic invasion, had been tributary to the successors of St. Peter. Henry was so much daunted by this and similar displays of vigour, that he sent a submissive letter to the pontiff, acknowledging his former errors in his dispute with Alexander, which he attributed to his youth and the influence of evil counsellors, desiring him to arrange the troubles in the church of Milan at his discretion, and promising to assist him in everything with the imperial authority.

The two great objects of the pope were, to enforce the celibacy of the clergy, and the papal right to the investiture of bishops. The former of these projects was a matter of discipline, defended on plausible grounds of expediency. Its advocates pleaded, that a clergyman unincumbered with the cares of a family could devote his whole attention to the flock intrusted to his charge; and that a bishop without children would be free to exercise his patronage without being warped by domestic affection. On the other hand, men were thus forced to

sacrifice the noblest and best of human feelings; they were denaturalized, cut off from the influence of social life: the Church became the country and the home of every person who embraced the ecclesiastical profession. After ordination, the priest and the bishop were no longer Germans, Spaniards, or Englishmen; they were Romans;—ministers and peers of a mighty empire, that claimed the dominion of the whole globe. Like the envoy or minister of any foreign government, a member of the Romish hierarchy observes the laws of the state in which his master may have placed him, and respects for a time the authority of the local magistrate: but his order is his country, the pontiff is his natural sovereign, and their welfare and their honour are the appropriate objects of his public care. The constant sight of such a sacrifice of the natural feeling of mankind was obviously calculated to win the respect of the laity, and gain credence for the superior sanctity that was supposed to invest the character of a priest.

The pope's determination to destroy the practice of lay investitures, was defended on more plausible grounds. The administration of ecclesiastical patronage by the emperor and other temporal princes, was liable to great abuses, and had actually led to many: they supplied vacancies with the ignorant, the depraved, and the violent; they sought for the qualifications of a soldier or a politician, when they had to elect a bishop. In a dark age, when monarchs and nobles were rarely able to write their own names; when the knowledge of the alphabet, even in aristocratic families, was so rare, as to be deemed a spell against witchcraft; and when the fierce qualities of a warrior were valued more highly than the Christian virtues, it seemed almost necessary to render appointments in the Church independent of the state. But to this obvious expediency, Gregory VII, added a blasphemous claim of right, as Christ's vicar on earth, and inheritor of his visible throne. While, however, we condemn such impious assumptions, we should not refuse to Hildebrand the credit of higher and purer motives, than those of personal aggrandisement, mingling in his schemes for extending his own power and that of his successors. It is undeniable, that the corporate authority he procured for the Church became, in many European countries, a source of much benefit during the middle ages, overawing the violent, protecting the forlorn, mitigating the prevailing ferocity of manners, and supplying in various ways the defects of civil institutions.

Gregory having assembled a general council at Rome, ordained, by consent of the bishops present, that if any one should accept investiture from a layman, both the giver and the receiver should be excommunicated; that the prelates and nobles who advised the emperor to claim the collation of benefices should be excommunicated; and that all married priests should dismiss their wives, or be deposed. These decrees were communicated to the sovereigns of Europe by Gregory

himself, in letters that must ever remain a monument of his consummate abilities. His monstrous claims for the universal supremacy of the Church and of the Romish See are proposed in a tone of humility and candour, well calculated to win the unthinking and unwary; his dictations assume the form of affectionate suggestions, and his remonstrances resemble those of a tender and affectionate father.

But the pope did not confine his exertions to mere words; he obliged the Normans to quit their conquests in Campania, proposed a crusade against the Saracens who were menacing Constantinople, and offered a province in Italy to Sweno, king of Demark, under the pretence that the inhabitants were heretics. The Emperor Henry was not deceived by Gregory's professions; he hated the pontiff in his heart, and had good reason to believe that the enmity was reciprocal. It was therefore with mingled jealousy and indignation that he saw a new power established which more than rivalled his own, and he entered into a secret alliance with the Normans against their common enemy. In the mean time, a conspiracy was formed against the pope in Rome itself by some of the aristocracy, whose privileges he had invaded. Cincius, the prefect of the city, arrested the pontiff while he was celebrating mass on Christmas-day, and threw him into prison; but the populace soon rescued their favourite, Cincius would have been torn to pieces but for Gregory's interference, and all who had shared in this act of violence were banished from the city. Soon afterwards Gregory cited the emperor to appear before the council at Rome, to answer to the charge of protecting excommunicated bishops, and granting investitures without the sanction of the Holy See. Henry, enraged by the insult, and relieved from his anxieties in Germany by a recent victory over the Saxons, resolved to temporize no longer; he assembled a synod at Worms, of the princes and prelates devoted to his cause, and procured sentence of deposition against Gregory, on a charge of simony, murder, and atheism.

Gregory was far from being disheartened by the emperor's violence; he assembled a council at Rome, solemnly excommunicated Henry, absolved his subjects in Germany and Italy from their oath of allegiance, deposed several prelates in Germany, France, and Lombardy, and published a series of papal constitutions, in which the claims of the Roman pontiffs to supremacy over all the sovereigns of the earth were asserted in the plainest terms.

The most important of these resolutions, which form the basis of the political system of popery, were:—

That the Roman Pontiff alone can be called Universal.

That he alone had a right to depose bishops.

That his legates have a right to preside over all bishops assembled in a general council.

That the pope can depose absent prelates.

That he alone has a right to use imperial ornaments.

That princes are bound to kiss his feet, and his only.

That he has a right to depose emperors.

That no synod or council summoned without his commission can be called general.

That no book can be called canonical without his authority.

That his sentence can be annulled by none, but that he may annul the decrees of all.

That the Roman Church has been, is, and will continue, infallible.

That whoever dissents from the Romish Church ceases to be a Catholic Christian.

And, that subjects may be absolved from their allegiance to wicked princes.

Some cautious prelates advised Gregory not to be too hasty in excommunicating his sovereign; to their remonstrances he made the following memorable reply;—"When Christ trusted his flock to St. Peter, saying, 'Feed my sheep,' did he except kings? Or when he gave him the power to bind and loose, did he withdraw any one from his visitation? He, therefore, who says that he cannot be bound by the bonds of the Church, must confess that he cannot be absolved by it; and he who denies that doctrine, separates himself from Christ and his Church."

Both parties now prepared for war, but all the advantages were on the side of Gregory. At the very commencement of the struggle, Gobbo, the most vigorous supporter of the emperor, died, and his widow, the Countess Matilda, placed all her resources at the disposal of the pontiff. So completely, indeed, did this princess devote herself to support the interests of Gregory, that their mutual attachment was suspected of having transgressed the limits of innocence. The duke of Dalmatia, gratified by the title of king, and the Norman monarch of Sicily, proffered aid to the pontiff; even the Mohammedan emperor of Morocco courted his favour, and presented him with the liberty of the Christian slaves in his dominions.

Henry, on the contrary, knew not where to look for support; in every quarter of his dominions monks and friars preached against their sovereign, and the prelates by whom he had been supported; the Saxon nobles eagerly embraced a religious pretext to renew their insurrection; the dukes of Suabia and Carinthia demanded a change of dynasty; even the prelates who had been most zealous in urging Henry forward, terrified by threats of excommunication, abandoned his cause. A diet was assembled at Tribur, attended by two papal legates, in which it was resolved that Henry should be deposed, unless within a limited period he presented himself before the pope and obtained absolution.

The pretates and nobles of Lombardy alone maintained their

courage, and boldly retorted the excommunications of Gregory. Animated by the hope of obtaining their efficient aid, Henry resolved to cross the Alps instead of waiting for Gregory's arrival in Germany. The hardships which the unfortunate monarch underwent during this journey, in the depth of a severe winter,—the dangers to which he was exposed from the active malice of his enemies,—the sight of the sufferings of his queen and child, who could only travel by being inclosed in the hides of oxen, and thus dragged through the Alpine passes,—would have broken a sterner spirit than Henry's. He entered Lombardy completely disheartened, and though joined by considerable forces, he thought only of conciliating his powerful enemy by submission. Having obtained a conference with the Countess Matilda, Henry prevailed upon her to intercede for him with the pope; and her intercession, supported by the principal nobles of Italy, induced Gregory to grant an interview to his sovereign.

On the 21st of January, 1077, Henry proceeded to Canosa, where the pope resided, and was forced to submit to the greatest indignities that were ever heaped upon imperial majesty. At the first barrier he was compelled to dismiss his attendants; when he reached the second, he was obliged to lay aside his imperial robes, and assume the habit of a penitent. For three entire days he was forced to stand barefooted and fasting, from morning till night, in the outer court of the castle, during one of the severest winters that had ever been known in northern Italy, imploring pardon of his transgressions from God and the pope. He was at length admitted into the presence of the haughty pontiff, and, after all his submissions, obtained, not the removal, but the suspension of the excommunication.

Such harsh treatment sank deep into Henry's mind; and his hostility to Gregory was exasperated by the pontiff accepting a grant of the Countess Matilda's possessions for the use of the Church, which would legally revert to the empire after her decease. The reproaches of the Lombards also induced him to repent of his degradation, and he renewed the war by a dishonourable, and ineffectual, attempt to arrest Gregory and Matilda. In the mean time the discontented nobles of Germany had assembled a diet at Fercheim, deposed their sovereign, and elected Rodolph, duke of Suabia, to the empire. This proceeding greatly embarrassed the pope; he dared not declare against Henry, who was powerful in Italy, and if he abandoned Rodolph he would ruin his own party in Germany. He resolved to preserve a neutrality in the contest, and in the mean time he directed his attention to the internal state of the Church, which had for some time been distracted by the controversy respecting the eucharist.

It is not easy to determine by whom the doctrine of transubstantiation was first broached: Selden very justly says, "this opinion is only rhetoric turned into logic," and it is easy to see how the spiritual

presence of our Saviour in the Holy Communion might, in a dark and ignorant age, be represented as an actual change of the consecrated elements into his material substance. We are not concerned with the theological errors of this doctrine; our subject only requires us to notice the political purposes to which it was applied. No article of faith was better calculated to exalt the power of the priesthood; it represented them as daily working a miracle equally stupendous and mysterious; true, its nature was incomprehensible, but this circumstance, instead of exciting a suspicion of its absurdity, only increased the reverence with which it was regarded. We must not then be surprised at the zeal that the Romish priesthood has ever manifested in defending an opinion which has so materially strengthened its influence. The confessor to the queen of Spain is said to have rebuked the opposition of a nobleman, by saying, "You should respect the man who every day has your God in his hands and your queen at his feet." In this brief sentence the purpose of the doctrine is distinctly stated; it conferred political power, and was therefore to be defended at all hazards. But common sense frequently revolted at a doctrine contradicted by sight, feeling, and taste; in the eleventh century it was ably exposed by Berengarius, a priest of Tours, who assailed it at once with ridicule and with argument. But in his eightieth year, Berengarius was prevailed upon by Gregory to renounce his former opinions, and transubstantiation was generally received as an article of faith.

A victory obtained by Rodolph induced Gregory to depart from his cautious policy; he excommunicated Henry, and sent a crown of gold to his rival. The indignant emperor summoned a council in the mountains of the Tyrol, pronounced Gregory's deposition, and proclaimed Gilbert, archbishop of Ravenna, pope, by the name of Clement III. Gregory immediately made peace with the Normans, and, supported by them and the Countess Matilda, he bade his enemies defiance. But in the mean time Rodolph was defeated and slain, the discontented Germans were forced to submit to the imperial authority, and Henry, at the head of a victorious army, crossed the Alps. The Norman dukes, engaged in war with the Greek emperors, neglected their ally, and the forces of the Countess Matilda were unable to cope with the imperialists. Twice was Henry driven from before the walls of Rome; but the third time he gained an entrance, by a lavish distribution of bribes, and procured the solemn installation of Clement. The emperor's departure left his partisans exposed to the vengeance of Gregory; the pontiff returned at the head of a Norman army, and gave the city to be pillaged by his barbarous auxiliaries. Having reduced Rome almost to a mass of ruins, Gregory retired to Salerno, where he was seized with a mortal disease. He died unconquered, repeating with his latest breath the excommunications which he had

hurled against Henry, the antipope, and their adherents. He viewed his own conduct in the struggle with complacency, and frequently boasted of the goodness of his cause. "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity," he exclaimed, "and it is therefore I die an exile."

Gregory may be regarded as the great founder of the political system of popery ; and therefore, while he is extolled by some historians as a saint, others have described him as a disgrace to humanity. But the character of this remarkable man was formed by his age, and developed by the circumstances that surrounded him. He was the representative both of popery and democracy, principles apparently inconsistent, but which in ancient and modern times have frequently been found in close alliance. With the sanctity of the Church he shielded the people ; with the strength of the people he gave stability to the Church. In the course of his long career as the secret and as the acknowledged ruler of the papacy, he displayed unquestionable abilities of the highest order ; his pretensions to ascetic piety gained him the enthusiastic admiration of the multitude ; the soldiers regarded him as a brave warrior and successful general ; the higher ranks of the clergy yielded in the council to his fervid eloquence and political skill. His very faults became elements of his success ; he was severe, vindictive, and inexorable ; he knew not what it was to forgive : none of his enemies could elude the patient search and the incessant vigilance with which he pursued those against whom he treasured wrath. It was his custom to witness the execution of those whose death he decreed ; and it was awful to contemplate the serenity of his countenance and the placidity of his manners while he presided over tortures and massacres. It cannot, therefore, be a matter of wonder that the power of such a man should have swept over Christendom like a torrent, and hurried everything into the vortex of his new and gigantic institutions.

SECTION VI.—*The War of Investitures.*

FROM A. D. 1086 TO A. D. 1152.

HENRY gained only a brief respite by the death of his formidable and inveterate antagonist. Victor III. was elected by the cardinals, and during his brief reign he gained several advantages over the imperial party. He was succeeded by Urban II., the friend and pupil of Gregory, who commenced his pontificate by sending an encyclical letter to the Christian churches, declaring his resolution to adhere to the political system of his deceased master. Supported by the Normans, Urban entered Rome, and assembled a council of one hundred

and fifteen bishops, in which the emperor, the antipope, and their adherents, were solemnly excommunicated. At the same time he negotiated a marriage between Guelph, son of the duke of Bavaria, a distinguished supporter of the papal cause in Germany, and the Countess Matilda. From this union, the present dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, and the reigning family of England, trace their descent. Henry marched into Italy, and though vigorously opposed by Guelph, gained several important advantages; but the papal intrigues raised enemies against him in the bosom of his family; his eldest son Conrad rebelled, and was crowned king of Italy by Urban. This revolt compelled Henry to abandon his recent acquisitions, and retire towards the Alps.

A council was summoned to meet at Placentia, and so large a number of bishops assembled, that no church could contain them, and they were forced to deliberate in the open air. Most of Gregory's decrees were re-enacted; but, in addition to the affair of investitures, the attention of the council was directed to the rapid progress of the Mohammedans in the East, and the dangers that threatened the empire of Constantinople (A.D. 1095). The tales of the persecutions to which the Christian pilgrims were exposed by the ferocious Turks, who had become masters of the Holy Land, had excited general indignation throughout Europe. Peter the Hermit, a wild fanatic, preached everywhere the necessity of rescuing the faithful from the infidel Saracens, as he ignorantly called the Turks, and such a flame was kindled by his exertions, that a decree was issued by the council of Clermont, authorizing the first crusade; and at the same time the king of France, in whose dominions the council met, was excommunicated, and could only obtain absolution by humiliating submissions.

The general insanity diffused through Europe by the preaching of the first crusade, the multitudes had abandoned their homes to follow Walter the Pennyless or Godescald the Fanatic, the massacres of the Jews, the sufferings and exploits of the disciplined adventurers that marched under the banners of Godfrey, will form the subject of the next section; it is enough here to say that the general fanaticism proved of essential service to the papal cause, and that the partisans of Henry suffered severely from the fury of the Crusaders in their passage through Italy.

Paschal II. was the successor of Urban, and, like him, steadfastly pursued the policy of Gregory; he easily triumphed over the antipope, who died of a broken heart, and he urged a second general crusade, which the reverses of the Christians in the Holy Land rendered necessary. To consolidate the papal structure, he assembled a council at Rome, and procured the enactment of a new oath, to be taken by all ranks of the clergy. By this oath they abjured all heresy, they

promised implicit obedience to the pope and his successors, to affirm what the holy and universal Church affirms, and to condemn what she condemns (A.D. 1104). Soon after, the old emperor, Henry, was treacherously arrested by his own son Henry V., and deprived of his imperial dignity; he subsequently escaped, but before hostilities made any progress, he died of a broken heart. The bishop of Liege honourably interred the body of his unfortunate sovereign, but papal enmity pursued Henry beyond the grave; the benevolent prelate was excommunicated, and could only obtain absolution by disinterring the corpse.

Though Henry V. owed his throne to papal influence, he would not yield the imperial right to granting investitures, and his example was followed by the kings of England and France. The form in which monarchs gave investiture by bestowing a pastoral ring and staff, was regarded by the popes as an interference with their spiritual jurisdiction, and when the form was altered, they gave no further trouble to the English and French monarchs, but, in their disputes with the emperors, they not only forbade ecclesiastics to receive investiture from laymen, but even to take an oath of allegiance to them.

The fifth Henry proved a more formidable enemy to the papacy than his father; he led an army into Italy, made Paschal prisoner, compelled him to perform the ceremony of his coronation, and to issue a bull securing the right of investiture to the emperor and his successors. But the remonstrances of the cardinals induced the pope to annul the treaty, and he permitted Henry to be excommunicated by several provincial councils. The pontiff, however, did not ratify the sentence until the death of the Countess Matilda, and then disputes about her inheritance, created fresh animosities between the empire and the Holy See.

The death of Paschal prevented an immediate war. His successors, Gelasius II. and Calixtus II., however, supported his policy, and, after a long struggle, the emperor was forced to resign his claim to episcopal investitures, but he was permitted to retain the investiture of the temporal rights belonging to the sees.

During the pontificate of Honorius II., the successor of Calixtus, the Church of Ireland, for the first time, was brought under the supremacy of the pope by the exertions of St. Malachi, a monk of great influence and reputation. The greater part of the reign of Honorius was spent in a contest with the Normans in southern Italy, whom he forced to continue in their allegiance.

Innocent II. and Anacletus, elected by rival factions, were both enthroned the same day, and the papacy was consequently rent by a schism. Anacletus was the grandson of a converted Jew; he possessed great wealth, was a favourite with the Roman populace, and

had an undoubted majority of the cardinals in his favour, yet he is stigmatized as an antipope. This was principally owing to the exertions of the celebrated St. Bernard, who warmly espoused the cause of Innocent, and procured him the support of the king of France and the German emperor. On the death of Anacletus, his party elected another antipope, but he soon made his submission to Innocent, and the schism was appeased.

A general council was soon afterwards assembled at Rome (A.D. 1139), at which no less than a thousand bishops were present: several ordinances were made for completing the ecclesiastical organization of the Church. The opinions of Arnold of Brescia were condemned at this council; they were derived from the celebrated Abelard, whose controversy with St. Bernard began to excite universal attention.

Abelard was generally regarded as the most accomplished scholar and the best logician in Europe; crowds of disciples flocked to hear his lectures, and though he did not break through the trammels of scholastic philosophy, he gave an impulse to the spirit of inquiry which, in a future age, produced beneficial effects. St. Bernard, whose opinions were invested by the bishops with a kind of apostolic authority, accused Abelard of teaching heretical opinions respecting the doctrine of the Trinity. Abelard denied the imputation, and the dispute turned on metaphysical subtleties, to which neither party affixed a definite meaning. Abelard's opinions were condemned by a council at Sens, but he was permitted to retire into the monastery of Clugny, where he died in peace.

This obscure controversy was the first symptom of the struggle between scholastic divinity and philosophy. Abelard was subdued, but he bequeathed his cause to a succession of faithful disciples, who gradually emancipated knowledge from the confinement of the cloister, and liberated the human mind from the thralldom of popery. Abelard's opinions were purely theological; his disciple, Arnold of Brescia, abandoning his master's mysticism, directed his attention to the reform of the Church and of the government. He declared that the political power and wealth of the clergy were inconsistent with the sanctity of their profession, and he began to preach these doctrines in Italy and Germany; so great was his influence, that he was invited to Rome, in order to revive the republic. Innocent II., Celestine II., Lucius II., and Eugenius III., had to struggle with "the politicians," as the followers of Arnold were called, for the maintenance of their domestic power; and during this period the aggressions of popery on the rights of kings and nations were suspended. Rome set the example of resistance to the pontiffs; Italy, for a brief space, furnished the boldest opponents to the papal usurpations; but when Europe began to profit by the example, the Italians discovered that the overthrow of the papacy would diminish the profits which they derived from the pay-

ments made by superstition and ignorance to the Roman exchequer; and they lent their aid to the support of the lucrative delusion they had been the first to expose, and even yielded their liberties to the pontiffs, on condition of sharing in their unhallowed gains.

The claims of the popes to spiritual and temporal power, the means they employed to effect their object, their struggle against royal power on the one side, and national independence on the other, form the most important part of European history during several centuries. A calm and careful examination of the origin and growth of the papal system is therefore necessary to a right understanding of the social condition of Europe in the ages preceding the Reformation. To render this portion of history satisfactory to the student, it is necessary to trace back the early history of Christianity, and point out some of the corruptions by which its purity was early disfigured.

SECTION VII.—*The Crusades.*

THE wars undertaken by the crusaders for the conquest of Palestine, at the instigation of the popes, form an essential part of the history of the great struggle between the spiritual and temporal powers. To understand aright the influence they exercised, it will be necessary to cast a retrospective glance at their origin, and at the state of society in the eastern and western world, when first this great movement began.

Pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and the localities that had been hallowed by our blessed Saviour's presence, were common in the earliest ages of the Church. They began to multiply very rapidly at the beginning of the eleventh century, in consequence of an opinion very generally diffused, that the end of the world was at hand; many persons sold their estates, and migrated to the Holy Land, to wait there the coming of the Lord. Whilst the Saracens remained masters of Palestine, they encouraged and protected visitors whose arrival brought them considerable profit, but when the Seljûkian Turks wrested the country from the khaliphs of Egypt, the pilgrims were subjected to every extortion and outrage that fanaticism and ignorance could dictate. Their sad recital of the calamities they were forced to endure excited universal indignation, and Gregory VII. was the first to propose a general arming throughout Christendom, for the purpose of driving the Turks beyond the Euphrates. The time was not propitious for such an undertaking; the wars of the empire engaged the attention and employed the arms of the chief military leaders. But when the Normans had completed the conquest of England and the two Sicilies, when the imperial power had sunk before the popes in Italy and the feudal princes in Germany, vast hordes of military adventurers

remained without employment, ready to embrace any cause that promised to gratify their love of glory and plunder. At this moment an enthusiastic monk, usually called Peter the Hermit, indignant at the oppression of the Christians, which he had witnessed in Palestine, began to preach the duty of expelling the infidels from the patrimony of Christ, and by his energetic labours, widely diffused his own fanaticism.

Peter's zeal was vigorously seconded by Pope Urban II.; the pontiff went personally to France, and held a council at Clermont (A.D. 1095), where the war was sanctioned with great enthusiasm, and multitudes assumed the badge of the cross, as the symbol of their enlistment. The first hordes of crusaders were ignorant fanatics, guided by men of no note or experience. They marched without order or discipline, pillaging, burning, and plundering the countries that they traversed. So great was the delusion that whole families joined in these wild expeditions; farmers were seen driving carts containing their wives and children in the line of march, while boys bearing mimic implements of war sported round, mistaking every stranger for a Turk, and every new town for Jerusalem. Most of these wretches perished by fatigue, famine, disease, or the swords of the people they had outraged, but not before their excesses had indelibly stigmatized the cause in which they were engaged. The Jews along the Rhine suffered most severely from these fanatics, who were persuaded that the sacrifice of this unfortunate race would be the best propitiation for the success of their expedition. Myriads of the hapless Jews were massacred with every torture and indignity that malice could suggest; whole families committed suicide by mutual agreement; a few submitted to be baptized, and purchased safety by apostacy. The archbishop of Mayence exerted all the means in his power to protect the wretched victims, but had the mortification to witness the murder of those who sought refuge in his own palace.

At length a regular army was organized, under the command of Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine, one of the most celebrated generals of the age. No sovereign joined his standard, but the leading nobility of Christendom were enrolled among his followers, among whom may be mentioned, Robert, duke of Normandy, eldest son of William the Conqueror, Hugh, brother of the king of France, Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, and Raymond, count of Toulouse. When the divisions of this formidable army arrived near Constantinople, Alexis, who then ruled the Byzantine empire, was naturally terrified by the appearance of hosts too powerful to be received as auxiliaries, and too formidable to be rejected as enemies. The crafty Greek had recourse to treachery and dissimulation; after a disgusting train of fraudulent negotiations, the Latin warriors passed into Asia, leaving behind them worse enemies in the Christians of the Byzantine

empire, whom it was part of their object to protect, than the Turks they had come to assail. Their early career in Asia was glorious, but purchased at an enormous expenditure of life. Nicea, the capital of the sultany of Rúm, was taken; a great victory over the sultan Soleiman, opened a passage into Syria; Antioch was captured after a siege of unparalleled difficulty, and finally, Jerusalem, which had been recently wrested from the Turks by the Egyptians, fell before the arms of the crusaders, and became the capital of a new kingdom (A.D. 1099).

Jerusalem was obstinately defended by the Mussulmans; they hurled beams and stones on the heads of those who tried to scale the walls, and flung burning oil and sulphur on the moveable towers and bridges employed by the assailants. The crusaders displayed equal energy, but on the second day of assault, just as they were sinking under the united effects of weariness and a burning sun, Godfrey declared that he saw a celestial messenger on the Mount of Olives, cheering the Christians to the combat. The enthusiasm awakened by such a declaration bore down every obstacle: the crusaders made good their lodgement on the wall, and the Mohammedans fled into the city. Amid the most rapturous shouts of triumph the banner of the cross was planted on the towers of Jerusalem, and as it unfurled itself in the wind, many of the bravest warriors wept for joy. But the triumph was sullied by an indiscriminate and unsparing massacre; a helpless crowd sought shelter in the mosque of Omar, but the gates were speedily forced and the fugitives butchered; the knights boasted that they rode in Saracen blood up to the knees of their horses. The massacre lasted all day, but when the shades of evening began to close around, the crusaders suddenly recollected that they were in the midst of those places which had been hallowed by the presence and sufferings of their Saviour. As if by some common and supernatural impulse, the savage warriors were suddenly changed into devout pilgrims; each hastened to remove from his person the stains of slaughter; they laid aside their weapons, and in the guise of penitents, with bare heads and feet, streaming eyes and folded hands, they ascended the hill of Calvary and entered the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The services of religion were performed by the clergy of Jerusalem, who hailed their deliverers with enthusiastic gratitude.

Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen sovereign of Palestine; he refused the title of king, declaring that Christ was the true monarch of the Holy Land, and declined to wear a crown of gold, where his Saviour had borne a crown of thorns. Baldwin, his brother and successor, was less scrupulous; he assumed the royal ensigns and title, and transmitted the throne to his cousin, Baldwin du Bourg, whose posterity continued to reign in Palestine until the kingdom was overthrown by Saladin (A.D. 1187). Several minor states were established

by the crusaders, of which the most remarkable were the county of Edessa, the principality of Antioch, the county of Tripoli, and, at a later period, the kingdom of Cyprus. None of these states had long duration; the Christians of the East, continually assailed by powerful enemies, could not be persuaded to unite cordially for mutual defence; victories were scarcely less calamitous to them than defeats, on account of the difficulty of obtaining reinforcements from Europe; and though the crusading enthusiasm endured for two centuries, its heat gradually abated, and nothing would have kept it alive but the privileges and grants made by the popes, and the principal European potentates, to those who joined in such expeditions. Six principal crusades followed the first great movement; they were all either unsuccessful or productive of advantages as fleeting as they were trivial.

Forty-eight years after Jerusalem had been taken by the Christians, the emperor, Conrad III., and Louis VII., king of France, undertook a second crusade to support the sinking fortunes of their brethren in Palestine (A.D. 1117). The Atta-beg Zenghi, who had, by his superior prowess, obtained the chief command over the Turkish tribes in Irak, attacked the Christian territories beyond the Euphrates, and made himself master of Edessa, justly regarded as the bulwark of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Conrad proceeded to Constantinople without waiting for his ally. He had to encounter the treacherous hostility of the Byzantine emperor, which proved fatal to an army containing the flower of German chivalry, including a troop of noble ladies who served in the attitude and armour of men. Manuel, who then held the throne of Constantinople, gave the sultan secret intelligence of the German line of march, and furnished Conrad with treacherous guides. After a glorious but unsuccessful battle on the banks of the Mæander, Conrad was forced to retreat; he met the French advancing from the Bosphorus, and the contrast of his own condition with the pomp of Louis, led him to desert the cause. The French, undismayed and unwarned, pursued their march with inconsiderate speed; their rear-guard was surprised by the Turkish troops, while the van was at a considerable distance, and the greater part put to the sword. Louis brought the shattered remnant of his forces by sea to Antioch; the Christians of Palestine joined him in an unsuccessful siege of Damascus, after which the monarch returned to Europe, dishonoured by a faithless wife, and deserted by ungrateful allies. This disgraceful termination of an expedition from which so much had been expected, diffused feelings of melancholy and surprise throughout Europe. St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, through whose influence the crusade was undertaken, had to encounter the storm of public indignation: he was stigmatized as a lying prophet, who, by pretended inspiration and false miracles, had lured myriads to a miserable doom. But Bernard was not daunted by these reproaches; he replied to those accusations by

of the failure, the follies and vices of the crusaders themselves; he asserted that a new expedition, undertaken in the spirit of piety, would be crowned with success; and he urged the states of Christendom to combine in one great effort for securing the kingdom of Jerusalem. His efforts to revive the crusading spirit were however unavailing, and death surprised him in the midst of his exertions.

Noureddin¹, the son of Zenghi, destroyed the dynasty of the Fatimite khaliphs in Egypt. His favourite, Saladin², usurped the government of Egypt, and, though a Kurd by descent, became the favourite hero both of the Turks and Arabs. On the death of his ancient master, Saladin invaded the Christian territories, and, after a brief siege, made himself master of Jerusalem (A.D. 1187). The loss of the holy city filled all Europe with sorrow; the emperor, Frederic I., the lion-hearted Richard of England, Philip Augustus of France, and several minor princes, assumed the cross, while the maritime states of Italy, by sending immediate reinforcements to the garrisons on the coasts of the Mediterranean, arrested the progress of Saladin. Frederic advanced through the Byzantine territories, harassed at every step by Greek fraud and treachery. Having wintered at Adrianople, he crossed the Hellespont, defeated the Turks in several engagements, and stormed the city of Iconium. But in the midst of his glorious career he was drowned in the river Cydnus (A.D. 1190). The army persevered, and joined the eastern Christians in the famous siege of Acre.

While Acre was closely pressed by the Christians, the besiegers were, in their turn, so strictly blockaded by Saladin, that they suffered more than the garrison. The kings of England and France, however, followed by the flower of their dominions, appeared together as companions in arms, and reached Palestine by sea. The siege of Acre was so vigorously prosecuted after the arrival of the English that the town was soon forced to surrender, and the Christians began to indulge the hope of recovering Jerusalem. Their expectations were frustrated by the jealousy which arose between the French and the English; Philip, unable to brook the superiority which Richard acquired by his military prowess, and perhaps, in some degree, by his wealth, returned home, leaving a part of his army under the command of the duke of Burgundy, for the defence of the Holy Land. But the animosity between the French and English parties was increased rather than abated by the departure of Philip; the envy of his companions rendered the valorous exertions of Richard unavailing; he entered into a treaty with Saladin, obtaining for the Christians free access to

¹ Nur-ed-din signifies "the light of religion."

² Salah-ed-din signifies "the safety of religion."

THE CRUSADES.

Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, and then his dominions from the attacks of his ancient rival (A.D. 1187). On his return, the English monarch was seized and imprisoned by the duke of Austria, whom he had grievously insulted in Palestine; he was subsequently resigned to the custody of the emperor of Germany, from whom he had to purchase his liberation by the payment of a large ransom. The illustrious Saladin did not long survive the departure of the royal crusader; he died at Damascus, and the disputes that arose respecting his inheritance, prevented the Mohammedans from completing the destruction of the Latin kingdom of Palestine.

The fourth crusade was undertaken at the instigation of Innocent III. (A.D. 1202), aided by a fanatic preacher, Foulke of Neuilly. The fervour of enthusiasm had now abated; no great sovereign joined in the enterprise, but several of the most potent feudatories offered their services, and Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, was chosen commander-in-chief. The crusaders obtained transports from the Venetians, by conquering Zara, in Dalmatia, for the republic of Venice, in spite of the threats and remonstrances of the pope, who was justly indignant at seeing their first efforts directed against a Christian city. But this departure from their original design was followed by a still more remarkable deviation; instead of proceeding to Palestine, they sailed against Constantinople, to dethrone the usurper, Alexius Angelus. The crusaders succeeded in restoring the lawful emperor, Isaac, to his empire; but the reward they claimed for their services were extravagant, and Isaac's efforts to comply with the stipulations provoked such resentment, that he was deposed by his subjects, and put to death, together with his son. The crusaders instantly proclaimed war against the usurper, Mourzoufle, laid siege to Constantinople, took the city by storm, pillaged it with remorseless cruelty, and founded a new Latin empire on the ruins of the Byzantine (A.D. 1204). Baldwin, count of Flanders, was chosen sovereign of the new state, which, under five Latin emperors, lasted little more than half a century. Constantinople was recovered by the Greeks (A.D. 1261), and the hopes of uniting the eastern and western churches, which the possession of the Byzantine capital had inspired, were blighted for ever.

The fifth crusade was conducted by the king of Hungary. Two hundred thousand Franks landed at the eastern mouth of the Nile, persuaded that the conquest of Egypt was a necessary preliminary to the recovery and safe possession of Palestine (A.D. 1218). After having obtained some important successes, their cause was ruined by the arrogance and presumption of the papal legate, who assumed the direction of the army. They purchased some trivial concessions, by evacuating all their conquests; and the pope, who at first proposed

to come in person to their assistance, was too busily engaged in checking the progress of heresy, to venture on an expedition to Palestine.

Frederic II., emperor of Germany, led a formidable army to Palestine, after having been excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX. for delaying his expedition, a sentence which was renewed because he ventured to sail without waiting for the papal orders (A.D. 1228). This war exhibited the strange anomaly of a champion of the cross exposed to the bitterest hostility of the Church. Frederic was everywhere victorious, but the papal legates and the priests harassed him by constant opposition; a crusade was preached against him in Italy, and efforts were made to weaken his authority in his own hereditary dominions. On receiving this intelligence, Frederic concluded an equitable treaty with the Sultan Melek Kamel, crowned himself at Jerusalem, for no ecclesiastic would perform the ceremony, and returned to Europe, after having effected more for the Christians of Palestine than any of their former protectors. Gregory again hurled anathemas against a prince who had made a treaty with the infidels; but Frederic's vigorous exertions soon changed the aspect of affairs; he reduced those who had rebelled during his absence, dispersed the papal and Lombard troops, and won absolution by his victories.

Tranquillity, which endured fifteen years, raised the Latins of Palestine to a prosperous condition; but a new and more formidable enemy, issuing from the deserts of Tartary, subverted the kingdom which had been founded at such an expense of blood and treasure. The Khorasmian Turks, driven from their native deserts by the Mongols, threw themselves upon Palestine, stormed Jerusalem, subverted the Latin principalities, and the small Turkish states in Syria. Jerusalem, and the greater part of Palestine, was subsequently annexed to the sultany of Egypt.

Louis IX., of France, commonly called St. Louis, led the ninth crusade. Egypt was the scene of his operations; after obtaining some important triumphs, he was defeated, made prisoner, and forced to purchase his freedom by the payment of a large ransom (A.D. 1250). The pope's inveterate hostility to Frederic was one of the chief causes that led to the ruin of this crusade. At the moment that Louis sailed, Innocent was preaching a crusade against the emperor in Europe, and the Dominicans were stimulating their hearers to rebellion and assassination. The lamentable loss of the French army, the captivity of the "most Christian king," and the utter ruin of the Latin kingdom in Palestine, failed to shake the obstinacy of the pontiff. It seemed even that the death of Frederic redoubled his fury, as if his prey had escaped from his hands. "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad," was his address to the clergy of Sicily, "for the lightning and the tempest, wherewith God Almighty has so long

menaced your heads, have been changed, by the death of this man, into refreshing zephyrs and fertilizing dews."

Untaught by calamity, he prepared for a second crusade; on his voyage to the place of rendezvous, he was induced to steer to Tunis, in the wild hope of baptizing its king (A.D. 1270). Instead of a proselyte; Louis found a tedious siege, and a mortal disease. On his death, the remnant of his army was led back to Europe without making any further effort. The fate of Palestine was for a time delayed by the valour of Edward I., of England, who extorted a three years' truce from the Mohammedans. At length, some excesses of the Latins provoked the resentment of the Mameluke sultan, Khalil; he resolved to expel them completely from Palestine, and laid siege to their last stronghold, Acre (A.D. 1291). The city was taken after a tedious siege, and after its fall, the title of King of Jerusalem, still preserved by the Christian princes, became an empty name.

SECTION VIII.—*The Crusade against the Albigenses.*

It has been already mentioned that the growth of heresy was beginning to alarm the advocates of papal supremacy in the reign of Alexander III., and that a general council had pronounced a solemn decree against the Albigenses. But the feudal lords of France and Italy were slow in adopting an edict which would have deprived them of their best vassals, and the new opinions, or rather the original doctrines of Christianity, were secretly preached throughout the greater part of Europe. It may be conceded to the defenders of the papal system that there were some among the preachers of a reformation who had given too great a scope to their imaginations, and revived many of the dangerous errors of the Manichæans and Paulicians. There seems no just cause for doubting that a few enthusiasts ascribed the Old Testament to the principle of Evil; because, as they asserted, "God is there described as a homicide, destroying the world by water, Sodom and Gomorrah by fire, and the Egyptians by the overflow of the Red Sea." But these were the sentiments of a very small minority; the bulk of the Albigensian reformers protested simply against the doctrine of transubstantiation, the sacraments of confirmation, confession, and marriage, the invocation of saints, the worship of images, and the temporal power of the prelates. Their moral character was confessed by their enemies, but while they acknowledged its external purity, they invented the blackest calumnies respecting their secret practices, without ever bringing forward a shadow of proof, and consequently without incurring the hazard of refutation. The progress of reform was silent; for the efforts of the *paterins*, or Albigensian teachers, were directed rather to forming a moral and pure society within the

Church, than to the establishment of a new sect. They seemed anxious to hold the same relation to the Romish establishment that John Wesley designed the Methodists to keep towards the Church of England. Their labours generated an independence of spirit and freedom of judgment which would probably have led to an open revolt, had not Innocent III. discerned the danger to which the papal system was exposed, and resolved to crush freedom of thought before its exercise would subvert his despotism.

Innocent's first step was to enlist cupidity and self-interest on his side; he abandoned to the barons the confiscated properties of heretics, and ordered that the enemies of the Church should be for ever banished from the lands of which they were deprived. He then sent commissioners into the south of France, to examine and punish those suspected of entertaining heretical opinions, and thus laid the first foundation of the Inquisition. The arrogance and violence of these papal emissaries disgusted every class of society; finding that their persecutions were unpopular, they resolved to support their power by force of arms, and they were not long in discovering the materials of an army.

Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, was engaged in war with some of the neighbouring barons, and Peter de Castelnau, the papal legate, offered to act as mediator. He went to the barons and obtained from them a promise that, if Raymond would consent to their demands, they would employ all the forces they had assembled to extirpate heresy. Castelnau drew up a treaty on these conditions, and offered it to Raymond for his signature. The Count was naturally reluctant to purchase the slaughter of his best subjects, by the sacrifice of his dominions, and the admission of a hostile army into his states. He peremptorily refused his consent, upon which Castelnau excommunicated Raymond, placed his dominions under an interdict, and wrote to the pope for a confirmation of the sentence.

Innocent III. confirmed the legate's sentence, and began to preach a crusade; but his violence transcended all bounds, when he learned that Castelnau had been slain by a gentleman of Toulouse whom he had personally insulted (A.D. 1208). Though Raymond appears to have had no share in this murder, it was against him that the papal vengeance was principally directed: he was excommunicated, his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance, and the French king was invited to despoil him of his estates.

Philip Augustus was too busily engaged in wars with the king of England and the emperor of Germany to turn his attention to the extirpation of heresy; but he permitted a crusade against the Albigenses to be preached throughout his dominions, and the monks of Citeaux became the chief missionaries of this unholy war; they promised the pardon of all sins committed from the day of birth to death, to those who fell in the war, unlimited indulgence, the protection of the

Church, and a large share of spoil to all who survived. Whilst the monks were enlisting ferocious bands of wretches, who believed that they might expiate their former crimes by the perpetration of fresh atrocities, Innocent was preparing a new mission to Languedoc, whose savage brutalities exceeded even those of the crusaders. A new monastic order was instituted, at the head of which was placed a Spaniard named St. Dominic, whose special object was to extirpate heresy, by preaching against the doctrines of those who dissented from the Church, and punishing with death those who could not be convinced by argument. This institution, too well known by the dreaded name of the Inquisition, appears to have been originally planned by the bishop of Toulouse, who introduced it into his diocese about seven years before it was formally sanctioned by Pope Innocent at the council of Lateran.

Raymond VI., and his nephew Raymond Roger, viscount of Albi, alarmed at the approaching danger, presented themselves before the papal legate, Arnold, abbot of Citeaux, to avert the coming storm by explanations and submissions. They protested that they had never sanctioned heresy, and that they had no share in the murder of Castelnau. The severity with which they were treated by the legate, convinced the young viscount that nothing was to be hoped from negotiation, and he returned to his states, resolved to defend himself to the last extremity: the count of Toulouse showed less fortitude; he promised to submit to any conditions which the pope would impose.

Raymond's ambassadors were received by the pope with apparent indulgence; but the terms on which absolution were offered to the count could scarcely have been more severe. He was required to make common cause with the crusaders, to aid them in the extirpation of heretics,—that is, his own subjects,—and to give up seven of his best castles as a pledge of his intentions. Innocent declared that, if Raymond performed these conditions, he would not only be absolved, but taken into special favour; yet, at the very same moment, the pope was inflexibly resolved on the count's destruction, as appears by the following extract from a letter addressed by Innocent to the abbot of Citeaux.

“We advise you, according to the precepts of the apostle Paul, to use cunning in your dealings with the count, which, in the present case, should rather be deemed prudence. It is expedient to attack those separately who have broken the unity of the Church; to spare the count of Toulouse for a season, treating him with wise dissimulation, in order that the other heretics may be more easily destroyed, and that we may crush him at our leisure when he stands alone.”

It is remarkable that when the Roman pontiffs, especially Gregory VII. and Innocent III., had any pernicious design to recommend, they were lavish in their appeals to Scripture, as if they had studied the

Bible merely to find an excuse for sacrilege. It has been truly said by England's bard,—

The devil can quote Scripture for his purpose.
An evil soul producing holy witness,
Is like a villain with a smiling cheek;
A goodly apple rotten at the core.

In the spring of the year 1209, all the fanatics who had taken arms at the preaching of the monks of Citeaux, began to assemble on the borders of Languedoc; the land was spread in beauty before them, ere long it was to be a howling wilderness. Raymond VI. sank into abject cowardice; he yielded up his castles, he promised implicit submission to the legate, he even allowed himself to be publicly beaten with rods before the altar, as a penance for his errors. As a reward for his humiliation, he was permitted to serve in the ranks of the crusaders, and to act as their guide in the war against his nephew.

Raymond Roger showed a bolder spirit; finding the papal legate implacable, he summoned his barons together, and having stated all his exertions to preserve peace, made a stirring appeal to their generosity and their patriotism. All resolved on an obstinate defence; even those who adhered to the Church of Rome justly dreaded the excesses of a fanatical horde eager to shed blood, and gratify a ruffian thirst for plunder. The crusaders advanced: some castles and fortified towns were abandoned to them; others not subject to the imputation of heresy were allowed to ransom themselves; Villemer was burned, and Chasseneuil, after a vigorous defence, capitulated. The garrison was permitted to retire, but all the inhabitants suspected of heresy, male and female, were committed to the flames amid the ferocious shouts of the conquerors, and their property abandoned to the soldiery.

Beziars was the next object of attack; the citizens resolved to make a vigorous resistance, but they were routed in a sally by the advanced guard of the crusaders, and so vigorously pursued, that the conquerors and conquered entered the gates together. The leaders, before taking advantage of their unexpected success, asked the abbot of Citeaux how they should distinguish Catholics from heretics; the legate's memorable answer was, "Kill all: God will distinguish those who belong to himself." His words were too well obeyed; every inhabitant of Beziars was ruthlessly massacred, and when the town was thus one immense slaughter-house, it was fired, that its ruins and ashes might become the monument of papal vengeance.

Carcassonne was now the last stronghold of Raymond Roger, and it was gallantly defended by the young viscount. Simon de Montfort, the leader of the crusaders, found himself foiled by a mere youth, and was detained for eight days before he could master the suburbs and invest the town.

Peter II., king of Arragon, whom the viscount of Albi and Beziers recognised as his suzerain, took advantage of this delay to interfere in behalf of the young lord, who was his nephew as well as his vassal. The legate, unwilling to offend so powerful a sovereign, accepted his mediation, but when asked what terms would be granted to the besieged, he required that two-thirds of Carcassonne should be given up to plunder. Raymond Roger spurned such conditions; Peter applauded his courage, and personally addressed the garrison. "You know the fate that waits you; make a bold defence, for that is the best means of finally obtaining favourable terms." The prudence of this advice was proved by the legate's consenting to a capitulation; but when the viscount, trusting to the faith of the treaty, presented himself in the camp of the crusaders, he was treacherously arrested, and thrown, with his attendants, into prison. Warned by the fate of their leader, the citizens of Carcassonne evacuated the town during the night, but some of the fugitives were overtaken by the cavalry of the crusaders; the legate selected a supply of victims from his prisoners; four hundred of them were burned alive, and about fifty were hanged.

It seemed that the object of the crusade was obtained; the count of Toulouse had submitted to every condition, however humiliating; the viscount of Narbonne abandoned every notion of resistance; and the gallant lord of Beziers was a prisoner. The crusaders, too, began to grow weary of the war; the French lords were ashamed of the cruelties they had sanctioned, and the faith they had violated; the knights and common soldiers, having completed the term of their service, were anxious to revisit their homes. But the legate, Arnold, was still unsatisfied; he summoned a council of the crusaders, and tried to induce them to remain, in order that they might protect their conquests of Beziers and Carcassonne, the investiture of which he conferred on Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. But the greater part of the French nobles refused to remain longer, and Montfort had to defend his new acquisitions with the vassals from his own estates. The gallant Raymond Roger was detained a close prisoner in his own baronial hall at Carcassonne, where he soon died, the victim of a dysentery, produced by grief, or, as was generally suspected, by poison.

The armies of the crusaders withdrew; they left a desert, and called it peace; but the sufferings of the Albigenses were not exhausted; the monks of the Inquisition, attended by trains of executioners, went at their will through the land, torturing and butchering all who were suspected of heresy. Nor were the monks of Citeaux idle; they had found honour and profit in preaching a crusade, and they were not disposed to relinquish the lucrative employment. Thus a new crusade was preached when there was no enemy to combat, and new hordes of fanatics were poured into Languedoc. They forced their

chiefs to renew the war, that the exertions of those who profited by preaching extermination should not be lost, and that the bigotry of those who hoped to purchase their salvation by murder should not remain ungratified.

Strengthened by these reinforcements, Simon de Montfort threw off the mask of moderation, and declared war against the unfortunate count of Toulouse. Raymond was once more excommunicated, and his dominions placed under an interdict. But the earl of Leicester soon found that he had been premature in his hostilities; the king of Arragon refused to receive his homage for the viscounties of Beziers and Carcassonne, declaring that he would support the claims of the legitimate heir, Raymond Trencavel, the only son of the unfortunate Raymond Roger, a child about two years old, who was safe under the guardianship of the count de Foix. A dangerous insurrection was raised in the states so recently assigned to Montfort; and out of the two hundred towns and castles that had been granted to him, eight alone remained in his possession.

The count of Toulouse was too much afraid of ecclesiastical vengeance to defend himself by arms; he sought the protection of the king of France, and he went in person to Rome to implore absolution. Innocent promised him pardon on condition of his clearing himself from the charge of heresy and of participation in the murder of Castelnau; but when he presented himself before the council, he found that his judges had been gained over by his inexorable enemy, the abbot of Cîteaux, and instead of being permitted to enter on his defence, he was overwhelmed by a series of new and unexpected charges. His remonstrances were neglected, his tears afforded theme for mockery and insult, and the sentence of excommunication was formally ratified.

In the mean time the crusaders, under Simon de Montfort, pursued their career of extermination; those whom the sword spared fell by the hands of the executioner; and the ministers of a God of peace were found more cruel and vindictive than a licentious soldiery. Even the king of Arragon became alarmed, and sought to secure the friendship of the papal favourite, by affiancing his infant son to a daughter of De Montfort. The monarch probably expected that, by this concession, he would obtain more favourable terms for Raymond, and he accompanied the count to Arles, where a provincial council was assembled. The terms of peace fixed by the legate were so extravagant, not to say absurd, that even Raymond rejected them, and secretly withdrew from the city in company with the king of Arragon. Once more the count was excommunicated, pronounced an enemy of the Church and an apostate from the faith, and declared to have forfeited his title and estates.

The war was now resumed with fresh vigour; after a long siege,

De Montfort took the strong castle of Lavaur by assault, hanged its brave governor, the lord of Montreal, and massacred the entire garrison. "The lady of the castle," says the Romish historian, "who was an execrable heretic, was by the earl's orders thrown into a well, and stones heaped over her: afterwards, the pilgrims collected the numberless heretics that were in the fortress, and burned them alive with great joy."

The same cruelties were perpetrated at every other place through which the crusaders passed; and the friends of the victims took revenge, by intercepting convoys, and murdering stragglers. It was not until he had received a large reinforcement of pilgrims from Germany, that the earl of Leicester ventured to lay siege to Toulouse. Raymond, in this extremity, displayed a vigour and courage, which, if he had manifested in the earlier part of the war, would probably have saved his country from ruin. He made so vigorous a defence, that the crusaders were forced to raise the siege, and retire with some precipitation.

The friendship between the monks of Citeaux and the crusaders soon began to be interrupted by the ambition of the former. Under pretence of reforming the ecclesiastical condition of Languedoc, they expelled the principal prelates, and seized for themselves the richest sees and benefices. The legate, Arnold, took for his share the archbishopric of Narbonne, after which he abandoned Montfort, and went to lead a new crusade against the Moors in Spain. Innocent III. himself paused for a moment in his career of vengeance, and, at the instance of the king of Arragon, promised Raymond the benefit of a fair trial. But it is easier to rouse than to allay the spirit of fanaticism; disobeyed by his legates, and reproached by the crusaders, the pope was compelled to retrace his steps, and abandon Raymond to the fury of his enemies.

The king of Arragon came to the aid of his unfortunate relative, and encountered the formidable army of the crusaders at Muret; but he was slain in the beginning of the battle; the Spanish chivalry, disheartened by his fall, took to flight; and the infantry of Toulouse, thus forsaken, could offer no effective resistance. Trampled down by the pilgrim-knights, the citizens of Toulouse, who followed their sovereign to the field, were either cut to pieces, or drowned in the waters of the Garonne.

Philip Augustus had triumphed over his enemies, the king of England and the emperor of Germany, just when the victory of Muret seems to have confirmed the power of De Montfort. But the ambitious adventurer derived little profit from his success, for the court of Rome began to dread the power of its creature (A.D. 1215). His influence with the papal legates and the prelates who had directed the crusade, was, however, still very great, and he procured from the

council of Montpellier the investiture of Toulouse and all the conquests made by "the Christian pilgrims." Philip Augustus was by no means disposed to acquiesce in this arrangement; he sent his son Louis with a numerous army into the south of France, under pretence of joining in the crusade, but really to watch the proceedings of De Montfort. Louis subsequently returned to accept the proffered crown of England, and the quarrel in which this proceeding involved him with the pope diverted his attention from Languedoc.

Arnold of Cîteaux, having returned from his Spanish crusade, took possession of his archbishopric of Narbonne, where he began to exercise the rights of a sovereign prince. Simon de Montfort, who had taken the title of duke of Narbonne in addition to that of count of Toulouse, denied that his old companion in arms had a right to temporal jurisdiction; he entered the city by force, and erected his ducal standard. Arnold fulminated an excommunication against De Montfort, and placed the city under an interdict whilst he remained in it; he found, however, to his great surprise and vexation, that these weapons were contemned by the formidable champion of the Church. But a more vigorous enemy appeared in the person of Raymond VII., son of the count of Toulouse, who in conjunction with his father made a vigorous effort to recover the ancient inheritance of his race. Simon de Montfort, contrary to his own better judgment, was induced by Foulke, bishop of Toulouse, to treat the citizens with treacherous cruelty for showing some symptoms of affection to their ancient lord; the consequence was, that they took advantage of his absence to invite Raymond to resume his power; and on the 13th of September, 1217, the count was publicly received into his ancient capital amid universal acclamations.

Simon, by the aid of the papal legate and the clergy, was able to collect a large army, but the bravest of the crusaders had either fallen in the preceding wars, or returned disgusted to their homes. Every one now knew that heresy was extinguished in Languedoc, and that the war was maintained only to gratify private revenge and individual ambition. De Montfort laid siege to Toulouse, but he was slain in a sally of the inhabitants, and his son Almeric, after a vain effort to revenge his death, retired to Carcassonne.

The Albigensian war was not ended by the death of its great leader. Almeric de Montfort sold his claims over Languedoc to Louis VIII., king of France; and though this prince died in the attempt to gain possession of Toulouse, the war was so vigorously supported by the queen-regent, Blanche, that Raymond VII. submitted to his enemies, and his dominions were united to the Crown of France (A.D. 1229). The Inquisition was immediately established in these unhappy countries, which have never since recovered completely from the calamities inflicted upon them by the ministers of papal vengeance.

SECTION IX.—*Consequences of the Crusades.*

THOUGH the popes did not succeed in establishing their supremacy over the Eastern churches, as they seem to have expected, yet they derived very important advantages from the wars of the crusaders. Not the least of these was the general recognition of their right to interfere in the internal management of states; they compelled emperors and kings to assume the cross; they levied taxes at their discretion on the clergy throughout Christendom for the support of these wars; they took under their immediate protection the persons and properties of those who enlisted, and granted privileges to the adventurous warriors, which it would have been deemed impiety to contravene. Those who joined in these wars, frequently bequeathed their estates to the Church, in the not improbable case of their death without heirs; those whom cowardice or policy detained at home, atoned for their absence by founding ecclesiastical endowments. The popes, willing to improve these advantages, preached new crusades for the north and west of Europe; warriors were invited to attack the Moors of Spain, the emperors and kings who displeased the pope, the pagan nations which surrounded the Baltic, and the Hussite heretics.

While the papal power increased, that of monarchs declined; in Germany, the Hohenstauffen gradually lost all influence; in England the barons extorted a charter from John, and the Hungarian chiefs placed similar restrictions on their sovereign. Peculiar circumstances led to a contrary result in France; many of the great feudatories having fallen in a distant land, the monarchs were enabled to extend their prerogatives, while their domains were increased by seizing the properties of those who died without feudal heirs, or of those who were suspected of heretical opinions. The Christian kings of Spain and northern Europe derived also some profit from the fanaticism of the age, being aided by troops of warlike adventurers, in extending their dominions at the expense of their Mohammedan and pagan neighbours.

Chivalry, though older than the crusades, derived its chief influence and strength from these wars. The use of surnames, coats of arms, and distinctive banners, became necessary in armies composed of men differing in language, habits, and feelings, collected at hazard from every Christian kingdom. Tournaments were the natural result of pride and courage, in warriors naturally jealous of each other's fame, while the institution of the military orders invested knighthood with a mysterious religious sanction. The first of these was the order of the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, known subsequently as the Knights of Malta. They were formed into a confraternity by Pope Paschal (A.D. 1114), but their order was greatly enlarged by Pope Calixtus. They bore an octagonal white cross on their black robes,

and were bound to wage war on infidels, and attend to sick pilgrims. After the loss of the Holy Land, they removed successively to Cyprus, Rhodes, and Malta. Their order held Malta until A.D. 1798, when they were deprived of their last possession by Napoleon.

The Knights Templars, distinguished by the red cross, were instituted soon after the Hospitallers. Their original duty was to keep the roads free for the pilgrims that visited the Holy Sepulchre, but as their numbers increased, they became the great bulwark of the Christian kingdom of Palestine, and the possessors of rich endowments in every part of western Europe¹. At length their wealth excited the cupidity of monarchs; they were overwhelmed by a mass of forged accusations, many of the noblest knights were put to death by torture, and the order wholly abolished at the council of Vienne (A.D. 1312).

The Teutonic order was originally a confraternity of German knights, formed during the siege of Acre, for the relief of the sick and wounded. It was formally instituted by Pope Celestin III. (A.D. 1192), and a code of regulations prescribed for its direction. Their ensign was a black cross, on a white robe. They subdued the kingdom of Prussia (A.D. 1230), of which they held possession until the progress of the Reformation gave that country to a protestant prince (A.D. 1525). The last great order was that of St. Lazarus, instituted originally for superintending the treatment of leprosy, a loathsome disease which the crusaders introduced into Europe. It soon became military, like the preceding, but never rose to similar eminence.

The Italian maritime states supplied the crusaders with transports, and conveyed to them provision and the munitions of war. This traffic led to a rapid increase in the commerce and navigation of the Mediterranean; a taste for spices and other articles of Oriental luxury was gradually diffused throughout Europe, and trading depôts were formed by Venice, Genoa, and other Italian powers on the shores of the Levant, and the coasts of the Greek empire. Several French towns imitated this example, and in the remote north an association was formed for the protection and extension of commerce, between the cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh (A.D. 1241), which laid the foundation of the Hanseatic league. The progress of industry, the encouragement which sovereigns found it their interest to grant to trade, and their anxiety to check the arrogance and rapacity of their feudal vassals, led to a great change in most European countries, the establishment of municipal institutions.

Before this period, the inhabitants of towns were as much serfs and vassals to their feudal superiors, as the peasantry. The counts, or governors of cities, having rendered their power hereditary, soon made it despotic. They used their power cruelly, and drove the citizens

¹ The Temple in London belonged to the Red-cross knights; the Hospitallers possessed a splendid preceptory in Clerkenwell, part of which is still standing

at length to form associations for mutual defence. In Italy, the maritime cities erected themselves into republics, and their example was followed by the cities of Lombardy, during the wars between the popes and the Emperor Henry IV. The French *communes* owed their civil liberty to both the policy and the want of Louis the Fat (A.D. 1108). He sold to his subjects the right of self-government, his example was followed by most of his powerful vassals, and in a very short time there were few cities which did not possess charters of incorporation. In England, the cities and boroughs were not only protected by the sovereigns against the barons, but their deputies were invited to take a share in the national councils (A.D. 1266), an example subsequently imitated in France and Germany.

The royal authority gained considerably by the extension of municipal freedom. It checked the plundering habits which were naturally formed by the private wars of the barons, and it placed a restraint on the ambition of the nobles, who could no longer usurp privileges with impunity. The cities and towns saw that the sovereign was the person most interested in protecting their growing freedom, and they therefore gladly gave him their support in his struggles with the aristocracy and the clergy. The emancipation of the serfs was a consequence of municipal freedom. The free cities granted protection to all who sought shelter within their walls, and the nobles saw that they must either ameliorate the condition of their vassals, or witness the depopulation of their estates. Liberty thus gradually recovered its right; civilization consequently began to extend its blessings over society, and to chase away the darkness which ignorance and superstition had spread over Europe.

The imperial house of Hohenstauffen fell from its pride of place on the death of the Emperor Frederic II., the great opponent of the papacy (A.D. 1250). His son Conrad fell a victim to disease, after a brief but troubled reign; and the anarchy which succeeded in Germany, is justly named the calamitous period of the great interregnum. The wars between rival princes filled the country with plundering bands; there would have been no security for life or property had not the cities combined for mutual defence, founding the confederation of the Rhine, and greatly extending the Hanseatic league. The chief feudatories and great officers of the crown arrogated to themselves the right of election, which had been previously shared by all the German princes; they sought to bestow the sovereignty on princes too feeble to resist the progress of their ambition; William of Holland, and an English prince, Richard, earl of Cornwall, were successively elected emperors and enjoyed little more than the title. At length, Rodolph, count of Hapsburgh, was chosen (A.D. 1273), and showed himself worthy of the crown by his energy in suppressing the predatory wars that were waged by his vassals. In the mean time, the popes, in

defiance of the rights of the Hohenstauffen, had bestowed the kingdom of Naples on Charles, duke of Anjou, brother to the king of France. That prince hastened to secure his new grant; Manfred, natural son of Frederic II., who acted as regent during the minority of young Conradin, was defeated and slain near Benevento; Charles became master of the two Sicilies, where his cruelties soon rendered him detested.

The cruelties of the duke of Anjou, the insolence and exactions of his followers, and the denial of redress to the injured, led the Italians to invite young Conradin to assert the hereditary claims of his family. At the age of sixteen this brave prince entered Italy, where he was enthusiastically received. He pursued his course in spite of papal excommunications, and obtained possession of Rome. But the Italians were not able to compete with the French in the field; when Conradin encountered Charles, his followers broke at the first onset, and he remained a prisoner. The duke of Anjou subjected the young prince to the mockery of a trial, and commanded him to be executed. On the scaffold Conradin behaved with a courage worthy of his cause and of his race. He saw, without a shudder, the head of his cousin, Frederic of Austria, struck off by the executioner; and before he stooped to the fatal blow, he threw his glove into the midst of the crowd, a gage of defiance and of vengeance.

Thus fell the last prince of the house of Suabia, which had long been the most formidable obstacle to papal usurpation. The triumph of the papacy appeared complete: Italy was severed from the German empire; but the peninsula recovered its independence only to be torn in sunder by factions; the Church did not succeed to the empire, and the pontiffs found that the spirit of freedom, which they had themselves nurtured, was a more formidable foe than the sovereigns of Germany.

SECTION

-Formation and Constitutional History of the Spanish Monarchy.

For several hundred years after the great Saracén invasion in the beginning of the eighth century, Spain was broken up into a number of small but independent states, divided in their interests, and often in deadly hostility with one another. It was inhabited by races most dissimilar in their origin, religion, and government, the least important of which has exercised a considerable influence on the character and institutions of its present inhabitants. By the middle of the fifteenth century, the number of states into which the country had been divided was reduced to four; Castile, Arragon, Navarre, and the Moorish kingdom of Granada. The last, comprised within nearly the same limits as the modern province of that name, was all that remained to

the Moslems of their once vast possessions in the peninsula. Its concentrated population gave it a degree of strength altogether disproportioned to the extent of its territory; and the profuse magnificence of its court, which rivalled that of the ancient khaliphs, was supported by the labours of a sober industrious people, under whom agriculture and several of the mechanic arts had reached a degree of perfection probably unequalled in any other part of Europe during the middle ages.

The little kingdom of Navarre, embosomed within the Pyrenees, had often attracted the avarice of neighbouring and more powerful states. But since their selfish schemes operated as a mutual check upon each other, Navarre still continued to maintain her independence when all the smaller states had been absorbed in the gradually increasing dominion of Castile and Aragon. This latter kingdom comprehended the province of that name, together with Catalonia and Valencia. Under its auspicious climate and free political institutions, its inhabitants displayed an uncommon share of intellectual and moral energy. Its long line of coast opened the way to an extensive and flourishing commerce; and its enterprising navy indemnified the nation for the scantiness of its territory at home by the important foreign conquests of Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, and the Balearic Isles.

The remaining provinces of the peninsula fell to the crown of Castile, which, thus extending its sway over an unbroken line of country from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean, seemed, by the magnitude of its territory, to be entitled to some supremacy over the other states of the peninsula; especially as it was there that the old Gothic monarchy may be said first to have revived after the great Saracen invasion. This claim, indeed, appears to have been recognised at an early period of her history. Aragon did homage to Castile for her territory on the left bank of the Ebro until the twelfth century; as did Navarre, Portugal, and, at a later period, the Moorish kingdom of Granada. And when at length the various states of Spain were consolidated into one monarchy, the capital of Castile became the capital of the new empire, and her language the language of the court and of literature.

The Saracens, reposing under the sunny skies of Andalusia, so congenial with their own, seemed willing to relinquish the sterile regions of the north to an enemy whom they despised. But when the Spaniards, quitting the shelter of their mountains, descended into the open plains of Leon and Castile, they found themselves exposed to the predatory incursions of the Arab cavalry, who, sweeping over the face of the country, carried off in a single foray the hard-earned produce of a summer's toil. It was not until they had reached some natural boundary, as the river Douro, that they were enabled, by constructing a line of fortifications behind this natural fence, to secure their conquests, and oppose an effectual resistance to the destructive inroads of

their enemies. Their own dissensions were another cause of their tardy progress. The numerous petty states which rose from the ruins of the ancient monarchy, seemed to regard each other with even a fiercer hatred than that with which they viewed the enemies of their faith; a circumstance that more than once brought the nation to the brink of ruin. More Christian blood was wasted in these national feuds than in all their encounters with the infidel. The soldiers of Fernan Gonçales, a chieftain of the tenth century, complained that their master made them lead the lives of very devils, keeping them in the harness day and night, in wars not against the Saracens, but one another.

These circumstances so far checked the energies of the Christians, that a century and a half elapsed after the invasion before they had penetrated to the Douro (A.D. 850), and nearly thrice that period before they had advanced the line of conquest to the Tagus (A.D. 1147), notwithstanding this portion of the country had been comparatively deserted by the Mohammedans. But it was easy to foresee that a people living as they did under circumstances favourable to the development of both physical and moral energy, must ultimately prevail over a nation oppressed by despotism, and the effeminate indulgence to which it was naturally disposed by a sensual religion, and a voluptuous climate. In truth, the early Spaniard was urged by every motive which can give energy to human purpose. Pent up in his barren mountains, he beheld the pleasant valleys and fruitful vineyards of his ancestors delivered over to the spoiler, the holy places polluted by abominable rites, and the crescent glittering on the domes which were once consecrated by the venerable symbol of his faith. His cause became the cause of Heaven. The Church published her bulls of crusade, offering liberal indulgences to those who served, and paradise to those who fell in the battle against the infidel. The ancient Castilian was remarkable for his independent resistance to papal encroachment, but the peculiarity of his situation subjected him in an uncommon degree to ecclesiastical influence at home. Priests mingled in the council and the camp, and, arrayed in their sacerdotal robes, not unfrequently led the armies to battle. Miracles were received by the credulous Spaniards almost as ordinary occurrences, so frequent were the announcements of their repetition. The violated tombs of the saints were said to have sent forth thunders and lightnings to consume the invaders; and when the Christians fainted in the fight, the apparition of their patron St. James, mounted on a milk-white steed, and bearing aloft the banner of the cross, was averred to have been seen hovering in the air to rally their broken squadrons and lead them on to victory. Thus the Spaniard looked upon himself as in a peculiar manner the care of Providence. For him the laws of nature were suspended. He was a soldier of the cross, fighting not only for his

country but for Christendom. Indeed, volunteers from the remotest parts of Christian Europe eagerly thronged to serve under his banner, and the cause of religion was debated with the same ardour in Spain as on the plains of Palestine.

To the extraordinary position in which the nation was placed may be referred the liberal forms of its political institutions, as well as a more early development of them than took place in other countries of Europe. From the exposure of the Castilian towns to the predatory incursions of the Arabs, it became necessary, not only that they should be strongly fortified, but that every citizen should be trained to bear arms in their defence. An immense increase of consequence was given to the burgesses, who thus constituted the most effective part of the national militia. To this circumstance, as well as to the policy of inviting the settlement of frontier places by the grant of extraordinary privileges to the inhabitants, is to be imputed the early date, as well as the liberal character of the charters of community in Castile and Leon. These, although varying a good deal in their details, generally conceded to the citizens the right of electing their own magistrates for the regulation of municipal affairs. Judges were appointed by this body for the administration of civil and criminal law, subject to an appeal to the royal tribunal. No person could be affected in life or property except by a decision of this municipal court; and no cause, while pending before it, could be evoked thence into the superior tribunal. In order to secure the barriers of justice more effectually against the violence of power, so often superior to law in an imperfect state of society, it was provided in many of the charters that no nobles should be permitted to acquire real property within the limits of the municipality; that no fortress or palace should be erected by them there; that such as might reside within the territory of a chartered city or borough should be subject to its jurisdiction; and that any violence offered by the feudal lords to its inhabitants might be resisted with impunity. Ample and inalienable funds were provided for the maintenance of the municipal functionaries, and for other public expenses. A large extent of circumjacent country, embracing frequently many towns and villages, was annexed to each city, with the right of jurisdiction over it. An officer was appointed by the crown to reside within each municipality, whose province it was to superintend the collection of the annual and fixed tribute paid in lieu of arbitrary taxes, to maintain public order, and to be associated with the magistrates of each city in the command of the forces it was bound to contribute towards the national defence. Thus, while the inhabitants of the great towns in other parts of Europe were languishing in feudal servitude, the Castilian corporations, living under the protection of their own laws and magistrates in time of peace, and commanded by their own officers in time of war, were in full enjoyment of all the essential rights and privileges of freemen.

It is true that they were often convulsed by intestine feuds; that the laws were often loosely administered by incompetent judges; and that the exercise of so many important privileges of independent states, inspired them with feelings of independence which led to mutual rivalry, and sometimes to open collision. But with all this, long after similar immunities in the free cities of other countries, as Italy for example, had been sacrificed to the violence of faction or the lust of power, those of the Castilian cities not only remained unimpaired, but seemed to acquire additional stability with age. This circumstance is chiefly attributable to the constancy of the national legislature, which, until the voice of liberty was stifled by the military despotism of the house of Austria, was ever ready to interpose its protecting arm in defence of constitutional rights.

The earliest instance on record of popular representation in Castile, occurred at Burgos in 1169; nearly a century antecedent to the first convocation of the English house of Commons, in the celebrated Leicester parliament. Each city had but one vote whatever might be the number of its representatives. A much greater irregularity in the number of cities required to send deputies to the Cortes on different occasions prevailed in Castile than ever existed in England; though previous to the fifteenth century, this does not seem to have proceeded from any design to infringe on the liberties of the people. The nomination of the deputies was originally vested in the householders at large, but was afterwards confined to the municipalities; a most mischievous alteration which subjected their election eventually to the corrupt influence of the crown. They assembled in the same chamber with the higher orders of the nobility and clergy; but on questions of importance retired to deliberate by themselves. After the transaction of other business, their own petitions were presented to the sovereign; and his assent gave them the validity of laws. The Castilian commons, by neglecting to make their money grants dependent on corresponding concessions from the crown, relinquished that powerful check on its operations so beneficially exerted in the British parliament, but in vain contended for even there until a period much later than that now under consideration. Whatever may have been the right of the nobility and clergy to attend the Cortes, their sanction was not deemed essential to the validity of legislative acts; for their presence was not even required in many assemblies of the nation which occurred in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The extraordinary power thus committed to the Commons was, on the whole, unfavourable to their liberties. It deprived them of the sympathy and co-operation of the great orders of the state, whose authority alone could have enabled them to withstand the enactments of arbitrary power, and who in fact did eventually desert them in their utmost need.

But notwithstanding these defects, the popular branch of the

Castilian Cortes, very soon after its admission into that body, assumed functions and exercised a degree of power superior to that enjoyed by the Commons in other European legislatures. It was soon recognized as a principle of the constitution, that no tax should be imposed without the consent of the representatives of the people; and an express enactment to this effect was suffered to remain on the statute-book, after it had become a dead letter, as if to remind the nation of the liberties it had lost. The Commons showed a wise solicitude in regard to the mode of collecting the public revenue, often more onerous to the subject than the tax itself. They watched carefully over its appropriation to its destined uses; they restrained a too prodigal expenditure, and more than once ventured to regulate the economy of the royal household. A vigilant eye was kept on the conduct of public officers, as well as on the right administration of justice, and commissions were appointed by the Cortes to inquire into any suspected abuses of judicial authority. They entered into negotiations for alliances with foreign powers, and by determining the amount of supplies for the maintenance of troops in time of war, preserved a salutary check over military operations. The nomination of regencies was subject to their approbation, and they defined the nature of the authority to be entrusted to them. Their consent was esteemed indispensable to the validity of a title to the crown; and this prerogative, or at least the shadow of it, long continued to survive the wreck of their ancient liberties. Finally, they more than once set aside the testamentary provisions of the sovereign in regard to the succession.

It would be improper to pass by without notice an anomalous institution peculiar to Castile, which sought to secure the public tranquillity by means which were themselves scarcely compatible with civil subordination. This was the celebrated *Hermandad*, or "Holy Brotherhood," which was designed as a substitute for a regularly organized police. It consisted of a confederation of the principal cities, bound together by solemn league and covenant for the defence of their liberty in seasons of civil anarchy. Its affairs were conducted by deputies, who assembled at stated intervals for the purpose, transacting their business under a common seal, enacting laws which they were careful to transmit to the nobles and the sovereign, and enforcing their measures by an armed body of dependants. This wild kind of justice, so characteristic of an unsettled state of society, repeatedly received the legislative sanction; and however formidable such a popular engine may have appeared to the eye of a monarch, he was often led to countenance it by a sense of his own impotence, as well as of the overweening power of the nobles, against whom it was principally directed. Hence these associations, though the epithet may seem somewhat overstrained, have received the appellation of "Cortes Extraordinary."

With these immunities the cities of Castile attained a degree of opulence and splendour unrivalled, unless in Italy, during the middle ages. At a very early period indeed their contact with the Arabs had familiarized them with a better system of agriculture and a dexterity in the mechanic arts unknown in other parts of Christendom. On the occupation of a conquered town we find it distributed into quarters or districts, appropriated to the several crafts, whose members were incorporated into guilds, under the regulation of magistrates and bye-laws of their own appointment. Instead of the unworthy disrepute into which the more humble occupations have since fallen in Spain, they were fostered by a liberal patronage, and their professors in some instances elevated to the rank of knighthood. The excellent breed of sheep which early became the object of legislative solicitude furnished them with an important staple; which, together with the simpler manufactures, and the various products of a prolific soil, formed the materials of a profitable commerce. Augmentation of wealth brought with it the usual appetite for expensive pleasures; but the surplus of riches was frequently expended in useful public works.

The nobles, though possessed of immense estates and great political privileges, did not consume their fortunes or their energies in a life of effeminate luxury. From their earliest boyhood they were accustomed to serve in the ranks against the infidel, and their whole subsequent lives were occupied either with war, or those martial exercises which reflect the image of it. Looking back with pride to their ancient Gothic descent, and to those times when they had stood forward as the peers, the electors of their sovereign, they would ill brook the slightest indignity at his hand. With these haughty feelings and martial habits, it may readily be conceived that they would not suffer the anarchical privileges of the constitution, which seemed to concede an almost unlimited licence to rebellion, to remain a dead letter. Accordingly we find them perpetually convulsing the kingdom with their schemes of selfish aggrandisement. The petitions of the Commons are filled with remonstrances on their various oppressions, and the evils resulting from their long desolating feuds. So that notwithstanding the liberal forms of its constitution, there was probably no country in Europe, during the middle ages, so sorely afflicted with the vices of intestine anarchy as Castile. These were still further aggravated by the improvident donations of the monarchs to the aristocracy, in the vain hope of conciliating their attachment, but which swelled their already overgrown power to such a height, that by the middle of the fifteenth century, it not only overshadowed that of the throne, but threatened to subvert the liberties of the state.

The overweening self-confidence of the nobles, however, proved their ruin. They disdained a co-operation with the lower orders in defence of their privileges, when both were assailed by the Austrian

dynasty, and relied too unhesitatingly on their power as a body, to feel jealous of their exclusion from the national legislature, where alone they could make an effectual stand against the usurpations of the crown. Spain was peculiarly the land of chivalry, and knighthood was regarded with especial favour by the laws of Castile. The respect for the fair sex, which had descended from the Visigoths, was mingled with the religious enthusiasm which had been kindled during the long wars with the infidel. An example of the extravagance to which this chivalrous spirit was carried occurs in the fifteenth century, when a passage of arms was defended at Ochigo, not far from Compostella, by a Castilian knight named Lenones, and his nine companions, against all comers, in the presence of John II. and his court. Its object was to release the knight from the obligation imposed upon him by his mistress of wearing publicly an iron collar round his neck every Thursday. The jousts continued for thirty days, and the champions fought without shield or target, with weapons bearing points of Milan steel. Six hundred and twenty-seven encounters took place, and one hundred and sixty-six lances were broken, when the emprise was declared to be fairly achieved.

The long minorities with which Castile was afflicted, perhaps more than any country in Europe, frequently threw the government into the hands of the principal nobility, who perverted to their own emolument the high powers entrusted to them. They usurped the possessions of the crown, and invaded some of its most valuable privileges; so that the sovereign's subsequent life was frequently spent in fruitless attempts to recover the losses of his minority. He sometimes indeed, in the impotence of other resources, resorted to such unhappy expedients as treachery and assassination. A pleasant tale is told by the Spanish historians of the more innocent device of Henry III. for the recovery of the estates extorted from the crown by the rapacious nobles during his minority.

Returning home late one evening, fatigued and half famished, from a hunting expedition, he was chagrined to find no refreshment prepared for him, and still more so to learn from his steward that he had neither money nor credit to purchase it. The day's sport, however, fortunately furnished the means of appeasing the royal appetite, and while a hasty dinner was being prepared, the steward took occasion to contrast the indigent condition of the king with that of his nobles, who habitually indulged in the most expensive entertainments, and were that very evening feasting with the archbishop of Toledo. The prince, suppressing his indignation, determined to inspect the affair in person, and assuming a disguise, introduced himself privately into the archbishop's palace, where he witnessed with his own eyes the prodigal magnificence of the banquet, teeming with costly wines, and the most luxuriant viands. The next day he caused

a rumour to be circulated through the court that he had fallen suddenly and dangerously ill. The courtiers, at these tidings, thronged to the palace, and when they had all assembled, the king made his appearance among them, bearing his naked sword in his hand, and with an aspect of unusual severity, seated himself on his throne at the upper extremity of the apartment. After an interval of silence in the astonished assembly, the monarch, addressing himself to the archbishop of Toledo, who was primate of the kingdom, inquired of him, "How many sovereigns he had known in Castile?" The prelate answering "Four," Henry put the same question to the duke of Benevente, and so on to the other courtiers in succession. None of them, however, having answered more than five, "How is this," said the prince, "that you who are so old, should have known so few; while I, young as I am, have beheld more than twenty? Yes," continued he, raising his voice to the astonished multitude, "you are the real sovereigns of Castile, enjoying all the rights and revenues of royalty, while I, stripped of my patrimony, have scarcely wherewithal to procure the necessaries of life." Then giving a concerted signal, his guards entered the apartment, followed by the public executioner, and bearing with them the implements of death. The dismayed nobles, not relishing the turn the jest appeared likely to take, fell on their knees before the monarch, and besought his forgiveness, promising in requital, complete restitution of the fruits of their rapacity. Henry, contented with having so cheaply gained his point, allowed himself to soften at their entreaties, taking care, however, to detain their persons as security for their engagement, until such time as the rents, royal fortresses, and whatever effects had been filched from the crown, should be restored.

SECTION XI.—*Survey of the Constitution of Aragon.*

ARAGON was first raised to political importance by its union with Catalonia, including the rich country of Barcelona, and the subsequent conquest of the kingdom of Valencia. The ancient country of Barcelona had reached a higher degree of civilisation than Aragon, and was distinguished by institutions even more liberal than those we have described in the preceding section as belonging to Castile. It was in the maritime cities, scattered along the coasts of the Mediterranean, that the seeds of liberty, both in ancient and modern times, were implanted and brought to maturity. During the middle ages, when the people of Europe generally maintained a toilsome and unfrequent intercourse with each other, those situated on the margin of this great inland sea found an easy mode of communication across the great highway of its waters. They mingled in war too, as well as in peace, and this long period is filled with their international contests, while the other free

cities of Chistendom were wasting themselves in civil feuds and degrading domestic broils. In this wide and various collision, their moral powers were quickened by constant activity; and more enlarged views were formed, with a deeper consciousness of their own strength, than could be obtained by those inhabitants of the interior, who were conversant only with a limited range of objects, and subjected to the influence of the same dull monotonous circumstances. Among these maritime republics, those of Catalonia were eminently conspicuous. By the incorporation of this country therefore with the kingdom of Aragon, the strength of the latter was greatly augmented. The Aragonese princes, well aware of this, liberally fostered the institutions to which the country owed its prosperity, and skilfully availed themselves of its resources for the aggrandizement of their dominions. They paid particular attention to the navy, for the more perfect discipline of which, a body of laws was prepared by Peter IV. in 1354, which was designed to render it invincible. No allusion whatever is made in this stern code to the mode of surrendering to or retreating from the enemy. The commander, who declined attacking any force not exceeding his own by more than one vessel, was punished with death. The Catalan navy disputed the empire of the Mediterranean with the fleets of Pisa, and still more with those of Genoa. With its aid the Aragonese monarchs achieved successfully the conquest of Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles, which they annexed to their empire. It penetrated into the farthest regions of the Levant, and a Catalan armament conquered Athens, giving to their sovereign the classical title of duke of that city.

But though the dominions of the kings of Aragon were thus extended abroad, there were no sovereigns in Europe whose authority was so limited at home. The national historians refer the origin of their government to a written constitution of about the middle of the ninth century, fragments of which are still preserved in certain ancient documents and chronicles. On the occurrence of a vacancy in the throne at this epoch, a monarch was elected by the twelve principal nobles, who prescribed a code of laws, to the observance of which he was compelled to swear before assuming the sceptre. The import of these laws was to circumscribe within very narrow limits the authority of the sovereignty, distributing the principal functions to a *justicia* or justice; and these peers were authorized, if the compact should be violated by the monarch, to withdraw their allegiance, and in the bold language of the ordinance "to substitute any other ruler in his stead, even a pagan if they listed." The great barons of Aragon were few in number, they claimed descent from the twelve electoral peers we have described, and they very reluctantly admitted to equality those whom the favour of the sovereign raised to the peerage. No baron could be divested of his fief unless by public sentence of the justice and the

Cortes. The nobles filled of right the highest offices in the state; they appointed judges in their domains for the cognizance of certain civil causes, and they exercised an unlimited criminal jurisdiction over certain classes of their vassals. They were excused from taxation except in specified cases; were exempted from all corporal and capital punishments; nor could they be imprisoned, though their estates might be sequestrated, for debt. But the laws conceded to them privileges of a still more dangerous character. They were entitled to defy and publicly renounce their allegiance to their sovereign, with the whimsical privilege in addition, of commending their families and estates to his protection, which he was obliged to protect until they were again reconciled. The mischievous right of private war was repeatedly recognised by statute. It was claimed and exercised in its full extent, and occasionally with circumstances of peculiar atrocity. An instance is recorded by Zurita of a bloody feud between two of these nobles, prosecuted with such inveteracy that the parties bound themselves by solemn oath never to desist from it during their lives, and to resist every effort, even on the part of the crown itself, to effect a pacification between them.

The commons of Aragon enjoyed higher consideration, and still larger civil privileges, than those of Castile. For this they were perhaps somewhat indebted to the example of their Catalan neighbours, the influence of whose democratic institutions naturally extended to other parts of the Aragonese monarchy. The charters of certain cities accorded to their inhabitants privileges of nobility, particularly those of immunity from taxation; while the magistrates of others were permitted to take their seats in the order of the lesser nobles. By a statute passed in 1307 it was ordained that the Cortes should assemble triennially. The great officers of the crown, whatever might be their personal rank, were jealously excluded from their deliberations. The session was opened by an address from the king in person, a point of which the Aragonese Cortes was always very tenacious: after which, the nobles, the clergy, and the commons, withdrew to their separate apartments. The greatest scrupulousness was manifested in maintaining the rights and dignity of the body; and their intercourse with one another and with the king was regulated by the most precise forms of parliamentary etiquette. The subjects of deliberation were referred to a committee from each order, who, after conferring together, reported to their several departments. It was in the power of any member to defeat the passage of a bill, by opposing to it his *veto* or dissent formally registered to that effect. He might even interpose his negative on the proceedings of the house; and thus put a stop to the prosecution of all further business during the session. During the interval of the sessions of the legislature a committee of two from each department was appointed to preside over public affairs, particularly

in regard to the revenue and the security of justice; with authority to convoke a Cortes extraordinary, whenever the exigency might demand it.

The Cortes exercised the highest functions, whether of a deliberative, legislative, or judicial nature. It had a right to be consulted on all matters of importance; especially on those of peace or war. No law was valid, no tax could be imposed without its consent; and it carefully provided for the application of the revenue to its destined uses. It determined the succession to the crown; removed obnoxious ministers; reformed the household and domestic expenditure of the monarch; and exercised the power in the most unreserved manner of withholding supplies, as well as of resisting what it regarded as an encroachment on the liberties of the nation.

The governments of Valencia and Catalonia were administered independent of each other long after they had been consolidated into one monarchy, but they bore a very near resemblance to the constitution of Aragon. The city of Barcelona, which originally gave its name to the county of which it was the capital, was distinguished from a very early period by ample municipal privileges. Under the Aragonese monarchs, Barcelona had so well profited by the liberal administration of its rulers as to have reached a degree of prosperity rivalling that of any of the Italian republics. She divided with them the lucrative commerce with Alexandria, and her port, thronged with foreigners from every nation, became a principal emporium in the Mediterranean for the spices, drugs, perfumes, and other rich commodities of the East, whence they were diffused over the interior of Spain, and the European continent. Her consuls and her commercial factories were established in every considerable port in the Mediterranean and in the north of Europe. The natural products of her soil, and her various domestic fabrics, supplied her with abundant articles of export. Fine wool was imported by the merchants of this city in considerable quantities from England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and returned there manufactured into cloth; an exchange of commodities the reverse of that existing between the two countries at the present day. The wealth which flowed in upon Barcelona, and the result of the activity and enterprise which the merchants of the place exhibited, was evinced by the numerous public works in which it set an example to all Europe. Strangers who visited Spain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, expatiate on the magnificence of this city, its commodious private edifices, the cleanliness of its streets and public squares, and on the amenity of its gardens and cultivated environs.

But the peculiar glory of Barcelona was the freedom of its municipal institutions. The government consisted of a senate or council of one hundred, and a body of *corregidores* or counsellors, varying at times from four to six in number; the former entrusted with the legislative,

the latter with the executive functions of administration. A large proportion of these bodies was selected from the merchants, tradesmen, and mechanics of the city. They were invested not merely with municipal authority but with many of the rights of sovereignty. They entered into commercial treaties with foreign powers; superintended the defence of the city in time of war; provided for the security of trade; granted letters of reprisal against any nation who might violate it; and raised and appropriated public money for the construction of useful works, or the encouragement of such commercial adventurers as were too hazardous or expensive for individual enterprise. The professors of the different arts, as the trades were called, organized into guilds or companies, constituted so many independent associations, whose members were eligible to the highest municipal offices. And such was the importance attached to these offices, that the nobility in many instances, resigning the privileges of their rank, a necessary preliminary, was desirous of being enrolled among the candidates for them.

Under the influence of these democratic institutions, the burghers of Barcelona, and, indeed, of Catalonia in general, which enjoyed more or less of a similar freedom, assumed a haughty independence of character, beyond what existed among the same class in other parts of Spain; and this, combined with the martial daring fostered by a life of maritime adventure and warfare, made them impatient, not merely of oppression, but of contradiction on the part of their sovereigns, who have experienced more frequent and more sturdy resistance from this part of their dominions than from any other¹. Navogiers, the Venetian ambassador to Spain early in the sixteenth century, although a republican himself, was so struck with what he deemed the insubordination of the Barcelonians, that he asserts, "The inhabitants have so many privileges that the king scarcely retains any authority over them; their liberty," he adds, "should rather go by the name of licentiousness." One example among many, may be given of the tenacity with which they adhered to their most inconsiderable immunities.

Ferdinand I., in 1416, being desirous, in consequence of the exhausted state of the finances on his coming to the throne, to evade the payment of a certain tax or subsidy, commonly paid by the kings of Aragon to the city of Barcelona, sent for the president of the council, John Fiveller, to require the consent of that body to this

¹ Barcelona revolted, and was twice besieged by the royal arms under John II., once under Philip IV., twice under Charles II., and twice under Philip V. On the last of these occasions (A.D. 1714), it held out against the combined forces of France and Spain under Marshal Berwick, and the siege is one

of the most important events in the early part of the eighteenth century. The late king of Spain, Ferdinand VII., also had occasion to feel that the independent spirit of the Catalans did not become extinct with their ancient constitution, and every regency since his death has been taught the same lesson.

measure. The magistrate, having previously advised with his colleagues, determined to encounter any hazard rather than compromise the rights of the city. He reminded the king of his coronation oath, expressed his regret that he was willing so soon to deviate from the good usages of his predecessors, and plainly told him that he and his comrades would never betray the liberties entrusted to them. Ferdinand, indignant at this language, ordered the patriot to withdraw into another apartment, where he remained in much uncertainty as to the consequences of his temerity. But the king was dissuaded from violent measures, if he ever contemplated them, by the representation of his courtiers, who warned him not to reckon too much on the patience of the people, who bore small affection to his person, from the little familiarity with which he had treated them, in comparison with their preceding monarchs, and who were already in arms to protect their magistrate. In consequence of these suggestions, Ferdinand deemed it prudent to release the councillor, and withdrew abruptly from the city on the ensuing day, disgusted at the ill-success of his enterprise.

Such, in the earlier stages of Spanish history, were the free constitutions of Castile and Aragon; but when these two kingdoms were united into one great monarchy, it became the settled policy of the sovereigns to destroy all the institutions by which the liberties of the people were secured. As the power of the Mohammedans grew weaker, the kings of Castile had less reason to grant municipal privileges on condition of defending the frontiers, and their nobles, continually engaged in mutual dissensions, were unable to check the inroads of the crown on their aristocratic privileges. The nobles of Aragon indeed were always ready to combine in a common cause, and it was aptly said by one of the monarchs, in reference to these two aristocracies, that it was equally difficult to divide the nobles of Aragon and to unite those of Castile. But union availed little to the Aragonese nobles, when the seat of government was placed beyond the sphere of their influence, and when Castilian armies were ready to crush the first appearance of insurrection. It is also to be remarked, though rather in anticipation of what we shall have to discuss hereafter, that the conquest of America not merely gave the kings of Spain vast supplies of gold, without their being compelled to have recourse to their parliaments or cortes, but it also enabled them to create many lucrative monopolies, for which the Spanish nobles bartered the privileges of their order and the rights of the people. There is a closer connexion between freedom of trade and freedom of institution than is generally imagined; every protected interest exists at the expense of all the other classes of the community, and being itself based on injustice, must connive at injustice in others. Prospective loss, however great, is constantly hazarded by the

ignorant and unthinking for immediate gain, however small, and it was this selfish folly which mainly enabled the Austrian line of Spanish monarchs to overthrow the ancient constitution of their country, and to render Spain a memorable and sad example of the great truth, that a land of monopoly soon becomes a land of slavery, and eventually a land of misery.

SECTION XII.—*State of Western Europe at the commencement of the Fourteenth Century.*

RODOLPH of Hapsburgh had no sooner obtained possession of the empire than he resolved to strengthen the sovereign authority, by annexing some of the great fiefs to the crown. The usurpation of the duchy of Austria by Ottokar, king of Bohemia, afforded him a pretext for interfering in the disposal of that province; he defeated Ottokar, and deprived him not only of Austria, but also of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, which were formed into a new principality, and the investiture given to Albert, the emperor's son (A.D. 1282), who founded the imperial house of Austria.

But while the emperor's authority was extended in Germany, it was almost unknown in Italy, where the republican cities generally withdrew even nominal allegiance from their former masters. Of these commercial states Venice was the most important. This city had been originally founded by some refugees who sought shelter in the islands and lagoons of the Adriatic, from the ferocity of the Huns (A.D. 452); but it first rose into importance under the doge Pierre Urseolo II. (A.D. 992), who obtained freedom of commerce for his fellow-citizens from the Byzantine emperor and the sultan of Egypt, and subjected the maritime cities of Istria and Dalmatia. In the wars between the empire and the papacy, they had generally supported the latter; Pope Alexander III., as a reward for their services, conferred on them the sovereignty of the Adriatic, and hence arose the singular ceremony of celebrating annually a mystic marriage between that sea and the Venetian doge. The crusades tended greatly to extend the power of the republic, especially the fourth, in which, as we have already stated, the Greek empire was dismembered. On this occasion, the Venetians received from their allies several maritime cities in Dalmatia, Albania, Epirus, and Greece, the islands of Crete, Corfu, Cephalonia, and several others in the Ionian cluster.

But the increasing wealth of Venice led to a fatal change in its political constitution. The government was originally democratic, the power of the doge being limited by a council, who were freely chosen by the citizens. Several tumults at these elections furnished the doge, Peter Grandenigo, with an excuse for proposing a law abrogating

annual elections, and rendering the dignity of councillor hereditary in the families of those who were at the period members of the legislative assembly (A.D. 1298). This establishment of a close aristocracy led to several revolts, of which that headed by Tiepolo was the most remarkable (A.D. 1310). After a fierce battle within the city, the insurgents were routed; ten inquisitors were chosen to investigate the conspiracy, and this commission was soon rendered permanent under the name of the Council of Ten, the most formidable tribunal ever founded to support aristocratic tyranny.

Genoa, like Venice, owed its prosperity to its extensive commerce, which flourished in spite of the several political convulsions that agitated the republic. The Genoese embraced the cause of the Greek emperors, and helped them to regain Constantinople. Their services were rewarded by the cession of Caffa, Azov, and other ports on the Black Sea, through which they opened a lucrative trade with China and India. They obtained also Smyrna, and Pera, a suburb of Constantinople, together with several important islands in the Archipelago. Nor were they less successful in extending their power in Italy and the western Mediterranean, though they had to contend against powerful rivals in the citizens of Pisa. The mutual jealousies of these republics, and the anxiety of both to possess the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, led to a long and sanguinary war. It ended (A.D. 1290) in the complete overthrow of the Pisans, whose commerce was annihilated by the loss of the island of Elba, and the destruction of the ports of Pisa and Leghorn.

Charles of Anjou did not long enjoy the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. His subjects justly hated him for the murder of Conradin, and the insolence of the French soldiery confirmed their aversion. An atrocious insult offered to a Sicilian lady, provoked the celebrated insurrection, commonly called the Sicilian Vespers¹ (A.D. 1282), in which all the French residents in Sicily were massacred, with the exception of William Parcellet, whose virtues honorably distinguished him from his countrymen. The islanders placed themselves under the protection of the king of Aragon, and Charles, though aided by the pope, was unable to regain his authority over them.

Pope Martin, who was warmly attached to Charles of Anjou, excommunicated the king of Aragon, and placed his kingdom under an interdict; and, finding these measures ineffectual, he preached a crusade against him, and gave the investiture of his states to the Count of Valois, second son of the king of France. He proclaimed

¹ The evening prayers in the Catholic Church are called Vespers, and the revolt commenced as the congregations were assembling at Palermo for the evening service, during the festival of Easter. Some histo-

rians describe this massacre as the result of a deep and long-planned conspiracy; but it is much more likely to have been simply a sudden outbreak of popular indignation.

Charles of Anjou champion of the Holy Church, and declared that this sanguinary tyrant was a prince chosen by God himself. The pope, who thus bestowed crowns, and exonerated subjects from their allegiance, was unable to maintain himself in his own capital; and, while he hoped to humble kings, could not enforce the obedience of the Roman citizens. But this is not the only instance of a similar anomaly in the history of the papacy. Peter of Aragon, feigning obedience, exchanged his title of king for that of a simple knight, retaining, however, all the power of royalty; but dreading the succours that the king of France sent to his uncle more than the papal menaces, he sought out means of gaining time to organize the defence of Sicily. Knowing the vain-glorious disposition of his rival, Peter proposed that Charles and he, with a hundred knights at each side, should decide their respective titles in a combat, near Bordeaux. The Duke of Anjou, elated by the hopes of a duel with a prince who added to his modest title, "Knight of Aragon," the sounding designations, "Lord of the Seas, and Father of Three Kings," accepted the terms; and, while he prepared for the expected field, neglected his preparations for war. Martin fulminated against the duel, single combats being forbidden by the Church; but Peter had never intended to expose himself to the chance, and on the appointed day, Charles discovered, from the non-appearance of his adversary, that he had been baffled by superior policy, perhaps we should rather say, perfidy,

Martin more than shared the indignation of his favourite; he renewed the preaching of the crusade against Peter, granting to all who fought in the papal cause the same indulgences assigned to those who joined in the expeditions for the recovery of Palestine; and he sent ambassadors urging the French king to hasten the invasion of Aragon. It is not easy to conceive how monarchs could be blind to the consequences of accepting these proffered crowns; they thus recognised the principle of the pope's right to depose sovereigns, and sanctioned a power which might at any time be employed against themselves or their successors. But the lessons of prudence are slow in penetrating hearts fascinated by ambition or fanaticism.

The anathemas of Martin did not deprive Peter of his crown; they scarcely even checked the current of his fortunes. All his subjects, clergy, nobles, and commons, ostentatiously displayed their attachment to their sovereign, and laughed the papal decrees to scorn. The Aragonese admiral defeated the fleet of the duke of Anjou within sight of Naples, and made his son, Charles the Lamé, a prisoner (A.D. 1284). This scion of a detested race would not have escaped the fury of the Messenians, who wished to sacrifice him in revenge for the murder of Conradin, only for the generous interference of Queen Constance, Manfred's daughter, who rescued him from the fury of the populace, and sent him for security to Catalonia.

Charles of Anjou did not long survive this calamity; the remembrance of his former triumphs and prosperity, his pride, his contempt for his enemies, and shame for having been baffled by policy, aggravated the mortification of a defeat which he no longer had power to retrieve.

Spain continued divided into several small kingdoms, Christian and Mohammedan. To the former belonged Navarre, Aragon, and Castile, of which the two last were gradually extending themselves at the expense of their Mohammedan neighbours. The Castilian monarch, Alphonso I., captured Madrid and Toledo (A.D. 1085); he would probably have expelled the Moors from Spain, had not a new burst of fanaticism in Africa supplied the Mohammedans with hordes of enthusiastic defenders in the moment of danger. The Moors not only recovered their strength, but became so formidable, that Pope Innocent III. published a crusade against them. A numerous Christian army assembled on the confines of Castile and Andalusia; they encountered their enemies near the city of Ubeda, and inflicted on them a defeat, from which the Spanish Mohammedans never recovered (A.D. 1212). Ferdinand III., king of Castile and Leon, profited by the weakness of the Moors, subdued the little kingdoms of Cordova, Murcia, and Seville (A.D. 1256), so that the Mohammedans were reduced to a single kingdom of Granada.

The crusades in Spain led to the foundation of a new kingdom in Europe. Henry of Burgundy, a member of the royal family of France, was so eminently distinguished by his valour in the Mohammedan wars, Alphonso VI., king of Castile, gave him his daughter in marriage, with the investiture of the country of Portugal as her dowry. Henry enlarged his territory at the expense of the Mohammedans, but his fame was eclipsed by that of his son Alphonso, whom his soldiers proclaimed king on the glorious field of battle in which the power of the Mohammedans was destroyed (A.D. 1139). To secure his new royalty, Alphonso placed himself and his kingdom under the protection of the Holy See, and declared himself a liege subject of the pope. His successors found the Roman pontiffs by no means slow in availing themselves of the power thus ceded to them; several violent struggles were made by the kings to free themselves from the yoke, but the power of the popes prevailed, and a treaty was concluded, by which the Portuguese clergy were secured in extensive possessions, almost royal privileges, and a complete exemption from secular jurisdiction (A.D. 1289).

As the governments of France and England began to assume a stable form, rivalry arose between the two nations, which led to a long series of sanguinary wars. From the time of Capet's usurpation, the policy of the French kings had been to lessen the power of the great feudatories: and it was a perilous error in Philip I. to sanction the

duke of Normandy's conquest of England, for he thus permitted a vassal, already dangerous, to become his rival sovereign. The danger was greatly increased when Louis VII, divorced his faithless wife Eleanor, the heiress to the provinces of Guienne, Poitou, and Gascony. She married Henry II., king of England, and thus enabled him to add her inheritance to that of the Plantagenets in France, which included the duchies of Normandy and the counties of Anjou and Maine (A.D. 1152). The vassal was now more powerful than his sovereign; the throne of France indeed would scarcely have been secure, had not the family disputes of the Plantagenets, secretly fomented by the wicked Eleanor, caused Henry's sons to revolt against their indulgent father, and brought that able sovereign with sorrow to his grave. Philip Augustus was the founder of the greatness of the French monarchy. The Plantagenets of England sank rapidly before his superior talents. Richard I. was nothing more than a brave warrior, and unable to compete with the policy of his rival; his successor, John, was neither a soldier nor a statesman; he provoked the resentment of all his subjects, and while assailed in England by the discontented barons, and menaced abroad by the pope, he was deprived of most of his continental dominions by the watchful king of France. Philip's neighbours, and many of his vassals, were alarmed at the vast increase of his power after his conquest of the Norman provinces; they formed a league against him, but at the battle of Bouvines (A.D. 1214), he triumphed over the united forces of the Germans, the English, and the Flemings, and by this victory secured the possession of his acquisitions.

After the death of Nicholas (A.D. 1292), the papacy, as if exhausted by its own excesses, seemed to have fallen into a lethargy. The Holy See remained vacant for two years and three months; an interval which the heads of the Church might have improved to accommodate the ecclesiastical system to the improved state of intelligence, and the consequent changes in the wants and wishes of Europe. But, in an evil hour, they had adopted the doctrine of infallibility, and believed themselves bound to keep their system stationary while everything around was in progress. In a former age the papacy had taken the lead in the advancement of intelligence; the clergy and the friars were the missionaries of knowledge; but the Church had now fallen into the rear; kings, not pontiffs, were the patrons of learning; in the new contest between the spiritual and temporal powers, we shall find the latter conquering, because on their side were ranged all who took a share in the advancement of civilization. Intelligence, emancipated from the cloister, found a temporary abode in the palace, and finally spread even to the cottage; the popes became its enemies from the moment it quitted their protection, but they were necessarily vanquished in the struggle; one age beheld monarchs

despise the deposing power, the next witnessed the pope's authority a mockery, and his very name a reproach in one-half of Europe.

The vacancy in the papacy became the signal for civil wars in Rome, and throughout Italy superstition attributed these calamities to the cardinals, who left the Church without a head: an insane hermit stimulated the populace to menace them with death unless they proceeded to an election, and they chose a feeble, ignorant, old fanatic, who took the name of Celestine IV. Though destitute of any other qualification, Celestine had at least the pride of a pontiff,—the bridle of the ass, on which, with blasphemous imitation, he made his public entry into Aquila, was held by two kings, Charles II., the perjured sovereign of Naples, and his son Charles Martel, nominal king of Hungary. But the cardinals soon became weary of an idiot monk forced upon them by an insane hermit; Benedict Cajetan worked upon the weak mind of Celestine to resign a dignity which he was unable to maintain, and, having previously gained the suffrages of the college, ascended the throne under the name of Boniface VIII.¹ In its altered circumstances, the papacy thus found a ruler who had fortitude and courage sufficient to maintain its pretensions against the kings who had now begun to discover their rights; but the defeat of the pontiff added one to the many examples that history affords of the failure of antiquated pretensions when opposed to common sense and common honesty.

SECTION XIII.—*Pontificate of Boniface VIII.*

Most historians assert that Boniface had recourse to very treacherous artifices, in order to obtain the resignation of Celestine: however this may be, the abdicated pontiff was immediately shut up in a prison, lest his scruples, or his remorse, should trouble his successor. Boniface, to the ambition and despotic character of Gregory VII., added a more crafty manner, and more dissimulation, than had been recently seen in the chair of St. Peter. He aspired to universal sovereignty over ecclesiastics, princes, and nations; and he diligently sought out means for rendering them submissive to his laws. Aware that it would be impossible to revive the crusading passion in Europe, he resolved to make the recovery of Palestine a pretext for interfering in the quarrels of sovereigns. He wrote to Philip the Fair, king of France, to Edward I. of England, and to Adolphus, emperor of Germany, commanding them, under pain of excommunication, to

¹ Almost the only thing memorable in the pontificate of Celestine, is the fabled miracle of the Chapel of Loretto, which was said to have been transported by angels from Nazareth to the place where it now stands, that it should not be polluted by the Saracens. This absurd story was long credited by the Romanists, but it is now derided even in Italy.

accommodate their differences ; and he mediated a peace between the sovereigns of France and Aragon.

James, king of Aragon, anxious to conciliate the pope, resigned his pretensions to Sicily ; but the islanders, detesting the house of Anjou, and despising the commands of a sovereign who had so weakly abandoned his rights, crowned Frederic, the brother of James, at Palermo, and expelled the papal legates. Excommunications were fulminated against the Sicilians, and the sovereign of their choice ; even the feeble James was induced to arm against his brother, and aid in his expulsion from the island ; and this violation of natural ties was rewarded by the cession of Sardinia and Corsica, over which the pope had not a shadow of right. But the ambition of Boniface was not limited to bestowing islands and Italian principalities ; he resolved to establish his authority over the most powerful sovereigns of Europe.

Philip the Fair was one of the most able monarchs in Christendom ; resolute in establishing his influence over the great vassals of the crown, he strengthened himself by the support of his people, and resolved that the nobles and the clergy should, from henceforth, form classes of his subject. Feudal anarchy disappeared, and equal jurisdiction was extended over all ranks ; the lower classes were delivered from the most galling burdens of vassalage, and the despotism of the sovereign became a blessing to the nation. In the midst of his career he received an embassy from the pope, commanding him to spare a conquered vassal, to abstain from taxing the clergy, and to submit his disputes with the count of Flanders to the arbitration of the Holy See. Philip spurned these demands, upon which the pope issued the celebrated bull, called, from the words with which it commences, *Clericis laicos*, excommunicating the kings who should levy ecclesiastical subsidies, and the priests who should pay them, and withdrawing the clergy from the jurisdiction of lay tribunals.

This attempt to establish a theocracy, independent of monarchy, excited general indignation. In England, Edward ordered his judges to admit no causes in which ecclesiastics were the complainants, but to try every suit brought against them, averring that those who refused to contribute to the support of the state, had no claim to the protection of the law. This expedient succeeded, and the English ecclesiastics hastened to pay their subsidies, without further compulsion. Philip the Fair exhibited even more vigour ; he issued an edict prohibiting the export of gold, silver, jewels, provisions, or munitions of war, without a licence ; and he forbade foreign merchants to establish themselves in his dominions. Boniface, aware that these measures would destroy the revenue which the court of Rome derived from France, remonstrated in urgent terms, explained away the most offensive parts of his former bull, and offered several advantages to the

king, if he would modify his edicts. Philip allowed himself to be persuaded; the bull *Clericis laicos* was rendered less stringent: Louis IX. was canonized, and Philip could boast of having a saint for an ancestor; finally, the pope promised that he would support Charles of Valois, as a candidate for the empire. Dazzled by these boons, the French monarch accepted the arbitration of the pope, in his disputes with the king of England and the count of Flanders. But Boniface, to his astonishment, decided that Guienne should be restored to England, that all his former possessions should be given back to the count of Flanders, and that Philip himself should undertake a new crusade. When this unjust sentence was read in the presence of the French court by the bishop of Durham, Edward's ambassador, the king listened to it with a smile of contempt; but the count of Artois, enraged at such insolence, snatched the bull, tore it in pieces, and flung the fragments into the fire. This was the only answer returned: Philip, heedless of the pope's anger, renewed the war.

Boniface VIII. little dreamed that Philip's resistance would be so energetic, or of such dangerous example: but he prepared for the coming struggle, by securing his authority in Italy, and especially in Rome, where the papal power had been long controlled by the factious nobles. Immediately after his elevation to the pontificate, he had caused himself to be elected senator, but the Ghibellines rendered the dignity of such a magistrate very precarious; it was necessary to destroy them, and in this instance personal vengeance was united to the projects of ambition. The leaders of the Ghibelline faction at Rome were the illustrious family of the Colonna; two cardinals of that name had strenuously resisted the abdication of Celestine, and had long been marked out as victims. Under the pretext of their alliance with the kings of Sicily and Aragon, they were summoned to appear before the papal tribunal; but justly dreading that their doom was predetermined, they fled to their castles, protesting against the sentence of him whom they denied to be a legitimate pope. Boniface hurled the most terrible anathemas against them, declaring them infamous, excommunicate, and incapable of any public charge, to the fourth generation: he devoted them to the fires of the Inquisition, and preached a crusade for their destruction. Intimidated for a moment, the Colonnas submitted, and surrendered their town of Palestrina as a pledge of their fidelity. No sooner was Boniface master of this stronghold, than, regardless of his oaths, he levelled the fortress to the ground, forbade it to be rebuilt, renewed his persecutions against the Colonnas, and compelled them to fly from Italy. They sought shelter at the court of France, where they were hospitably received by Philip, who thus gave a signal proof of his independence and his generosity.

Boniface was alarmed, but not dismayed; he resolved to lull the

king's vigilance by stimulating his ambition: for this purpose he proposed to dethrone Albert, emperor of Germany, and give the crown to Charles of Valois, whom he had already created imperial vicar, and captain-general of the Holy Church. Philip turned a deaf ear to this tempting proposal; he even entered into alliance with Albert, and cemented the union by giving his sister in marriage to the emperor's son, Rodolph, duke of Austria. Boniface was enraged by this disappointment, but his attention was diverted by the institution of a Jubilee to mark the commencement of a new century (A.D. 1300). He published a bull, promising full pardon and remission of all sins to those who, being confessed and penitent, should visit the tombs of the apostles at Rome, during fifteen days. Multitudes of pilgrims, anxious to obtain the benefits of the crusades, without the perils of war, flocked to the city, and by their liberal expenditure, greatly enriched the Romans. This profitable contrivance was renewed by the successors of Boniface, at intervals of fifty years, and proved to be an efficacious means of recruiting the papal treasury.

Scarcely had the Jubilee terminated, when the disputes between the pope and the king of France were revived, in consequence of the rival claims for supremacy, between the archbishop and the viscount of Narbonne. The king supported his vassal; the prelate appealed to the pope, and Boniface promptly responded to the call. A legate was sent to Philip, and the choice of an ambassador was almost a declaration of war. The pope's messenger was the bishop of Pamiers, a rebellious subject, whose treasons were notorious, and whose insolence to his sovereign excited general indignation. The seditious prelate was driven from the court; but the king instead of bringing him to trial, complained to his metropolitan, the archbishop of Narbonne, and demanded justice. Boniface addressed an insolent bull to the king, summoned the French bishops to meet at Rome, to consult respecting the doom that should be pronounced on their sovereign, and invited Philip himself to be present at this unprecedented conclave. But the king, supported by the legists or professors of the law, a body rising rapidly into importance, defied the papal power and appealed to the good sense of his people. Boniface had sent a bull, known in history by the name of *Ausculta fili*¹, to France, in which all the delinquencies of Philip, not only towards the Church, but every class of his subjects, were portrayed with apparent moderation, but with great vigour and eloquence. Peter Flotte, the royal chancellor, presented an abridgment of this document to the great council of the nation, craftily culling out those passages in which the papal pretensions were most offensively put forward. This document called "the little bull," was as follows:—

¹ "Listen, son;" the words with which it commenced.

"Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Philip, king of the Franks. Fear God and keep his commandments. We desire you to know that you are subject to us in temporal as well as in spiritual affairs; that the appointment to benefices and prebends belongs not to you; that if you have kept benefices vacant, the profits must be reserved for the legal successors; and if you have bestowed any benefice, we declare the appointment invalid, and revoke it if executed. Those who oppose this judgment shall be deemed heretics."

Philip ordered this declaration to be publicly burned, and he published a memorable reply, which, however, was probably never sent to Rome. It is a very remarkable proof of the decline of the papal power, that such a manifesto should be issued, and presented to the States-general of France, as their monarch's answer to the supreme pontiff. The letter of the king is thus given by historians:—

"Philip, by the grace of God, king of the French, to Boniface, claiming to be pope, little or no greeting. May it please your sublime stupidity to learn, that we are subject to no person in temporal affairs; that the bestowing of fiefs and benefices belongs to us by right of our crown; that the disposal of the revenues of vacant sees is part of our prerogative; that our decrees in this respect are valid both for the past and for the future; and that we will support, with all our might, those on whom we have bestowed, or shall bestow benefices. Those who oppose this judgment shall be deemed fools or idiots."

The manifestoes sent to Rome by the three orders of the States-general, the nobles, the clergy, and the commons, are of greater importance to the historian than "the little bull" or the royal reply. That of the French barons was addressed to the college of cardinals; it openly accused the pope of having perilled the unity of the Church by his extravagant ambition, and it denied in the strongest terms, his right to appellate jurisdiction over the kingdom of France. The clergy addressed Boniface himself in a measured and respectful tone, but they declared that they had taken a new oath to their sovereign, that they would maintain the independence of his crown. The declaration of the commons has not been preserved, but like that of the nobles, it appears to have been addressed to the college of cardinals. The court of Rome was alarmed, letters of explanation were sent to the different orders, but the pope declared he would not write to the king, whom he considered subject to the sentence of excommunication.

Whilst Boniface VIII. was thus engaged with France and its ruler, he did not lose sight of his pretensions over other kingdoms. Edward of England, having overcome the feudal turbulence of his vassals, was about to undertake the conquest of Scotland, when the Holy See forbade the enterprise. Edward in reply traced his right to Scotland, up to the age of the prophet Samuel, and a synod of the

English clergy declared, that the claims of their sovereign were better founded than those of the pontiff. A legate, by command of Boniface, laboured to pacify Hungary, which was divided between the grandson of Charles the Lame, king of Naples, and Andrew the Venetian. On the death of the latter prince, the Hungarian barons, fearing the loss of their liberties under a king imposed upon them by the Church, elected for their sovereign the son of the king of Bavaria, and he was solemnly crowned by the archbishop of Colreza. The pope wrote fierce denunciations against the election, and even commanded the king of Bavaria to dethrone his own son. But though Hungary refused submission, the obedience of Spain consoled the pontiff; he declared the marriage of Sancho the Brave valid, after his death, and in consequence of this decision, Ferdinand IV., the eldest son of that monarch, was permitted to retain the kingdom of Castile.

Though Philip had ordered that the goods of all the clergy who quitted the kingdom should be confiscated, many of the prelates, braving the penalty, proceeded to the court of Rome. Conscious that this disobedience portended a struggle between the spiritual and temporal power, the French king took the unexpected precaution of denouncing the horrors of the Inquisition, and thus representing royalty as the shield of the people against the tyranny of the priesthood. Boniface, encouraged by the presence of the French bishops, yielded to the impetuosity of his passions, and issued the famous bull *Unam sanctam*, in which the claims of the papacy to universal dominion are stated with more strength and precision than the court of Rome had yet ventured to use. After this document had been sanctioned by the council, a legate was sent to France, whose instructions contained the demand that the king should not oppose the prelates who wished to travel, the disposal of benefices by the Holy See, or the entrance of legates into his kingdom; that he should not confiscate the properties of ecclesiastics, nor bring them to trial, before civil courts; that the king should appear in person at Rome, and answer the charge of having burned a bull sealed with the effigies of the holy apostles; and finally, that he should recompense the losses occasioned by the depreciation of the currency, and abandon the city of Lyons to its archbishop, as an ecclesiastical fief. Philip the Fair, undaunted by the threat of excommunication, peremptorily rejected all these demands, and in his turn caused Boniface to be accused by William de Nogaret, the royal advocate, of usurpation, heresy, and simony. The advocate required that a general council should be summoned to investigate these charges, and that the pope should be detained in prison until his guilt or innocence should be decided.

Boniface was now seriously alarmed; when he ascended the throne, Celestine had declared "This cardinal, who stole like a fox into the chair of St. Peter, will have the reign of a lion, and the end of a

dog," his violence in the struggle with the king of France tended to realize both predictions. But it was necessary to obtain allies, and Frederick, king of Sicily, was won over to declare himself a vassal of the Holy See, by obtaining the recognition of his royal title, and absolution from the many anathemas hurled against him. The Emperor Albert was similarly prevailed upon to recognise the extravagant pretensions of the papacy, on obtaining a bull confirming his election; he even issued letters patent confessing that the imperial power was a boon conferred at the pleasure of the Holy See. Thus strengthened, Boniface laid aside all appearance of moderation, and solemnly excommunicated the contumacious king of France.

Philip on the other hand assembled the states of his realm at the Louvre, and presented to them a new act of accusation against Boniface, in which he was charged with the most detestable and unnatural crimes. It was voted that an appeal should be made to a new pope and a general council, and so general was the disapprobation of the pontiff's ambitious schemes, that the greater part of the French ecclesiastical dignitaries, including nine cardinals, sent in their adhesion to the appeal.

Boniface met the storm with firmness; he replied to the charges urged against him with more temper than could have been anticipated, but he secretly prepared a bull of excommunication, depriving Philip of his throne, and anathematizing his posterity to the fourth generation. This final burst of hostility was delayed until the 8th of September (A. D. 1303), when the Romish church celebrates the nativity of the blessed Virgin, and Boniface awaited the day in the city of Anagni.

On the eve of the Virgin's nativity the pope had retired to rest, having arranged his plans of vengeance for the following day; he was suddenly roused by cries of "Long live Philip! Death to Boniface!" Nogaret, at the command of the king of France, had entered Anagni with three hundred cavaliers, and being joined by some of the townsmen, was forcing his way into the palace. Sciarra Colonna and Nogaret rushed together into the chamber of Boniface; they found the old man clothed in his pontifical robes, seated on his throne, waiting their approach with unshaken dignity. They made him their prisoner, and prepared for his removal to France until a general council. But Nogaret having unwisely delayed three days at Anagni, the citizens and the neighbouring peasants united to liberate the pontiff; Colonna and his French allies were forced to abandon their prey, and could only save their lives by a rapid flight. Boniface hastened to Rome; but fatigue, anxiety, and vexation, brought on a violent fever, which soon put an end to his troubled life.

The reign of Boniface was fatal to the papal power; he exaggerated its pretensions at the moment when the world had begun to discover

the weakness of its claims; in the attempt to extend his influence further than any of his predecessors, he exhausted the sources of his strength, and none of his successors, however ardent, ventured to revive pretensions which had excited so many wars, shed so much blood, and dethroned so many kings. The priesthood and the empire, fatigued by so long and disastrous a struggle, desired tranquillity, but tranquillity was for the court of Rome a political death. The illusion of its own omnipotence vanished with the agitations by which it had been produced, and new principles of action began to be recognised in its policy.

The death of Boniface marks an important era in the history of popery; from this time we shall see it concentrating its strength, and husbanding its resources; fighting only on the defensive, it no longer provokes the hostility of kings, or seeks cause of quarrel with the emperors. The bulls that terrified Christendom must repose as literary curiosities in the archives of St. Angelo, and though the claims to universal supremacy will not be renounced, there will be no effort made to enforce them. A few pontiffs will be found now and then reviving the claims of Gregory, of Innocent, and of Boniface; but their attempts will be found desultory and of brief duration, like the last flashes, fierce but few, that break out from the ashes of a conflagration.

Benedict XI., the successor of Boniface, hastened to exhibit proofs of the moderation which results from defeat. Without waiting for any solicitation, he absolved Philip the Fair from the anathemas fulminated against him by Boniface; recalled the Colonnas from exile, and encouraged the Roman people to restore the ancient inheritance of that illustrious family; finally, he exerted himself to reconcile the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Tuscany, but unfortunately without effect. His early death prepared the way for a new crisis, in which the political system of the papacy was destined to suffer greater shocks than any to which it had been yet exposed, and to give fresh proofs that it could not be improved, even by the stern lessons of adversity.

SECTION XIV.—*State of England and the Northern Kingdoms at the Commencement of the Fourteenth Century.*

WILLIAM the Conqueror reduced the Saxon population of England to the most degrading state of vassalage, but he could not destroy the love and memory of their ancient laws and liberties retained by the nation. His sons, William Rufus and Henry I., were successively enabled to seize the throne in prejudice of the rights of their elder brother Robert, by promising to restore the ancient laws of the kingdom. Henry, to conciliate the English more effectually, married a princess of Saxon descent; on his death he bequeathed the crown to

the surviving child by this marriage, Matilda, the wife of Geoffry Plantagenet, earl of Anjou. This arrangement was defeated by the usurpation of Stephen: England was convulsed by a civil war, which was terminated by Stephen's adopting Henry, Matilda's son, as his successor.

Henry II., the first of the Plantagenet dynasty, on ascending the throne, united to England the duchy of Normandy, the county of Anjou, and the fairest provinces of north-western France (A.D. 1154). To these he added the more important acquisition of Ireland, partly by a papal donation, and partly by right of conquest.

Ireland was at this period divided into five petty sovereignties, whose monarchs harassed each other by mutual wars, and could rarely be induced to combine for their common interest. The island had been frequently devastated, and once completely subdued, by the Danes; several septs of these foreigners retained possession of the chief commercial cities, and even the king of Man was formidable to a country distracted by intestine wars. When their Norman brethren conquered England, the Danes in Ireland entered into a close correspondence with William and his successors, a circumstance which probably first suggested to Henry the notion of conquering the island. He applied to the pope for a sanction of his enterprise. Adrian, the only Englishman that ever filled the papal throne, was at that time the reigning pontiff; his desire to gratify his native sovereign was stimulated by his anxiety to extend the papal authority. The Irish Church had been long independent of Rome; and the connection between its prelates and the papacy was as yet insecure; it was therefore on the condition of subjecting Ireland to the jurisdiction of the Romish church that a bull was issued, granting Henry permission to invade the country. The bitter feuds in the Plantagenet family, and the state of his continental dominions, long prevented the English monarch from availing himself of this permission. At length Dermot, king of Leinster, driven from his dominions by a rival sovereign, sought English aid, and was permitted to engage the services of Strongbow, and some other military adventurers, on condition of doing homage for his kingdom to Henry. The rapid successes of Strongbow awakened Henry's jealousy; he went to Ireland in person, and received the submission of its principal sovereigns (A.D. 1172). He returned without completing the conquest of the country, a circumstance productive of much misery and bloodshed through several successive centuries.

The reign of Richard I. was a period of little importance in English history; but that of his brother and successor, the profligate John, led to the most important results. The barons, provoked by his tyranny and his vices, took up arms, and compelled him to sign the Great Charter, which laid the first permanent foundation of British

freedom; the pope forced him to resign his crown, and to receive it back again, only on condition of vassalage to the Holy See, while Philip Augustus took advantage of these circumstances to deprive the English monarchs of most of their continental possessions. John's death saved England from becoming a province of France: absolved by Pope Innocent III. from his oath, he ventured to abrogate the Great Charter, upon which the English barons proffered the crown to Louis, the eldest son of Philip Augustus, who invaded England with the fairest prospects of success. John was completely defeated (A.D. 1216); he fled towards Scotland, but died upon the road. The English, already disgusted with their French allies, embraced this opportunity of rallying round Prince Henry, and Louis was glad to conclude a treaty for abandoning the island.

Henry III. was a monarch wholly void of energy; it was his misfortune to fill the throne at one of the most turbulent periods of English history, without talents to command respect, or resolution to enforce obedience. During his long reign, England was engaged in few foreign wars, but these were generally unfortunate. On the other hand, the country was agitated by internal commotions during the greater part of the fifty years that he swayed the sceptre. The discontent of the prelates and barons at the favour that the king showed to foreigners induced them to form an association, by which the king was virtually deposed, and the supreme authority vested in a committee of peers, with the earl of Leicester at its head. Leicester introduced an important change into the constitution, by summoning representatives of counties, cities, and boroughs, to unite with the barons in the great council of the nation (A.D. 1265). This innovation laid the basis for the House of Commons, which henceforth had an increasing share in English legislation. The tyranny of the barons being found less endurable than that of the king, Henry was restored to his former power; and his authority seemed fixed so permanently, that Prince Edward led an armament to the Holy Land, in aid of the last crusade of St. Louis. Henry died during his son's absence (A.D. 1272); but though two years elapsed before Edward's return home, the tranquillity of the country continued undisturbed.

The chief object of Edward's ambition was to unite the whole of Great Britain under one sovereignty. Under the pretext of the Welsh prince, Llewelyn, having refused homage, he invaded the country, and completely subdued it; but not without encountering a desperate resistance. The English monarch staid more than a year in Wales to complete its pacification, and during that time his queen, Eleanor, gave birth to a son in the castle of Carnarvon (A.D. 1284). The Welsh claimed the child as their countryman; and he was declared Prince of Wales, a title which has ever since been borne by the eldest sons of the English kings.

The failure of the direct heirs to the crown of Scotland gave Edward a pretence for interfering in the affairs of that kingdom. Three competitors, Baliol, Bruce, and Hastings, laid claim to the crown; to avert the horrors of civil war, they agreed to leave the decision to Edward; and he pronounced in favour of the first, on condition of Baliol's becoming a vassal to the king of England. Baliol soon grew weary of the authority exercised over him by Edward, and made an effort to recover his independence; but being defeated and taken prisoner, he abdicated the throne (A.D. 1296), and was confined in the Tower of London. The Scottish nation, though vanquished, was not subdued; several insurrections were raised against the English yoke; but after the defeat and capture of the Scottish hero, Sir William Wallace, all hope of independence seemed to have vanished. At length, Robert Bruce raised the standard of revolt, and was crowned king at Scone (A.D. 1306). Edward once more sent an army into Scotland, and soon followed in person to subdue that obstinate nation. His death on the border (A.D. 1307) freed Bruce from his most dangerous foe; and in the following reign the independence of Scotland was established by the decisive battle of Bannockburn (A.D. 1314).

The northern kingdoms of Europe, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, offer little to our notice but scenes of horror and carnage. The natural ferocity and warlike spirit of the Northmen, the want of fixed rules of succession, and the difficulty of finding employment for turbulent spirits in piratical expeditions when the increase of civilization had given consistency to the governments of the south, and enabled them to provide for the protection of their subjects, multiplied factions, and produced innumerable civil wars. Crusades, however, were undertaken against the Slavonian and other pagan nations, by which the kings of Denmark and Sweden added considerably to their dominions, and gave them a high rank among the states of Europe. Prussia and Livonia were subdued by the knights of the Teutonic order; and Hungary, after having been almost ruined by the Mongolian hordes, began gradually to recover its importance after the retreat of these barbarians (A.D. 1244).

SECTION XV.—*Revolutions in the East in consequence of the Mongolian Invasion.*

THERE is no phenomenon more remarkable in history than the rise, progress, and extent of the Mongolian empire. It was thought that no human power could ever surpass the conquests of the Arabs, who in less than seventy years extended their sway over wider territories than the Romans had acquired in five centuries; but the Mongols, or, as they are more commonly called, the Moguls, from as humble an

origin, obtained greater dominion in a less time. Jenghiz Khan, in a single reign, issuing from a petty principality in the wilds of Tartary, acquired an empire stretching about six thousand miles from east to west, and at least half that space from north to south, including within its limits the most powerful and wealthy kingdoms of Asia.

The vast and varied countries, loosely called Scythia by ancient, and Tartary by modern writers, are tenanted by hordes differing in manners, language, and even physical constitution, but which are frequently confounded with one another. Divided into numerous tribes, the several hordes are almost incessantly engaged in mutual wars, unless when some great leader arises, whose renown spreads through the nation, and then all the tribes hasten to range themselves beneath his standard. When they invade a country, they have no option between victory and death; for other hordes, from more remote districts, press forward to occupy the pastures they have quitted, and thus cut off the possibility of their retreat; but these, at the same time, form a body of reserve, ready and willing to supply the losses of war. The armies of a regular state contend against such hordes at an immense disadvantage; a defeat is ruinous, for they give no quarter; a victory useless, for the invaders have neither wealth nor country to lose, and are not conquered unless they are exterminated.

The Mongols were first raised into eminence by Jenghiz Khan; his original name was Temujín, and he was the chief of a small horde which his father's valour had elevated above the surrounding tribes. At an early age he was invited to the court of Vang Khan, the nominal head of the tribes of the Tartarian deserts, and received the hand of that potentate's daughter in marriage. Mutual jealousy soon led to a war between Temujín and his father-in-law; the latter was slain in battle, and Temujín succeeded to his authority. On the day of his installation, a pretended prophet named Kokza, addressing the new sovereign, declared that he was inspired by God to name him Jenghiz Khan, that is, supreme monarch, and to promise him the empire of the universe.

Inspired by this prophecy, which, however, he is suspected of having suggested, Jenghiz zealously laboured to establish military discipline among the vast hordes that flocked to his standard; and when he had organized an army, he invaded those provinces of northern China called Khatai by the oriental writers, and Cathay by our old English authors. In five years this extensive country was subdued. and Jenghiz directed his arms westward, provoked by an outrage of the sultan of Kharasm. This kingdom of Kharasm was among the most flourishing in central Asia; the literary eminence of Bokhara, and the commercial prosperity of Samarcand, were celebrated throughout the East. The sultans Mohammed and his son and successor, Jalaloddín, were monarchs of dauntless bravery, but nothing could

withstand the fury of the Mongols, and not only Kharasm, but the greater part of northern and eastern Persia, fell under the sway of Jenghiz. Astrachan was taken by a Mongolian detachment, and some of the hordes pushed their incursions as far as the confines of Russia. Jenghiz died in his seventy-sixth year (A.D. 1227), continuing his career of conquest almost to the last hour of his life. Few conquerors have displayed greater military abilities, none more savage ferocity. He delighted in slaughter and devastation; his maxim was to slaughter without mercy, all that offered him the least resistance.

The successors of the Mongolian conqueror followed the course he had traced. They completed the subjugation of China, they overthrew the khaliphate of Bagdad (A.D. 1258), and rendered the sultans of Iconium tributary. Oktai Khan, the immediate successor of Jenghiz, sent two armies from the centre of China, one against the peninsula of Corea, the other to subdue the countries north and east of the Caspian. This latter army, under the guidance of Batú Khan, penetrated and subdued the Russian empire (A.D. 1237); thence the Mongols spread into Hungary, Poland, and Silesia, and even reached the coasts of the Adriatic Sea. The duchy of Wladimir was the only native Russian dynasty that preserved its existence; it owed its good fortune to Alexander Newski, whose prudent measures conciliated the favour of the conquerors and secured him a tranquil reign. After the death of Kublai Khan, the grandson of Jenghiz, the Mongolian empire was partitioned by the provincial governors and gradually sank into decay.

The overthrow of the Seljúkian sultans and the Fatimite khaliphs, by Nouredin and Saladin, has been already mentioned. The dynasty of the Ayúbites was founded by Saladin's descendants in Syria and Egypt, and this, after having been divided into several states, was overthrown by the Mamelukes in the thirteenth century.

The Mamelukes were Turkish captives, whom the ferocious Mongols sold into slavery; great numbers of them were imported into Egypt in the reign of Sultan Saleh, of the Ayúbite dynasty. This prince purchased multitudes of the younger captives, whom he formed into an army and kept in a camp on the sea-coast, where they received instruction in military discipline¹. From this they were removed to receive the charge of the royal person, and the superintendence of the officers of state. In a short time, these slaves became so numerous

¹ Hence they were called the Baharite or Maritime Mamelukes, to distinguish them from the Burjite or Garrison Mamelukes, another body of this militia, formed by the Baharite sultan, Kelaün, to counterbalance the authority usurped by the Turkish emirs. The Burjites derived their name from the forts which they garrisoned; they soon increased

in power, and made the Baharite dynasty undergo the fate it inflicted on the Ayúbite sultans. They rose against their masters (A.D. 1382), gained possession of the supreme authority, and placed one of their chiefs on the throne of Egypt. The Burjites in their turn were overthrown by the Ottomans (A.D. 1517).

and so powerful that they were enabled to usurp the throne, having murdered Túran Shah, the son and successor of Saleh, who had vainly endeavoured to break the yoke which the Mamelukes had imposed upon their sultan (A.D. 1250). This revolution took place in the presence of St. Louis, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Mansurah, and had just concluded a truce for ten years with Túran Shah. The Mameluke insurgent, named at first regent or *atta-beg*, was finally proclaimed sultan of Egypt.

The dominion of the Mamelukes over Egypt lasted for more than two centuries and a half. Their body, constantly recruited by Turkish and Circassian slaves, disposed of the throne at its pleasure; the boldest of their chiefs, provided he could prove his descent from Turkestan, was chosen sultan. Notwithstanding the frequent wars and revolutions necessarily resulting from the licentiousness of military election, the Mamelukes made a successful resistance to the Mongols, and after the death of Jenghiz Khan's immediate heirs, conquered the kingdoms of Aleppo and Damascus, which the Mongolian khans had taken from the Ayúbites (A.D. 1260). The surviving princes of the Ayúbite dynasty in Syria and Arabia tendered their submission to the Mamelukes, who were thus masters of all the ancient Saracenic possessions in the Levantine countries, with the exception of the few forts and cities which were still retained by the Franks and western Christians. The Mamelukes soon resolved to seize these last memorials of the crusades. They invaded the principalities of Antioch and Tripoli, which were subdued without much difficulty. A fierce resistance was made by the garrison of Acre, but the town was taken by assault and its gallant defenders put to the sword. Tyre soon after surrendered by capitulation (A.D. 1291), and thus the Christians were finally expelled from Syria and Palestine.

CHAPTER V.

THE REVIVAL OF LITERATURE; THE PROGRESS OF
CIVILIZATION AND INVENTION.SECTION I.—*Decline of the Papal Power. The Great Schism
of the West.*

CLEMENT V., elevated to the papacy by the influence of the French king, Philip the Fair, to gratify his patron, abstained from going to Rome, had the ceremony of his coronation performed at Lyons, and fixed his residence at Avignon (A.D. 1309).

Philip further insisted that the memory of Boniface should be stigmatized, and his bones disinterred and ignominiously burned. Clement was afraid to refuse; but, at the same time, he dreaded the scandal of such a proceeding, and the danger of such a precedent; he therefore resolved to temporize, and persuaded Philip to adjourn the matter until a general council should be assembled. But some sacrifice was necessary to appease the royal thirst for vengeance, and the illustrious order of the Templars was sacrificed by the head of that Church it had been instituted to defend. On the 13th of October, 1307, all the knights of that order were simultaneously arrested; they were accused of the most horrible and improbable crimes; evidence was sought by every means that revenge and cupidity could suggest; the torture of the rack was used with unparalleled violence to extort confession; and sentence of condemnation was finally pronounced on these unfortunate men, whose only crime was the wealth of their order, and their adherence to the papal cause in the reign of Boniface.

The assassination of the Emperor Albert inspired Philip with the hope of procuring the crown of Charlemagne for his brother, and he hastened to Avignon to claim the promised aid of the pope. But though Clement had abandoned Italy to tyrants and factions, he had not resigned the hope of re-establishing the papal power over the peninsula, and he shuddered at the prospect of a French emperor reconciling the Guelphs and Ghibellines, crushing opposition by the aid of his royal brother, and fixing the imperial authority on a permanent basis; he therefore secretly instigated the German princes to hasten the election, and Henry VII. of Luxemburg was chosen at his suggestion. Though Henry possessed little hereditary influence, his character and talents secured him obedience in Germany; he had thus leisure to attend to the affairs of Italy, which no emperor had visited during the preceding half century. He crossed the Alps with a band of faithful followers; the cities and their tyrants, as if impressed by magic with unusual respect for the imperial majesty, tendered him

their allegiance, and the peninsula, for a brief space, submitted to orderly government. But the rivalry of the chief cities, the ambition of powerful barons, and the intrigues of Clement, soon excited fresh commotions, which Henry had not the means of controlling.

The council of Vienne had been summoned for the posthumous trial of Boniface VIII., and an examination of the charges brought against the Templars (A.D. 1309). Twenty-three witnesses gave evidence against the deceased pontiff, and fully established the charges of profligacy and infidelity; but Clement's own immoralities were too flagrant for him to venture on establishing such a principle as the forfeiture of the papacy for criminal indulgences, and the confession that Christianity had been described by a pope as a lucrative fable, was justly regarded as dangerous, not only to the papacy, but to religion itself. Philip was persuaded to abandon the prosecution, and a bull was issued acquitting Boniface, but, at the same time, justifying the motives of his accusers. The order of the Templars was formally abolished, and their estates transferred to the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; but the Hospitallers were forced to pay such large sums to Philip and the princes who had usurped the Temple lands, that they were impoverished rather than enriched by the grant. The council passed several decrees against heretics, and made some feeble efforts to reform the lives of the clergy; finally, it ordained a new crusade, which had no result but the filling of the papal coffers with gifts from the devout, bribes from the politic, and the purchase-money of indulgences from the cowardly.

When the Emperor Henry VII. was crowned at Rome, he established a tribunal to support his authority over the cities and princes of Italy; sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against Robert, king of Naples, on a charge of treason, and this prince, to the great indignation of the French monarch, was placed under the ban of the empire. The pope interfered to protect the cousin of his patron, Philip; the wars between the papacy and the empire were about to be renewed, when Henry died suddenly at Bonconvento, in the state of Sienna. It was generally believed that the emperor was poisoned by his confessor, a Dominican monk, who administered the fatal dose in the eucharist. Clement fulminated two bulls against Henry's memory, accusing him of perjury and usurpation; he also annulled the sentence against Robert of Naples, and nominated that prince imperial vicar of Italy.

The death of Henry exposed Germany to the wars of a disputed succession; that of Clement, which soon followed, produced alarming dissensions in the Church. Philip did not long survive the pontiff, and his successor, Louis X., was too deeply sunk in dissipation to regard the concerns of the papacy. Twenty-seven months elapsed in contests between the French and Italian cardinals, each anxious to

have a pontiff of their own nation. When first they met in conclave, at Carpentras, the town was fired in a battle between their servants, and the cardinals, escaping from their burning palace through the windows, dispersed without coming to any decision. At length, Philip the Long, count of Poitiers, assembled the cardinals at Lyons, having voluntarily sworn that he would secure their perfect freedom. During their deliberations, the death of Louis X. gave Philip the regency, and soon after the crown of France; the first use he made of his power was to shut up the cardinals in close conclave, and compel them to expedite the election. Thus coerced, they engaged to choose the pontiff who should be nominated by the Cardinal de Porto; this prelate, to the great surprise of all parties, named himself, and was soon after solemnly installed at Avignon, under the title of John XXII.

Europe was at this period in a miserable state of distraction. Italy was convulsed by the civil wars between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, whose animosities were secretly instigated by the intrigues of the king of Naples; Spain and Portugal were harassed by the struggles between the Christians and the Moors; England and France were at war with each other, while both were distracted by internal commotions; two emperors unfurled their hostile banners in Germany; and, finally, the Ottoman Turks were steadily advancing towards Constantinople. In these difficult times, John displayed great policy; he refused to recognise either of the rivals to the empire, and took advantage of their dissensions to revive the papal claims to the supremacy of Italy. But the battle of Muhldorf having established Louis of Bavaria on the imperial throne, John, who had previously been disposed to favour the duke of Austria, vainly attempted to gain over the successful sovereign. Louis sent efficient aid to the Ghibellines, and the papal party in Italy seemed on the point of being destroyed. John, forced to seek for allies, resolved to offer the imperial crown to Charles the Fair, who had just succeeded his brother Philip on the throne of France. The Germans, ever jealous of the French, were filled with indignation when they heard that the pope was endeavouring to remove their popular emperor; Louis summoned a diet, in which he publicly refuted the charges brought against him by the court of Avignon; several learned men published treatises to prove the subordination of the ecclesiastical to the imperial authority; the chapter of Freysingen expelled the bishop for his attachment to the pope; and the citizens of Strasburg threw a priest into the Rhine, for daring to affix a copy of John's condemnation of Louis to the gates of the cathedral. Even the religious orders were divided; for, while the Dominicans adhered to the pope, the Franciscans zealously supported the cause of the emperor.

Irritated rather than discouraged by anathemas, Louis led an army

into Italy, traversed the Apennines, received the iron crown of Lombardy at Milan, and, advancing to Rome, found a schismatic bishop willing to perform the ceremony of his coronation. It was in vain that John declared these proceedings void, and issued new bulls of excommunication; the emperor conciliated the Guelphs by his real or pretended zeal for orthodoxy, and, confident in his strength, ventured to pronounce sentence of deposition and death against John, and to procure the election of Nicholas V. by the Roman clergy and people. The Franciscans declared in favour of the antipope, who was one of their body; and if Louis had shown prudence and forbearance equal to his vigour, the cause of Pope John would have been irretrievably ruined. But the avarice of the emperor alienated the affections not only of the Romans, but of many Italian princes, who had hitherto been attached to the Ghibelline party; he was deserted by his chief supporters, and he embraced the pretext afforded him by the death of the duke of Austria, to return to Bavaria. Nicholas, abandoned by his allies, was forced to surrender to the pope, and only obtained his life by submitting to appear before John, with a rope round his neck, and to ask pardon of the pope and the public, for the scandal he had occasioned (A.D. 1330). Though by this humiliation the antipope escaped immediate death, he was detained a close prisoner for the remainder of his days, "treated," says a contemporary, "like a friend but watched like an enemy."

The emperor would doubtless have suffered severely for his share in the elevation of Nicholas, had not the Church been disturbed by a religious controversy. In a discourse at Avignon, the pope maintained that the souls of the blessed would not enjoy the full fruition of celestial joys, or, as he termed it, "the beatific vision," until the day of judgment. The University of Paris, and several leaders of the mendicant orders, declared that such a doctrine was heretical; Philip of Valois, who had only recently obtained the crown of France, required that the pope should retract his assertions, and John was compelled to appease his adversaries by equivocal explanations. The dispute afforded the emperor a pretext for refusing obedience to the papal bulls, and appealing to a general council; new wars were about to commence, when John died at Avignon, leaving behind him the largest treasure that had ever been amassed by a pontiff.

It was not without cause that the Italians named the sojourn of the popes in Avignon, "the Babylonish captivity." The strength of the papacy was shaken to its very foundation, when its possessors appeared more dependents on the kings of France, the instruments of war and of power, whose possession monarchs contested, while they spurned their authority. The successor of John owed his election to his promise, that he would not reside at Rome: he took the title of Benedict XII., and began his reign by an attempt to restore peace to

the Church and to the empire. Philip of Valois had other interests, and he compelled the pope to adopt his views. Edward III. was preparing to assert his claims to the crown of France, and Philip feared that he would be supported by his brother-in-law, the emperor; he therefore threatened Benedict with his vengeance, if he should enter into negotiations with Louis, and, as a proof of his earnestness, he seized the revenues of the cardinals. The king of England and the German emperor, aware that the pope was a mere instrument in the hands of their enemies, disregarded his remonstrances and derided his threats. Benedict had not courage or talents adequate to the crisis; his death delivered the papacy from the danger of sinking into contempt, under a feeble ruler, who sacrificed everything to his love of ease; the cardinals, in choosing a successor, sought a pontiff whose energy and ambition might again invest the Church with political power.

Clement VI., unanimously chosen by the electors, commenced his reign by claiming the restoration of those rights of the Holy See which had fallen into abeyance during the government of his feeble predecessor. The Romans sent a deputation to request that he would return to the city, and appoint the celebration of a Jubilee at the middle of the century; Clement granted the latter request, but he refused to visit Rome, through dread of the turbulent spirit of its inhabitants (A.D. 1343). But Clement did not neglect the affairs of Italy, though he refused to reside in the country: Roger, king of Naples, at his death bequeathed his kingdom to his daughter Jane, or Joan, and named a council of regency; Clement insisted that the government, during the minority of the princess, belonged to the Holy See; he, therefore, annulled the king's will, and sent a papal legate to preside over the administration. The Emperor Louis V. sent an ambassador to the pope, soliciting absolution; Clement demanded humiliating submissions, which were indignantly refused; upon which the anathemas were renewed, and the German electors were exhorted to choose a new sovereign. As if resolved to brave all the princes that opposed the king of France, Clement nominated cardinals to the vacant benefices in England; but Edward III., supported by his clergy and people, refused to admit the intruders; nor could any threats of ecclesiastical censure shake his resolution. About the same time, he conferred the sovereignty of the Canary Islands on Prince of Spain, as Adrian had given Ireland to the English king. "In these grants," says Henry, "the pretensions of the popes seem to be less remarkable than the credulity of princes."

The pusillanimity of Louis V. is more surprising than the credulity of those who obtained papal grants to confirm questionable titles: though supported by all the princes and most of the prelates in Germany, the emperor sought to purchase pardon by submission; but the

Diet would not allow the extravagant claims of the pope to be recognised, and the humiliations to which Louis submitted alienated his friends, without abating the hostility of his enemies.

But Italy was now the theatre of events calculated to divert public attention from the quarrels of the pope. Jane, queen of Naples, had married Andrew, brother to the king of Hungary, whose family had ancient claims on the Neapolitan crown. Political jealousy disturbed the harmony of the marriage; a conspiracy was formed by the courtiers against Andrew; he was murdered in his wife's bed, and she was more than suspected of having consented to the crime. Clement shared the general indignation excited by this atrocity, and, in his chimerical quality of suzerain of Naples, ordered that a strict search should be made after the murderers, against whom he denounced sentence of excommunication (A.D. 1346). Jane soon conciliated the pontiff, and purchased a sentence of acquittal, by selling her pretensions to the county of Avignon for a very moderate sum, which, it may be added, was never paid. But the king of Hungary was not so easily satisfied; he levied a powerful army to avenge the murder of his brother; and the emperor of Germany gladly embraced the opportunity of venting his resentment on the Guelphs and the partisans of the king of France, to whose intrigues he attributed the continuance of the papal excommunications.

Clement saw the danger with which he was menaced by the Hungarian league; to avert it, he negotiated with the king of Bohemia, and prevailed upon some of the German electors to nominate that monarch's son, Charles, marquis of Moravia, to the empire. The new sovereign agreed to recognise all the extravagant claims of the popes, which his predecessors had so strenuously resisted; but no real authority was added to the papacy by this degradation of the empire: even Clement was aware that his authority should be supported by artifice and negotiation, rather than by any direct assertion of power.

While the princes of Europe were gradually emancipating themselves from the thralldom of the pontiffs, a remarkable revolution wrested Rome itself from their grasp, and revived for a moment the glories of the ancient republic. Rienzi, a young enthusiast of great learning, but humble origin, addressed a pathetic speech to his countrymen on the deplorable state of their city and the happiness of their ancient liberty. Such was the effect of his eloquence, that the citizens immediately elected him tribune of the people, and conferred upon him the supreme power (A.D. 1347). He immediately degraded the senators appointed by the pope, punished with death several malefactors of high rank, and banished the Orsini, the Colonnas, and other noble families, whose factions had filled the city with confusion. The messengers sent by the tribune to announce his elevation were every where received with great respect; not only the Italian cities, but even

foreign princes, sought his alliance; the king of Hungary and the queen of Naples appealed to him as a mediator and judge, the Emperor Louis sought his friendship, and the pope wrote him a letter approving all his proceedings. Such unexpected power intoxicated the tribune; he summoned the candidates for the empire to appear before him, he issued an edict declaring Rome the metropolis of the world, and assumed several strange titles that proved both his weakness and his vanity. This extravagance proved his ruin; Rienzi was excommunicated by the pope, the banished nobles entered Rome, the fickle populace deserted the tribune, and, after wandering about for some time in various disguises, he was arrested by the papal ministers, and sent to Avignon, where he was detained a close prisoner.

In the mean time the king of Hungary had entered Italy; Jane, whose recent marriage to the duke of Tarentum, one of the murderers of her husband, had given great offence to her subjects, abandoned the Neapolitan territories at his approach, and sought refuge at Avignon. But a dreadful pestilence, which at this time desolated southern Europe, compelled the king of Hungary to abandon the territories he had so easily acquired. About the same time, the death of the Emperor Louis left Charles without a rival; and Clement resolved to take advantage of the favourable juncture to restore the papal authority in Italy. He ordered a Jubilee to be celebrated at Rome; he excommunicated Visconti, archbishop of Milan, but afterwards sold absolution to this prelate, who was formidable as a statesman and a soldier; finally, he persuaded the king of Hungary and the queen of Naples to submit their differences to his arbitration. But the court of Avignon was devoted to the house of Anjou; it did not venture to pronounce the queen innocent, but it declared that a weak woman could not resist the temptations of evil spirits, and decided that she should be restored to her kingdom on paying a subsidy to the king of Hungary. That generous prince refused the money, declaring that he had taken up arms to avenge the murder of his brother, not to gain a paltry bribe. Thus the pontiff still seemed the arbitrator of kings; some years before he had engaged Humbert, a prince of southern France, to bequeath his dominions to the French king, on the condition that the eldest son of that monarch should take the title of Dauphin; he had been victorious, though by accident, in his contest with the Emperor Louis, and at his death Clement left the papacy in full possession of all its titles to supreme power.

But while the nominal authority of the papacy was as great as ever, its real power was considerably weakened. Innocent VI., unable to escape from the yoke which the kings of France had imposed on the popes during their residence at Avignon, resolved to recover the ancient patrimony of St. Peter; Rienzi was summoned from his dungeon, and was sent back to Rome with the title of senator. But the

turbulent Romans soon grew weary of their former favourite, and Rienzi was murdered by the populace, at the time he was most zealously labouring to chastize the disturbers of public tranquillity, and rescue the people from the oppression of the nobles (A.D. 1354). Soon afterwards the Emperor Charles IV. entered Rome, and, by the permission of the pope, was solemnly crowned. This feeble prince negotiated with all parties, and betrayed all; he sold liberty to the cities, because he had neither the military force nor the political power to defend a refusal, and he submitted to receive a passport from the pope, and to abide in Rome only the limited period prescribed by the jealousy of the pontiff.

But though the popes, during their residence at Avignon, favoured the discords of Italy, stimulated the mutual animosity of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, and encouraged civil war in the empire, they were desirous to terminate the sanguinary struggles for the crown of France, and made several efforts to reconcile the English Edward to the house of Valois. Edward was not to be checked in his career of victory; the glory of the French arms was destroyed at Crecy, and the king of France himself became a prisoner at Poitiers. It was through the mediation of Innocent VI. that King John recovered his liberty, and the war between England and France was terminated by the peace of Bretigny. Soon after his deliverance, John, distressed for money, was induced by a large bribe to give his daughter in marriage to Visconti, the most formidable enemy of the Church, while Innocent was too occupied by nearer dangers to prevent an alliance so injurious to his interests. The numerous bands of mercenaries, who were thrown out of employment by the restoration of peace, formed themselves into independent bands, called Free Companies, and, quitting the southern districts of France, already desolated by frequent campaigns, directed their march towards Provence. The anathemas hurled against them neither retarded their progress nor diminished their number; a crusade was vainly preached; no soldiers would enlist, when the only pay was indulgences; the plundering hordes approached Avignon, and the treasures of the ecclesiastics were on the point of falling into the hands of these unscrupulous spoilers. By paying a large bribe, and giving them absolution for all their sins, Innocent prevailed upon the Free Companies to turn aside from Avignon and enter into the service of the marquis of Montferrat, who was engaged in war against the Visconti.

Urban V. succeeded Innocent, and though, like him, inclined to favour the king of France, he became convinced that the residence of the popes at Avignon was injurious to his interests. The emperor solicited Urban to visit Rome, and the Free Companies having again extorted a large bribe, for sparing Avignon, the pope hastened to leave a residence where he was exposed to insult and subservient to foreign

authority. The pope was received in Italy with great joy, the Emperor Charles hastened to meet him, and gave the last example of imperial degradation, by leading the horse on which the pontiff rode when he made his triumphal entry into Rome (A.D. 1368). This spectacle, instead of gratifying the Italians, filled them with rage; they treated the emperor with so much contempt, that he soon returned to Germany; and Urban finding that he could not check the republican licentiousness which had so long prevailed in Rome and the other cities of the patrimony of St. Peter, began to languish for the more tranquil retirement of Avignon. The only advantage he gained by his visit to Italy, was the empty honour of seeing the emperor of the East bow at his footstool, and offer, as the reward of aid against the Turks, the union of the Greek and Latin Churches. But Urban could not prevail upon the western princes to combine in defence of Constantinople; and the Greek emperor would have been unable to gain the consent of his subjects to lay aside either the peculiar ceremonies or doctrines that had severed their Church from the papacy. The renewal of the war between France and England, when Charles V. succeeded the imbecile John, afforded Urban a pretext for returning to Avignon. Death seized him soon after he reached the city, and Gregory XI. was chosen his successor.

Gregory's great object was to break the power of the Visconti, who had become the virtual sovereigns of northern Italy; but he did not neglect the general interests of the Church, exerting himself diligently to suppress heresy. The emperor created the pontiff his vicar, and Gregory to support his authority, took some of the Free Companies into pay, and among the rest a band of Englishmen commanded by John Hawkwood. It was of importance to gain over the city of Florence; the papal legate thought that this object could best be obtained by producing a famine, and stimulating the citizens by the pressure of want to rise against their government. In pursuance of this infamous policy, means were taken to cut off the import of corn, while Hawkwood ravaged the territory of the city and destroyed the harvests. Of all the Italian people, the Florentines had been the most constant in their attachment to the cause of the Holy See,—their indignation was therefore excessive, and their hate implacable.

A general revolt against the papal power was soon organized through Italy by the outraged Florentines; they embroidered the word **LIBERTAS** on their standards in letters of gold, while their emissaries preached freedom in the cities, in the castles, and in the cottages; the summons was eagerly heard, and the states of the Church soon refused to recognise the sovereignty of its head. Gregory sent new legates, and menaced the confederates with excommunication; he pronounced sentence of excommunication against the Florentines, exhorting all princes to confiscate the property of those who should be found in

their several dominions, and to sell their persons into slavery;—an iniquitous edict, which was partially acted upon both in France and England;—new hordes of mercenaries were taken into pay, and when the citizens of Bologna applied to the legate for pardon, he replied that he would not quit their city until he had bathed his hands and feet in their blood. The Florentines were undaunted, but the disunion and mutual jealousies between the other confederates proved fatal to the national cause; the citizens of Rome were anxious to have the pontifical court restored to their city, and to obtain this desirable object, they willingly sacrificed their claims to freedom. In their state of moral degradation, indeed, they were unable to appreciate the advantages of rational liberty, and unfit to exercise its privileges.

During these commotions in Italy, Gregory being informed of the reformed doctrines, or, as he called them, the heresies published in England by John Wickliffe, wrote to the chancellor and university of Oxford, severely reproofing them for permitting such opinions to be promulgated, and ordering that Wickliffe should be brought to trial before an ecclesiastical tribunal. Similar letters were sent to Richard II., the young king of England, who had just succeeded his grandfather, Edward III., but the duke of Lancaster and several other nobles took the reformer under their protection; Wickliffe was rescued from the malice of his enemies, while his doctrines rapidly, though secretly, spread not only through Italy, but through Germany. The chief articles he was accused of teaching were, "That the wafer in the eucharist, after consecration, is not the real body of Christ, but its figure only; that the Roman church had no right to be the head of all churches; that the pope has no more authority than any other priest; that lay patrons may, and ought to, deprive a delinquent church of its temporal possessions; that the gospel was sufficient to direct any Christian; that no prelate of the church ought to have prisons for punishing delinquents." The publication of these sentiments enraged Gregory, who had, from the very commencement of his reign, shown himself a virulent persecutor, and procured the burning of several unfortunate wretches accused of heresy, both in France and Germany. Scarcely had he made his triumphal entry into Rome, when he prepared to take some effective measures for checking the progress of innovation. But domestic troubles soon engaged his attention; the Romans, who had received him on his first arrival with so much enthusiasm, soon began to brave his authority and disobey his edicts; baffled in his expectations of peace and power, he even contemplated returning to Avignon, where part of the papal court still continued. But before taking this step, he resolved to secure the tranquillity of Italy, and, if possible, avert the divisions which he foresaw would probably trouble the church after his death (A.D. 1378). A congress was opened at Serazana, but before its deliberations could produce

any important result, Gregory was seized with mortal illness, and all hopes of peace were destroyed by the schism which arose respecting the choice of his successor.

The death of Gregory XI. was the commencement of a new era for the ancient capital of the world, from which the popes had been absent during so many years. Pride, interest, and self-love, combined to attach the Romans to the papacy; had they combined with the Florentines, it is possible that the cities of Italy might have formed a confederacy sufficiently strong to defy an absent pope, and an emperor powerless and distant; perhaps they might even have solved the problem which still continues to baffle statesmen, and formed a federative union in Italy. But the Romans were incapable of such profound views; they looked to nothing beyond the advantages to be derived from the residence of the papal court; and, instead of aiming at reviving their ancient glory, they contented themselves with disputing the profits that had hitherto been enjoyed by the city of Avignon.

No sooner had the cardinals, the majority of whom belonged to the French party, shut themselves up in a conclave, than the Romans were filled with alarm lest a Transalpine prelate should be chosen, who would establish his court at Avignon. They assembled in arms round the Vatican, and by their menaces sent terror into its inmost recesses. They demanded that the new pope should be an Italian; this was the only virtue they required in the successor of St. Peter. The French cardinals, already disunited, were intimidated by these clamours; they gave their votes to a Neapolitan archbishop, who took the title of Urban VI.

The cardinals seem to have expected that Urban, who was celebrated for his modesty, his humility, and his skill in the canon law, would have acknowledged that his election was vitiated by the force that had been used, and that he would therefore have abdicated the pontificate. But Urban soon convinced them of their error; he not only showed a determination to retain his power, but openly set the discontented cardinals at defiance. In a public discourse, immediately after his coronation, he severely reprehended their pomp and luxury, threatened to punish those who had been convicted of receiving bribes, and reproached some of them by name for corresponding with the enemies of the Church. Exasperated by this austerity, the discontented cardinals fled to Anagni, proclaimed the late election void, sent circulars to all Christian princes warning them not to acknowledge Urban, took a body of Bretons into their pay, and relying on the protection of this military force, excommunicated the new pope as an apostate usurper. The duke of Brunswick, the husband of Jane, queen of Naples, alarmed at the prospect of a schism, attempted to mediate; but his efforts to effect a reconciliation were baffled by the resentment

of the cardinals and the haughtiness of Urban. On all sides proposals were made to assemble a general council, but the pope, the cardinals, and the emperor, disputed the right of convocation; the fortune of war could alone determine the fate of the Church.

Urban showed no desire to conciliate his opponents; he announced a speedy creation of new cardinals to overwhelm their votes, and threatened the queen of Naples for granting them protection. He showed similar severity in his conduct to the Roman aristocracy, and, on a very slight pretext, ventured to deprive the count of Fondi of his fiefs. The count at once declared himself a partisan of the cardinals; he gave them shelter in the town of Fondi, where, protected by Neapolitan troops they proceeded to a new election. It is said by many historians that they would have chosen the king of France, Charles V., had not his being maimed in the left arm incapacitated him from performing the ceremonies of the mass; but their selection was scarcely less swayed by temporal motives when they gave their votes to Cardinal Robert of Geneva, who assumed the title of Clement VII. This prelate had served in the field, and even acquired some reputation as a warrior; but he was generally and justly hated by the Italians for having massacred all the inhabitants of Cesena during the Florentine war.

The death of the Emperor Charles IV. added new troubles to the complicated policy of Europe; that despicable slave of superstition had purchased from the venal electors the nomination of his son Wenceslaus as his successor; and the young prince, from the moment of his accession, gave himself up to the practice of the meanest vices, and wallowed in disgusting debauchery. These crimes, however, did not prevent him from enjoying the favour of Urban, whose cause he warmly espoused,—a merit which, in the eyes of the pontiff, compensated for the want of all the virtues.

The queen of Naples declared in favour of Clement, and invited him to her court. So great, however, was the hatred of a French pontiff, that, in spite of the turbulent disposition of Urban, the defection of the cardinals, the authority of the queen, and the jealousy of the states so recently at war with the court of Rome, all Italy declared against Clement, and the Neapolitans showed such hatred to his cause, that he was forced to escape by sea to Marseilles, whence he proceeded to establish his court at Avignon.

The king of France, Charles V., had eagerly espoused the cause of the cardinals who had elected the antipope; most of them were his subjects, and all were devoted to the interests of France; he therefore declared himself the partisan of Clement, trusting that he would obtain important political advantages by the residence of the pope at Avignon. Unfortunately the first result was to involve his kingdom in a ruinous war, which long doomed France to loss and calamity.

Urban's vengeance was promptly directed against the queen of Naples, whose supposed murder of her husband, thirty years before, was still remembered to her disadvantage; he declared that she had forfeited her right to the throne, which he conferred on her cousin Charles of Durazzo; and to support this king of his vengeance, he not only sold ecclesiastical benefices, but pledged the plate belonging to the churches. Jane, driven from her kingdom, adopted the duke of Anjou as her son and successor; the French monarchs believed themselves bound to support his claims, and exhausted their resources in the effort.

All Europe was divided by the schism: Italy, Holland, Germany, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Flanders, and England, declared for Urban; while Clement was supported by Spain, Navarre, Scotland, Savoy, Lorraine, and France. The rival popes hurled anathemas against each other; excommunication was answered by excommunication; and both prepared piles to burn the partisans of their adversary as heretics. Charles V. set the example, by issuing an edict confiscating the property and life of those who ventured to recognise Urban in his dominions. Urban retorted, by preaching a crusade against Charles; the English eagerly seized this pretext for renewing war against France, and a powerful army entered Brittany to support its duke against his liege lord.

The death of Charles V., and the minority of his son Charles VI., added to the embarrassments of France; the duke of Anjou seized the royal treasures to support his claims on Naples; the new taxes imposed upon the people provoked insurrection; the revolvers were punished with remorseless cruelty, and they, on the other hand, practised horrible retaliations whenever they had an opportunity. Charles Durazzo, in the mean time, found little difficulty in taking possession of the Neapolitan territories; Jane, abandoned by her subjects, was forced to surrender to her cousin, and, by his command, was strangled in prison (A.D. 1382). Louis of Anjou immediately claimed her inheritance, and having obtained the investiture of Naples from Clement, entered Italy at the head of fifteen thousand men. No opposition was offered to the French in their passage; Louis reached the frontiers of the Abruzzi in safety, and was there joined by several Neapolitan nobles attached to the memory of Jane, and anxious to avenge her death.

Durazzo was unable to meet his enemy in the field; but he garrisoned his fortresses, encouraged the peasantry of the Abruzzi to harass the French by a guerilla warfare, and destroyed all the forage provisions in the open country. Famine and pestilence wasted the gallant chivalry of France; the duke of Anjou fell a victim to a whose severity was aggravated by his disappointment; his army, and many noble barons, who had joined his banners, were

forced to beg their way home, amid the jeers and insults of the Italians. The English, commanded by the bishop of Norwich, made a feeble attack upon the schismatic French; they were defeated, and the bishop returned with shame to his diocese.

Urban disapproved of the cautious policy of Durazzo, and proceeding to Naples, began to treat the king as his vassal; Charles temporized, until the death of the duke of Anjou delivered him from pressing danger, but then he refused all obedience to the pope, and treated him so uncivilly, that Urban removed to Nocera. Several of the cardinals, weary of the tyranny to which they were subjected, plotted the murder of the pope; but their conspiracy was discovered, and six of them were sentenced to suffer the tortures of the rack that they might be compelled to betray their accomplices. Urban personally superintended these cruelties, and suggested new modes of torture to the executioners. When confessions were thus obtained, he degraded the cardinals from their dignity, and pronounced sentence of excommunication, not only against them, but against the king and queen of Naples, the antipope Clement, his cardinals, and all his adherents. Durazzo, justly enraged, marched against Nocera, and captured the town; but the pope found shelter in the citadel, from a window of which he, several times a-day, fulminated anathemas with bell and candle against the king of Naples and his army. Urban at length made his escape, and, embarking on board some Genoese galleys, reached Genoa in safety, where he was honourably received by the doge, who deemed the city honoured by his presence. During his flight, he ordered the bishop of Aquila to be murdered, suspecting that he meditated desertion; and soon after he put to death five of the guilty cardinals, sparing the sixth, who was an Englishman, at the intercession of Richard II.,—a monarch who had given the weight of England's influence to Urban's cause.

Clement VII. did not conduct himself one whit better than his rival; he insulted and imprisoned the German and Hungarian ambassadors, who were sent to propose expedients for terminating the schism; his exactions from the churches that acknowledged his authority alienated the minds of those whom their political position had ranged on his side; his intrigues and his servility were offensive to the kings that supported him. The double papacy was found a heavy tax on Christendom; each pontiff collected around him a court of dissolute and prodigal cardinals, whose lavish expenditure was supported by alienating the revenues of all the benefices within their grasp.

But the kingdom of Naples was especially destined to suffer from the schism; the rival pontiffs claimed the right of bestowing the Neapolitan crown at their discretion, and their pretensions perpetuated civil discord. Charles Durazzo quitted his kingdom to seek a new crown in Hungary, but fell a victim to assassins in the hour of success;

Margaret, his queen, on receiving the news, assumed the regency, and caused her son Ladislaus to be recognised as sovereign by the states of the realm. But Urban VI., who had excommunicated Charles Durazzo, pretended that the kingdom of Naples reverted as a vacant fief to the Holy See, and began forming a party against the queen. Clement on his side raised a similar claim, and sold the church plate to pay troops; he zealously supported the house of Anjou, and employed Otho of Brunswick, the widower of the unfortunate Jane, to expel the family of Durazzo.

Hitherto the division in the Church had been political; a doctrinal controversy, however, was added to the schism, which, though it led to no immediate results, deserves to be briefly described. A Dominican doctor of divinity, John de Monçon, preaching on the doctrine of original sin, declared that this stain was inherent in all human creatures from the moment of their conception, and as it could only be effaced by the redemption of Jesus Christ, he inferred that the Virgin Mary was conceived in sin. This was merely an incidental illustration of the established doctrine, an example intended to make it more clear and striking. But the faculty of theology in the university of Paris, the Sorbonne, animated, probably, by an old jealousy of the Dominicans and Franciscans, with whom the university had frequent contest, undertook the examination of Monçon's doctrine, and declared that his assertion was an impious outrage against the mother of Christ: the doctors added that the prophesied sacrifice of Christ had an effect before its accomplishment, on his birth and that of his mother, and to this exemption from the ordinary law of humanity, they gave the name of the immaculate conception.

The worship of the Virgin Mary has always been the most popular portion of the Romish Liturgy; the doctrine of the Sorbonne, though utterly unintelligible, seemed to confer new honour upon her name, and it was ardently received by multitudes of ignorant enthusiasts.

Monçon, alarmed at the ferment he had unwittingly excited, fled to Avignon, where he trusted that his tenets would find favour. The entire order of the Dominicans, regarding themselves, in their capacity of Inquisitors, as the especial guardians of the purity of the faith, were enraged to find one of their brethren accused of heresy; they sent seventy of their most eminent doctors to support Monçon's opinions before the papal tribunal, and, with a shrewd knowledge of the arguments most weighty at Avignon, they subscribed forty thousand crowns of gold to support his cause. The Sorbonne, on the other hand, deputed its most eminent professors to prosecute Monçon, and procure the condemnation of his opinions. The pope was sorely embarrassed; the opposing parties were so powerful that he did not wish to alienate either; and he, therefore, had recourse to the expedient of dismissing Monçon secretly, and sending him to seek refuge in Arragon.

But the theologians of the Sorbonne would not rest satisfied with an imperfect victory; profiting by the popular ferment to work on the mind of their sovereign, Charles VI., they persuaded the king, who had not yet attained his twenty-first year, and whose ignorance was extreme, to undertake the decision of a question beyond the limits of human knowledge. His majesty's confessor shared the opinions of Monçon, the Inquisitors of the Faith, and the whole body of the Dominicans, supported, Pope Clement himself regarded them with favour; but in spite of their united authority, the young and stupid king took upon himself to maintain that the Virgin Mary was free from the stain of original sin; he even sent to prison all who denied the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

Clement VII., always in fear of being sacrificed to his rival, Urban VI., and relying for support chiefly on the court of France, did not venture to make any further resistance. He issued a bull condemning John de Monçon, and all his adherents: he permitted the king to institute a new festival in honour of the Immaculate Conception, and to constrain his confessor, as well as the most celebrated Dominicans, to retract their opinions in presence of the whole court. The whole order of St. Dominic was degraded to the lowest rank of Monastics, and it was ordained that no one of their body should, in future, hold the office of confessor to the king.

Urban VI. paid little regard to theological controversies; he was more anxious to re-establish his authority over southern Italy. But as he marched towards Naples, his troops mutinied for want of pay, and he was forced to return to Rome. The citizens proved to be as discontented as the soldiers; to stifle their murmurs he published a bull for the celebration of a jubilee the following year at Rome, and ordered that this solemnity should be repeated every thirty-three years, according to the number of years that Christ remained upon earth. He hoped that this festival would enrich the Romans and himself, but he died before the time for its celebration (A.D. 1389). It is supposed that his end was hastened by poison, for his most ardent supporters were weary of his tyranny.

A few days after the death of Urban, the cardinals at Rome chose a new pontiff, who took the title of Boniface IX., and commenced his reign by an interchange of anathemas and excommunications with his rival at Avignon. More prudent than his predecessor, Boniface hastened to make terms with the family of Durazzo at Naples; he recognised young Ladislaus as a legitimate king, and sent a legate to perform the ceremony of his coronation. Ladislaus, in return, took an oath of fidelity and homage, binding himself never to recognise the antipope at Avignon.

Clement VII. strengthened himself by a closer union with the king of France, whom he induced to visit Avignon, and to witness the

ceremony of the coronation of Louis II. of Anjou, as king of Naples. The imbecile Charles was so gratified by his reception, that he projected a crusade against Rome, but he was soon induced to abandon his purpose, and he gave very feeble aid to his cousin of Anjou, when he prepared an armament to invade the Neapolitan territories. The doctors of the Sorbonne became eager to terminate the schism; and, encouraged by their success in the controversy of the Immaculate Conception, they presented to the king a project for restoring the peace of the Church, by compelling the rival popes to resign, and submit the choice of a new pontiff to a general council (A.D. 1394). Though this counsel was not favourably received by the king, it gave great alarm to Clement, and agitation of mind is supposed to have produced the apoplectic fit which occasioned his death.

The French ministers wrote to the cardinals at Avignon, urging them to embrace the opportunity of terminating the schism; but these prelates hastened to conclude a new election without opening the letter, with the contents of which they were acquainted. Peter de Luna, cardinal of Aragon, was nominated pope; he took the name of Benedict XIII., and the schism became wider than ever. When the news of the election reached Paris, Charles, instead of recognizing the pope of Avignon, convoked the clergy of his kingdom to deliberate on the means of restoring peace to the Church. After some delay, the convocation met, and came to the inconsistent resolution of recognizing Benedict, and proposing that the schism should be terminated by the abdication of the two popes. Ambassadors were sent with this proposal to Avignon, but a ridiculous though insuperable difficulty prevented the success of their negotiations. The plenipotentiaries on both sides preached long sermons to each other, until the French princes who were joined in the legation, completely fatigued, and seeing no probable termination of the conference, returned home indignant and disappointed. The king of England and the emperor of Germany joined the French monarch in recommending the double application; Boniface declared his readiness to resign, if Benedict would set the example, but the latter pontiff absolutely refused submission. An army was sent to compel him to obedience; Avignon was taken, and Benedict besieged in his palace, but his obstinacy continued unshaken, and the party feuds which the weakness of the king encouraged in France, gave him hopes of final triumph.

The state of the western governments tended to protract the schism of the Church; the king of France fell into idiotcy; Richard II. was deposed in England by his cousin Henry IV.; the duke of Anjou was driven from Naples; the Byzantine emperor and the king of Hungary were harassed by the Turks, whose increasing power threatened ruin to both; the Spanish peninsula was distracted by the Moorish wars; and the Emperor Wenceslaus was forced to abdicate by the German

electors. Boniface took advantage of these circumstances to establish the papal claim to the first-fruits of all ecclesiastical benefices, and to render himself absolute master of Rome, by fortifying the citadel and castle of St. Angelo. The Roman citizens were deprived of the last shadow of their former franchises; the readiness with which they submitted is, however, a sufficient proof that they were unworthy of freedom. The pope did not long survive this triumph; the Roman cardinals elected Innocent VII. to supply his place; but he died about twelve months after his elevation, and was succeeded by Gregory XII. (A.D. 1406). Benedict having in the mean time recovered his freedom, protested against the Roman elections, but offered to hold a personal conference with Gregory for reconciling all their differences. The cardinals, weary of these controversies, deserted the rivals, and having assembled a general council at Pisa, elected a third pope, who took the title of Alexander V.

There were now three heads to the Christian church; Ladislaus and some of the Italian cities supported Gregory; the kings of Scotland and Spain adhered to Benedict; while Alexander was recognized in the rest of Christendom. The disputes of these hostile pontiffs had greatly tended to enfranchise the human mind, and weaken the hold of superstition; Wickliffe's doctrines spread in England, and in Germany they were advocated by John Huss, who eloquently denounced the corruptions that debased the pure doctrines of Christianity. Pope Alexander was preparing to resist the progress of the courageous reformer, when his death threw the affairs of the Church into fresh confusion.

The presence of an armed force induced the cardinals to elect John XXIII., whose promotion gave great scandal, as he was more remarkable for his military than his religious qualifications (A.D. 1411). John soon compelled Ladislaus to abandon Gregory's party; he then assembled a general council at Rome, where sentence of condemnation was pronounced on the doctrines of Huss and Wickliffe. But Ladislaus soon grew weary of peace; he led an army against Rome, plundered the city, and compelled the pope to seek protection from Sigismund, emperor of Germany. John consented very reluctantly to the imperial demand, that the schism should finally be terminated by a general council; he made an ineffectual effort to have the assembly held in one of his own cities, but Sigismund insisted that it should meet in Constance. John then attempted to interpose delays, but the general voice of Christendom was against him; he judged his situation accurately, when, pointing to Constance from the summit of the Alps, he exclaimed, "What a fine trap for catching foxes."

The attention of all Christendom was fixed upon the deliberations of the council of Constance, whither bishops, ambassadors, and theologians, flocked from every part of Europe (A.D. 1415). John Huss,

having obtained the emperor's safe-conduct, appeared before the council to defend his doctrines, but Sigismond was persuaded to forfeit his pledge, and deliver the courageous reformer to his enemies, to be tried for heresy. Pope John was not treated better, a unanimous vote of the council demanded his abdication; he fled to Austria, but he was overtaken and detained in the same prison with Huss, until he ratified the sentence of his own deposition. Gregory XII. soon after abdicated the pontificate, but Benedict still continued obstinate; his means of resistance, however, were so trifling, that the council paid little attention to his refusal. John Huss, and his friend Jerome of Prague, were sentenced to be burned at the stake as obstinate heretics, but their persecutors could not stop the progress of the truth; the Hussites in Bohemia had recourse to arms for the defence of their liberties, and under the command of the heroic Zisca, maintained the cause of civil and religious liberty, in many glorious fields.

The emperor, the princes of Germany, and the English deputies, strenuously urged the council to examine the abuses of the Church, and form some plan for its thorough reformation; but the prelates, fearing that some proposals might be made injurious to their interests, steadily resisted these efforts; declaring that the election of a pope ought to have precedence of all other business. After long disputes, the choice of the electors fell on Otho Colonna, a Roman noble, who took the title of Martin V. The new pontiff combined with the cardinals to strangle all the plans of reform, and the council, from whose deliberations so much had been expected, terminated its sittings, without having applied any effectual remedy to the evils which had produced the schism. A promise, indeed, was made, that another council would be convened, for the reform of the Church, at Pavia, but no one cared to claim its performance; the conduct of those who met at Constance convinced the world, that no effectual redress of grievances could be expected from such assemblies.

The projects of reform, begun at Constance, were revived at the council of Basle (A.D. 1431); but Eugenius IV., the successor of Martin, soon felt that the proposed innovations would be fatal to the papal authority, and dissolved the council. This precipitancy caused another schism, which lasted ten years; but at length the ex-duce of Savoy, who had been chosen pope by the partisans of the council, under the name of Felix V., gave in his submission; and the council, from whose labours so much had been expected, ended by doing nothing. Still the convocations of the prelates of Christendom at Constance and Basle struck a fatal blow against the despotism of the popes. Henceforth monarchs had, or seemed to have, a court of appeal,—one so dreaded by the pontiffs, that the mere dread of its convocation procured from them liberal concessions. But a new and more formidable enemy to the despotism of the pontiffs than the

resistance of kings or of councils, was the progress of literature and knowledge, which brought the extravagant claims of spiritual and temporal rulers to be investigated on their real merits, not according to their asserted claims.

SECTION II.—*First Revival of Literature, and Inventions in Science.*

IN the controversy between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII., literary talent was for the first time employed against the Church by John of Paris, a celebrated Dominican, who advocated the royal independence with great zeal and considerable ability. The celebrated poet Dante Alighieri, who may be regarded as the founder of Italian literature, and almost of the Italian language, followed the same course, advocating strenuously the cause of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria. Their example was a model for many other writers, who laid aside the shackles of authority, and supported the independence of states. But literature itself was subject to trammels which checked the progress of improvement. Aristotle's system of philosophy, not as originally formed by that great man, but modified in Arabian translations, and cumbered by scholastic refinements, was the 'only subject deemed worthy of attention. It was deemed a crime scarcely less than heresy, to doubt of any explanation given by the schoolmen of physical, mental, or moral phenomena. Roger Bacon, a Franciscan monk, was the first who revived experimental science; he made several important discoveries in mechanics and chemistry, but his great merit is to be found, not so much in his various inventions and projects, as in the bold appeal which he made to experiment and the observation of nature. His lectures at Oxford, published under the title of "Opus Majus" (A.D. 1266), raised against him a host of enemies; he was prohibited from giving instructions in the university, and was subjected to confinement in his convent. His scientific discoveries were deemed a species of magic in that age of ignorance; he was the first of the long list of victims of ecclesiastical persecution, and the leader of a long line of patriots who supported the cause of intellectual and moral liberty against the odious encroachments of spiritual despotism. The emancipation of literature accompanied that of science; the impulse which Dante had given to the cultivation of Italian poetry was long felt; he was followed by Petrarch and Boccaccio, whose writings at once elevated the character and formed the language of their countrymen.

Several new inventions, or perhaps importations from the remote East, accelerated the progress of men in learning and the arts. Of these we may mention more particularly the art of forming paper

from linen-rags, painting in oil, the art of printing, the use of gun-powder, and of the mariner's compass.

Before the invention of linen-paper, parchment was generally used in Europe, both for copying books and preserving public records. This material was scarce and dear; in consequence of its scarcity, the writing was often effaced from ancient manuscripts, and new matter written on the parchments. Some of the most valuable classical works were thus sacrificed to make room for idle legends of saints and trifling theological dissertations. In some of these, called palimpsests, the old writing is faintly legible under that of the monks, and some important fragments have thus been recovered. When the Arabs conquered Bokhara (A.D. 704), they are said to have found a large manufactory of cotton-paper at Samarcand, which is not improbable, as the fabric was known in China before the Christian era. They brought the knowledge of the art into their western territories, but the scarcity of the materials long impeded its progress. At length, in the thirteenth century, it was discovered that linen would answer all the purposes of cotton; but when, where, or by whom, this valuable discovery was made, cannot be ascertained. As flax and hemp are chiefly the growth of northern countries, the claim of the Germans to the invention seems better founded than that of the Italians; the first great factory of linen-paper of which we have any certain accounts was established at Nuremberg (A.D. 1390), but there is reason to believe that paper was manufactured in western Europe a century earlier.

The invention of painting in oils is usually attributed to two brothers, Van Eyck, of whom the younger, called John of Bruges, flourished towards the close of the thirteenth century. The invention, however, is of much earlier date, but the brothers deserve the merit of having brought it into practical use, and carried it to a high degree of perfection. Owing to this invention, modern paintings excel the ancients both in finish of execution and permanence.

More important than either of those was the invention of printing, which seems to have been at least partially derived from the East. Solid blocks of wood, graven with pictures and legends, were used in China from a very remote period. They were first introduced into Europe for the manufacture of playing cards, which became very popular about the close of the thirteenth century. The card manufacturers soon began to publish wood-cuts of remarkable persons and events in sacred history, or the Lives of the Saints, accompanied with brief descriptions graven on the block, and thus we find a species of stereotype printing in use before the discovery of moveable types. The great improvement of having separate types for each letter, was made by John Gutenberg, a citizen of Mayence (A.D. 1436); he used small blocks of wood, but the matrix for casting metal types was soon

after devised by Peter Schoeffer, of Gemheim. Gutenberg established the first printing press known in Europe, at Strasburg; thence he removed to Mayence, where he entered into partnership with John Fust, or Faustus, whose ingenuity greatly contributed to perfect the invention. Gutenberg did not put his name to any of the books he printed; Faustus, more ambitious of fame, placed his name and that of his partner to his celebrated Psalter, and thus received no small share of the glory that properly belonged to the first discoverer. The art of engraving on copper was discovered about the same time as the use of moveable types but its history is very obscure.

Scarcely less important than printing was the manufacture and use of gunpowder. This invention includes several discoveries which it is of importance to distinguish from each other: first, the discovery of the detonating power of saltpetre; second, the process of uniting saltpetre with charcoal and sulphur, or the manufacture of gunpowder; third, the use of gunpowder in artificial fireworks; fourth, its use as a projectile force for throwing shot, &c.; and fifth, its use in mines for blowing up walls, fortifications, &c. These discoveries were independent of each other, and took place at different times; we must therefore consider them separately.

The explosive power of saltpetre was probably known in the East from a very remote age, for that substance is produced abundantly, fit for use, both in India and China; and ancient traditions describe the repulses of invaders by launching artificial lightnings from walls, manifestly referring to the use of some detonating substance. With less certainty we may conjecture that the process of compounding saltpetre with other ingredients, was brought from the remote East by the Saracens. Friar Bacon, the first European writer who describes the composition of gunpowder, derived his knowledge of chemistry chiefly from the Arabian writers, who were the originators of that science. Among the Chinese, the use of deflagrating compounds for artificial fireworks, is of very ancient date. The employment of gunpowder for throwing bullets and stones began in Europe about the commencement of the fourteenth century; it was introduced by the Saracens in their Spanish wars; and the first certain account of this change in warfare, is in an Arabian history of the siege of Baza, by the king of Granada (A.D. 1312). It is generally supposed that the Genoese were the first who used powder in mines, to destroy walls and fortifications, at the siege of Seranessa (A.D. 1487). Bombs and mortars are said to have been invented by Malatesta, prince of Rimini (A.D. 1467); and about the same time guns, or rather portable cannons, began to be used by soldiers. Several circumstances prevented the immediate adoption of fire-arms and artillery in war: long habit made many prefer their ancient weapons; the construction of cannons was imperfect, they were made more frequently of wood, leather, or iron

hoops than solid metal, and were therefore liable to burst; the gunpowder was of imperfect manufacture, and frequently failed in the field. Above all, the mail-clad chivalry of Europe opposed a change in the art of war, which greatly lowered the value of knights and cavalry. They described the invention as murderous, inhuman, and treacherous; they averred

It was great pity, so it was,
This villanous saltpetre should be digged
Out of the bowels of the harmless earth,
Which many a good tall fellow had destroyed.

The last great invention that requires notice, is the polarity of the magnet, and its application to the mariner's compass. There are few European nations that have not at some time or other arrogated to themselves the merit of this discovery; but few more successfully than the Italians, whose claims, until of late days, have been regarded as established. It was generally believed that the inventor of this precious instrument was Flavio Gioia, a native of Amalfi, in the kingdom of Naples; and so precise were the historians, that they specified the date of the invention as either A.D. 1302, or 1303. A more careful examination of the subject showed that the magnet's polarity had been noticed by Chinese, Arabian, and even European writers, long before the commencement of the fourteenth century, and hence it was fairly inferred that the Amalfitans could only claim the merit of introducing the invention into Europe, or at most of applying it to the purposes of navigation.

Great obscurity continued to rest over the question, until the attention of the late celebrated Orientalist, Klaproth, was directed to the subject. His work is so little known, that it will be interesting to extract from it some particulars respecting this interesting point in the history of human civilization.

The time when the polarity of the magnet was first known to the Chinese is lost in the night of antiquity. But many centuries before the Christian era, this property of the load-stone was applied to the construction of magnetic chariots. In the front of these chariots, a doll, made of light materials, was fixed upon a pivot, a magnetic bar was passed through its extended arm, so contrived that it invariably pointed to the south, which was the *kibleh*, or sacred point, to which the Chinese always turned when performing their devotions. The original use of these chariots was merely to discover the *kibleh*, a purpose to which the mariner's compass is frequently applied among Mohammedan nations.

It is obvious that the step from the magnetic chariot to the mariner's compass is not one of great difficulty; but it was probably not made until the Chinese began to direct their attention to navigation, under the Tsin dynasty, that is, between the middle of the third and

the commencement of the fifth centuries of our era. The mode in which the magnet, or magnetized needle, was at first used by Oriental nations, is thus described by Bailak, an Arabian writer of the thirteenth century: "The captains that navigate the Syrian sea, when the night is so dark that they cannot see a star, by which they might determine the cardinal points, fill a vessel with water and shelter it from the wind. They then take a needle, which they stick into a splinter of wood, or a reed in the form of a cross, and throw it upon the surface of the water. Afterwards they take a piece of loadstone, large enough to fill the hand, which they bring near the surface of the water, and then give the water a motion towards the right, by stirring it, so that the water begins to revolve. Then they suddenly withdraw their hands, and the needle certainly points north and south." This clumsy contrivance, called the "water compass," was the first kind used both in Asia and Europe, and the Coreans had not abandoned it so late as the middle of the last century. We have no certain account of the introduction of the compass into Europe, but writers of the twelfth century, speaking of it, as far as we know for the first time, mention it as a thing generally known. From this sudden notoriety of the polarity of the magnet, it seems probable that its use had been practically known to sailors, before it engaged the attention of the learned. Only one century previous to this notoriety, we find that the northern navigators had no better expedient for directing their course, than watching the flight of birds. "The old northern sailors," says a Danish chronicle, "took a supply of ravens for their guides; they used to let these birds fly from their barks when in the open sea; if the birds returned to the ship, the sailors concluded that there was no land in sight, but if they flew off, the vessels were steered in the direction of their flight." The improvements in the compass were made by slow degrees, and for the most important of them the world is indebted to Englishmen.

SECTION III.—*Progress of Commerce.*

From the beginning of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century the commerce of Europe was engrossed by the Italian, Hanseatic, and Flemish cities. The Italians, but more especially the Florentines, Genoese, and Venetians, possessed the trade of the Levant. The Genoese exclusively monopolized the commerce of the Black Sea, while the Venetians traded to the ports of Syria and Egypt. The jealousy of the rival republics led to sanguinary wars, which ended in rendering the Venetians supreme in the Mediterranean. The manufacture of silk which had been introduced into Sicily from Greece, spread thence into various parts of Italy, but the largest

factories were established at Venice. This city supplied the greater part of Europe with silks, spices, and Asiatic produce. Italian merchants, commonly called Lombards, carried these goods into the northern and western kingdoms. The privileges and exemptions granted them by sovereigns, enabled them to rule the traffic of Europe, and to become the chief bankers and money-dealers in its different states¹.

But all the Italian free cities did not enjoy equal prosperity. The states of Lombardy that had wrested their freedom from the German emperors, soon fell into anarchy. Disgusted with the advantages by which they knew not how to profit, some voluntarily resigned their liberties to new masters, while others yielded to usurpers. Thus the marquis of Este became lord of Modena and Reggia (A.D. 1336); the house of Gonzago gained possession of Mantua, and the Visconti took the title of dukes of Milan (A.D. 1395). Florence retained its freedom and prosperity for a longer period. It was not until the reign of the Emperor Charles V. (A.D. 1530), that its republican form of government was abolished, and the supreme authority usurped by the princely family of the Medicis.

The rivalry between the Genoese and Venetians led, as we have already mentioned, to long and deadly wars. The last and most memorable of these, was that called the war of Chiozza (A.D. 1379). The Genoese, after having gained a signal victory over the Venetian fleet, before Pola, in the Adriatic Sea, penetrated into the inmost lagoons of Venice, and seized the port of Chiozza. Had the Genoese acted with more promptitude, Venice itself might have been taken, its citizens, in the first moment of dismay, having resolved to quit their country, and seek refuge in Candia. The tardiness of the Genoese admiral afforded them time to recover their courage. Excited by a generous emulation, all classes vied with each other to repel the invaders; a new fleet was equipped in a very brief space, Chiozza was recovered, and the Genoese received so severe a check, that they were no longer able to contest the supremacy of the sea with their rivals.

But these wars were not the only cause of the decline of Genoa; the streets of the city frequently streamed with the blood of rival factions; the nobles and commons fought for supremacy, which want of internal union prevented either party from maintaining; and at length, incapable of governing themselves, they sought the protection of foreign powers. With their usual inconstancy, the Genoese were ever changing masters; twice they placed themselves under the king

¹ The street in London where these foreigners were settled, still retains the name of Lombard-street, and continues to be the chief seat of banking establishments. It is not generally known that the three balls exhibited over pawnbrokers' shops, are the arms of Lombardy, and have been retained as a sign, ever since the Lombards were the sole money-lenders of Europe.

of France, but after a short experience of French rule, took for their sovereign, first the marquis of Montferrat, and afterwards the duke of Milan. From the year 1464, Genoa remained a dependency on the duchy of Milan, until 1528, when it recovered its former freedom.

Whilst the power of the Genoese republic was declining, that of Venice was increasing by rapid strides. The permanence given to its government by introducing the principle of hereditary aristocracy, saved [the state from internal convulsions, while the judicious establishment of commercial stations, on the shores of the Adriatic and Levant, secured and fostered its trade. The greatest advantage that the Venetians obtained over their commercial rivals, arose from their treaty with the sultan of Egypt (A.D. 1343): by this alliance, the republic obtained full liberty of trade in the Syrian and Egyptian ports, with the privilege of having consular establishments at Alexandria and Damascus. These advantages soon enabled them to acquire supreme command over the trade of central and southern Asia; the spices and other commodities of India were brought to Syrian markets, and the Genoese establishments on the Black Sea soon became worthless. The territorial acquisitions of the republic on the northern coasts of the Adriatic, formed a powerful state about the middle of the fifteenth century. Dalmaz and Friuli were wrested from the king of Hungary, and the most important districts of eastern Lombardy conquered from the dukes of Milan. But the power of the republic was less secure than it appeared; oppressive to its dependencies, it provoked hostile feelings, which only waited for an opportunity to blaze forth in open rebellion; insolent to all the surrounding powers, a secret jealousy and enmity were excited, which, at no distant date, exposed Venice to the resentments of a league too powerful to be resisted.

We have already mentioned the Hanseatic confederation of the commercial cities in northern and western Europe, to protect their trade from pirates and robbers. In the fourteenth century, the league became so extensive as to form an important power, that claimed and received the respect of kings and emperors. The maritime cities of Germany, from the Scheldt and the isles of Zealand, all round to the borders of Livonia, joined the confederacy, and several cities in the interior sought its protection, and admission into its alliance. The first known act of confederation was signed by the deputies of the several cities at Cologne (A.D. 1364). All the allied cities were divided into four circles, whose limits and capitals varied at different periods; the general administration of the confederacy was entrusted to a confederacy which assembled triennially at Lubeck. In the early part of the fifteenth century, no less than eighty cities sent delegates to the congress, while many others were connected with the league, though they had not the power of sending delegates.

Possessing the exclusive commerce of the Baltic Sea, the Hanse towns exercised the right of making war and peace, and forming alliances; they equipped powerful fleets and waged successful wars with the northern sovereigns that attempted to interfere with their monopoly, or limit the privileges extorted from the ignorance or weakness of their predecessors.

The Hanseatic ships exported from the north seas, hemp, flax, timber, furs, leather, copper, corn, and the produce of their fisheries. Herrings, which were at that time taken in great abundance on the Norwegian coast, formed one of their most lucrative articles of commerce, on account of the strictness with which Lent was observed by the southern nations of Europe. The produce of the north was exchanged in the western markets for cloths, stuffs, wines, drugs, and spices. The principal marts were Bruges for the Flemish countries, London for England, Bergen for Norway, and Novogorod for Russia. In the close of the fifteenth century, Novogorod was deprived of its republican constitution, and the merchants migrated to Narva and Revel. Through the Flemings the Hanseatic commercial cities were brought into connection with those of Italy; the merchants of both met in the fairs and markets of Bruges, where the produce of the unexplored North was exchanged for that of the unknown regions of India. The progress of trade, and the intercourse thus effected between remote nations, excited a love for maritime and inland discovery, which soon produced important changes, and aided the other causes that necessarily led to the overthrow of the confederation.

Extensive as was the commerce of the Hanseatic cities, it possessed neither permanence nor durability. Having neither produce nor manufactures of their own, the merchants had merely a carrying trade, and the profits of simple barter; consequently the progress of industry, especially in countries where the useful arts were cultivated, raised powerful rivals against them, and gave commerce a new direction. The establishment of stable governments was also injurious to a confederation, whose chief utility was to afford protection against the piracy of northern adventurers, and the robbery of turbulent feudal lords. When the limits of imperial and feudatory power were finally determined, the German princes gradually acquired the commanding influence that necessarily results from territorial possessions, and recovered their supremacy over the cities that had been withdrawn from their authority. This result was hastened by the internal dissensions of the confederate cities. Situated at considerable distances from each other, their interests often clashed, and the congress, occupied in reconciling disputes, could never direct its attention to any plan for colonial or territorial acquisition; still less could they form a systematic union of mercantile establishments in which the gain of one necessarily ensured the loss of the other. When the northern

sovereigns, enlightened on the advantages that their subjects might derive from commerce, assailed the privileges of the Hanse towns by force of arms; many of the southern cities withdrew themselves from the league; and the northern confederates, thus deserted, were unable to preserve their monopoly of the Baltic trade, which they were forced to share with the merchants of England and Holland. The confederacy thus gradually declined, until in the seventeenth century, this league, once so extensive, included only the cities of Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Bremen.

In Flanders, commercial prosperity was based on manufacturing industry; the Flemings supplied the principal markets of Europe with cloth in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; while, through the commercial cities of Italy, they were enabled to send the produce of their looms to the ports of the Levant, and exchange them for spices, jewels, and other articles of Oriental luxury. The wealth, the population, and the resources of these cities rendered the earls of Flanders more wealthy, and scarcely less powerful than their nominal sovereigns, the kings of France. When Edward I. of England wished to recover Guienne, which had been wrested from his predecessors, he sought the alliance of Guy de Dampierre, earl of Flanders, and proposed to make the earl's daughter, Philippa, his queen; being attracted both by her personal charms and the enormous sums promised as her dowry. So great was the lady's wealth, and such the importance attached to the Flemish alliance, that Philip the Fair had recourse to the most infamous treachery in order to defeat the marriage. As he was the godfather of the young lady, he invited her and the earl to pay him a visit in Paris; but no sooner did they reach the capital than he threw them both into prison, declaring that the marriage of so wealthy an heiress could not be arranged without the consent of the superior lord, and that the earl was guilty of felony in promising the hand of his daughter to an enemy of the kingdom. Guy escaped from prison, but his daughter died a captive, under circumstances which led to a strong suspicion of poison; the earl believing, or feigning to believe the charge, assembled his chief vassals at Grammont, and there, in the presence of the ambassadors from England, Germany, and Lorraine, he solemnly renounced his allegiance to the crown of France, and proclaimed war against Philip. Such was the commencement of the long series of Flemish wars, which early assumed the form of a desperate struggle between the mercantile and landed aristocracy.

Commerce and manufactures had brought together a large and wealthy population into the cities of Flanders; the burgesses had purchased charters of privileges from their respective lords, being well aware that municipal freedom was necessary to commercial prosperity; they began to rival their former masters in wealth and influence, and they formed an order of their own, which was as much respected in the

trading communities as the landed aristocracy in the rural districts. The nobles soon began to view the rapid progress of the merchants and traders with jealousy and dislike. Not only were the lords grieved at the loss of their power to extort discretionary imposts, but they regretted the growth of that mercantile wealth which invested counting-houses and stores with a political influence not inferior to that which had hitherto attached exclusively to castles and estates. Municipal immunities were found to be at variance with feudal privileges; neither the merchants nor the nobles would make such concessions as might form the basis of a reasonable compromise, and war was thus rendered inevitable. Under the guidance of several eminent and popular leaders, particularly the two Artaveldes, the mercantile Flemings maintained a long and vigorous warfare against their earls and aristocracy, though the latter were supported by the whole power of France. At the close of the contest, the trading cities preserved their immunities; but in the course of the war, capitalists had been ruined, artisans had fled to more peaceful lands, the nobles were impoverished, and the peasants reduced to despair. Though the Flemings continued to retain a large share of their commercial and manufacturing supremacy, they had the mortification to witness the rise of a powerful rival in England, where the woollen manufacture gradually attained to a greater height than it had reached even in Flanders.

Wool was the most important article of British produce; and the Plantagenet monarchs endeavoured to secure for themselves a large share of the profits arising from all transactions connected with it, by forbidding it to be bought or sold in any markets except the staple towns. Considerable embarrassment was produced by frequent changes of the staple; and, as these alterations were usually made for the convenience of foreign purchasers, they laid the foundation of that jealousy of foreigners which more than any other cause has deranged the commerce of England. In 1261, the barons, enraged by the partiality which Henry III. showed to the French connections of his queen, passed a law prohibiting the exportation of wool, and ordaining that no woollen cloths should be worn except such as were woven at home. At this time, raw wool was the most important of British exports; for, in 1349, we find the parliament remonstrating that the king, by an illegal imposition of forty shillings on each sack of wool exported, had levied 60,000*l.* a-year, which would make the annual export of wool eleven millions of pounds avoirdupois. The medium price of wool at the time was about 5*l.* per sack; the whole annual value of export 150,000*l.* Such a sum was too important to the producers to be lost; the law prohibiting exportation was either repealed or permitted to fall into desuetude, for about the middle of the fourteenth century, we find that wool constituted about thirteen-fourteenths of the entire exports of the kingdom.

Little cloth was made in England, and that only of the coarsest description, until Edward III., in the year 1331, invited weavers, dyers, and fullers to come over from Flanders and settle in England, promising them his protection and favour on condition that they would carry on their trades here, and teach the knowledge of them to his subjects. The native wool-growers and merchants looked upon these foreign manufacturers with very jealous eyes, especially when Edward created a monopoly in their favour, by prohibiting the wearing of any cloth but of English fabric; and many petitions are preserved from the weavers of woollen stuffs, complaining of the heavy impositions laid upon them by the corporations, in which the corporation of Bristol is especially conspicuous. The manufacture, however, took root and flourished, though it received a severe check from the jealousy of parliament, which, by a very unwise law, prohibited the export of woollen goods, and permitted that of unwrought wool.

The land-owners of England were slow in discovering that their own prosperity was connected with that of the manufacturing interest. Their avowed object in legislation was to keep up the high price of the raw material, the wool grown upon their estates; and they had the honesty to say so in the preamble to a statute (14 Rich. II. c. 4) prohibiting any denizen of England from buying wool except from the owners of the sheep and for his own use. This of course closed the home market; the grower, in his anxiety to grasp the profits of the wool-merchant and retailer in addition to his own, found that he had turned off his best customers; and we learn from a contemporary historian that the growers were reduced to the greatest distress by having the accumulated stock of two or three years left on their hands.

In the reign of Henry VI., not more than a century after its introduction, the woollen manufacture had thriven so well, that it was made to contribute to the revenue, and we were enabled to compete with the nations by whom we had been taught it, on equal terms; a reciprocity law, passed at this time, ordains, that "if our woollen goods were not received in Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, then the merchandise growing or wrought within the dominions of the duke of Burgundy shall be prohibited in England under pain of forfeiture." But there was already a growing jealousy between the landed and manufacturing interests, caused by the rise in the price of labour, resulting from increase of employment; for so early as the reign of Henry IV., an act was passed "that no one should bind his son or daughter to an apprenticeship, unless he was possessed of twenty shillings." This attempt to limit the supply of labour in manufacture would have wholly destroyed the woollen trade, had not the first monarch of the house of Tudor granted an exemption from the act to the city of Norwich, and subsequently to the whole county of Norfolk.

The besetting error of legislators in this age was the belief, that

gold and silver had some inherent and intrinsic value in themselves, independent of their exchangeable and marketable value. They could not understand that the very essence of all commerce is barter, and that money only serves as a third term or common measure for ascertaining the comparative value of the articles to be exchanged. Ignorant of this fact, which, by the way, is not universally understood at the present day, they made several attempts to compel foreigners to pay for English goods in money. In 1429, a law was passed that no Englishman should sell goods to foreigners except for ready money, or other goods delivered on the instant.

This was such a fatal blow to trade, that, in the very next year, the parliament was compelled to relax so far as to admit of the sale of goods on six months' credit. With equal wisdom, and for the same perplexing reason, "the prevention of the exportation of treasure out of the country," a law was passed prohibiting "foreign merchants from selling goods in England to any other foreigner." This precious piece of legislation did not, of course, prevent the exportation of the precious metals, but it prevented the import of merchandise and of bullion, a result which quite perplexed the legislature, but did not lead to the abolition of the foolish law.

Henry VII., removed a still greater check to industry, by restraining the usurpations of corporations. A law was enacted, that corporations should not pass by-laws without the consent of three of the chief officers of state; they were also prohibited from exacting tolls at their gates. The necessity of legislative interference was proved by the conduct of the corporations of Gloucester and Worcester, which had actually imposed transit tolls on the Severn,—these, of course, were abolished. But the monarch was not superior to the prejudices of his age; he affixed prices to woollen cloths, caps, and hats, which, of course, led to a deterioration of the several articles. Yet this law was highly extolled as a master-stroke of policy by the statesmen of the day.

The parliaments in the reign of Henry VIII. were too busily engaged in enforcing the king's caprices, by inconsistent laws against heresy and treason, to pay much attention to trade and commerce. One circumstance, however, connected with the woollen trade deserves to be noticed. So greatly had our woollen manufactures increased, that the Flemings, no longer able to compete with the English as producers, entered into the carrying trade, bought the English commodities, and distributed them into other parts of Europe. In 1528, hostilities commenced between England and the Low Countries; there was an immediate stagnation of trade; the merchants having no longer their usual Flemish customers, could not buy goods from the clothiers; the clothiers in consequence dismissed their workmen, and the starving operatives tumultuously demanded "bread or blood." Shakspeare,

whose father was a woolstapler, and who therefore perhaps had heard, traditionally, as well as historically, of the sufferings of the clothiers, makes it a ground of charge against Wolsey, though he assigns another cause—

The clothiers all, not able to maintain
The many to them 'longing, have put off
The spinsters, carders, fullers, weavers, who,
Unfit for other life, compelled by hunger,
And lack of other means, in desperate manner
Daring the worst to the teeth, are all in uproar,
And danger serves among them.—*Henry VIII.* Act i. sc. 2.

Wolsey scarcely knew how to account for these riots; he tried force with the workmen, but hunger was stronger than the law; he threatened the clothiers unless they gave employment, but wages could not be paid from empty purses; at length he sent for the merchants, and commanded them to buy cloth as usual! The merchants replied, that they could not sell it as usual; and, notwithstanding his menaces, would give no other answer. At length the true remedy was discovered; an agreement was made that commerce should continue between the two states even during war.

In the reign of Edward VI. an act was passed, by which every one was prohibited from making cloth, unless he had served an apprenticeship of seven years; this law was repealed in the first year of Queen Mary, as the preamble of the act states, "because it had occasioned the decay of the woollen manufactory, and had ruined several towns." It was, however, subsequently restored by Elizabeth.

The persecutions of the Protestants in France, but more especially in Flanders, drove many eminent manufacturers to seek refuge in England, where they were graciously received by Elizabeth. She passed an act relieving the counties of Somerset, Gloucester, and Wiltshire, from the old oppressive statutes, which confined the making of cloth to corporate towns; and trade, thus permitted to choose its own localities, began to flourish rapidly. In a remonstrance of the Hanse towns to the diet of the empire, in 1582, it is asserted that England exported annually about 200,000 pieces of cloth. In this reign, also, the English merchants, instead of selling their goods to the Hanseatic and Flemish traders, began to export themselves; and their success so exasperated the Hanse towns, that a general assembly was held at Lubeck to concert measures for distressing the English trade. But the jealousy of foreigners was far less injurious to British commerce than the monopolies which Elizabeth created in countless abundance. An attempt, indeed, was made to remove one monopoly; but the experiment was not fairly tried, and its consequent ill-success was used as an argument against any similar efforts. By an old patent, the Company of Merchant Adventurers possessed the sole right of trading in woollen goods. This monstrous usurpation of the staple

commodity of the kingdom was too bad even for that age of darkness, and Elizabeth opened the trade; but the Merchant Adventurers entered into a conspiracy not to make purchases of cloth, and the queen, alarmed at the temporary suspension of trade, restored the patent.

In the reign of James I. it was calculated that nine-tenths of the commerce of the kingdom consisted in woollen goods. Most of the cloth was exported raw, and was dyed and dressed by the Dutch, who gained, it was pretended, 700,000*l.* annually by this manufacture. The king, at the instigation of Cockayne and some other London merchants, issued a proclamation prohibiting the exportation of raw cloths; the Dutch and Germans met this piece of legislation by prohibiting the importation of English dyed cloth; the consequence was, that our export trade was diminished by two-thirds, and the price of wool fell from seventy to eighty per cent. The king was forced to recall his proclamation. In the year 1622 a board of trade was erected, as the commission states, "to remedy the low price of wool, and the decay of the woollen manufactory." It is recommended to the commissioners to examine "whether a greater freedom of trade, and an exemption from the restraint of exclusive companies, would not be beneficial." A gratifying proof of the progress of intelligence; but, unfortunately, it led to no practical result.

English commerce increased greatly under the Commonwealth, because no regard was paid to the prerogative whence the charters of the exclusive companies were derived, and because the progress of democratical principles led the country gentlemen to bind their sons apprentices to merchants. But with the Restoration came the old rage for prohibitions and protections; two thousand manufacturers from Warwickshire, and a great number from Herefordshire, emigrated to the Palatinate; and, in 1662, the Company of Merchant Adventurers declared, in a public memorial, that the white-clothing trade had abated from 100,000 pieces to 11,000! In 1668, however, some Walloons were encouraged to introduce the manufacture of fine cloths, from Spanish wool only, without the admixture of any inferior wool; but the progress of this branch of trade was very slow, owing chiefly to our municipal laws, which pressed heavily on foreigners.

It could not be asserted that the slow progress of the woollen manufactory was owing to any want of legislative protection; the exportation of wool, facetiously called *owling* in our old laws, because it was principally carried on during the night, was prohibited by many severe statutes. One, passed in the reign of Elizabeth, makes the transportation of live sheep, or the embarking them on board any ship, "for the first offence, forfeiture of goods and imprisonment for one year, and that at the end of the year, the left hand shall be cut off in some public market, and shall there be nailed up in the openest

place; and the second offence is felony." And this statute is the more remarkable when contrasted with one then in force, by which it was enacted that "no person shall keep or have more than two thousand sheep, on pain to pay a heavy forfeit for every sheep above the number."

It is not necessary to bring down the history of our great staple manufactory to a later date. What has been already stated is sufficient to illustrate the evils which arose from legislative interference with the natural course of commerce, industry, and capital in past ages. It must not, however, be supposed that this impolicy was peculiar to England; on the contrary, English statesmen were generally in advance of the rest of Europe, and monopolies were only supported by corrupt adventurers. The nobility and the country gentlemen of England resisted the imposing of any unnecessary shackles on trade until after the Restoration of Charles II., when the system of protection began to be introduced; that system derived its chief support from the short-sighted cupidity of the manufacturers themselves, and the entire blame must not therefore be attributed to the legislature.

The extension of English commerce during the period of history we have been examining was very slow. The long wars of France, and the civil wars of the Roses, diverted attention from the peaceful pursuit of trade. It was not until after the accession of Henry VII. that England began to feel the impulse for maritime discovery and commercial enterprise which had hitherto been confined to southern Europe; the effects of this change belong, however, to a more advanced period of history, and will come under consideration in a future chapter.

SECTION IV.—*Revolutions of Germany, France, and Spain.*

FROM the period of the accession of Rodolph, the first emperor of the house of Hapsburgh, the German empire began to assume a constitutional form, and to be consolidated by new laws. Under the government of Albert, the son of Rodolph, an important change took place in Switzerland, which, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, was divided into a number of states, both secular and ecclesiastical. The cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwalden, were immediate dependencies of the empire, while some minor adjoining districts belonging to the dukes of Austria as counts of Hapsburgh. Albert, anxious to found a new kingdom for one of his younger children, resolved to annex the imperial to the Austrian cantons; and in order to reconcile the hardy mountaineers that inhabited them to the intended yoke, he sanctioned and encouraged the cruel tyranny of their German governors. Three brave men resolved to attempt the delivery of their country; they secretly engaged a number of partisans, who

surprised the imperial forts on the same day (A.D. 1308), and accomplished a revolution without shedding a drop of blood. The Austrians made a vigorous effort to recover their supremacy, but they suffered a ruinous defeat at Morgarten (A.D. 1315), which secured the independence of the Cantons. Their league of union was renewed at Brunnen, in a treaty that became the base of the federative union of Switzerland. Five other cantons successively joined the former three, and the Helvetic possessions of the house of Austria were conquered by the Swiss during the interval in which the family of the counts of Hapsburgh ceased to wear the imperial crown.

On the death of Albert (A.D. 1308), Henry VII., count of Luxemburg, was chosen emperor; he was a brave and politic prince; taking advantage of the pope's absence at Avignon, and the distracted state of Italy, he made a vigorous effort to restore the imperial authority in the peninsula, and would probably have succeeded but for his premature death.

The troubled reign of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, his contest for the empire with Frederic, duke of Austria, and the wars occasioned by his efforts to restrain the extravagant pretensions of the popes, led the German princes to discover the necessity of having a written constitution. On the accession of Charles of Luxemburg (A.D. 1347), the calamities of a disputed election to the empire were renewed, and after a long series of wars and disorders, a diet was convened at Nuremburg, to form a code of laws, regulating the rights and privileges of the spiritual and temporal authorities. The result of the diet's labours was published in a celebrated edict, called a Golden Bull, from the *bull*, or seal of gold, affixed to the document (A.D. 1356). This bull fixed the order and form of the imperial elections, and the ceremonial of the coronation. It ordained that the crown should be given by the plurality of votes of seven electors; the prince chosen emperor having a right to give his suffrage. The right of voting was restricted to possessors of seven principalities, called electorates, of which the partition was prohibited, and the regularity of their inheritance secured by a strict law of primogeniture. Finally, the Golden Bull defined the rights and privileges of the several electors, confirming to the princes of the Palatinate and Saxony the administration of the empire during an interregnum.

The next reign, nevertheless, evinced the danger of investing the electors with such preponderating authority. Wenceslaus, the son and successor of Charles, was a supine and voluptuous prince, who paid little attention to the interests of the empire; he was deposed by a plurality of votes (A.D. 1400), and Robert, the elector palatine, chosen in his stead. Several of the states continued to acknowledge Wenceslaus, but Robert is usually regarded as the legitimate emperor. On Robert's death, the empire returned to the house of Luxemburg,

Wenceslaus having consented to resign his pretensions in favour of his brother Sigismond, king of Hungary.

A cloud had long hung over the house of Hapsburgh; it was dispelled by the fortunate union of Albert, duke of Austria, with Sigismond's only daughter, queen in her own right of Hungary and Bohemia. On the death of his father-in-law (A.D. 1437), he succeeded to the empire, but survived his elevation only two years. Albert's posthumous son Ladislaus inherited his mother's realms; his cousin Frederic, duke of Stiria, was chosen emperor, and from his posterity the imperial dignity never departed until the extinction of his male issue (A.D. 1740).

The wise policy of Philip Augustus, in weakening the power of the feudal aristocracy and re-uniting the great fiefs to the crown, was vigorously pursued by his successors, but by none more effectually than Philip the Fair. On the death of that monarch (A.D. 1314), the king of France was undoubtedly the most powerful sovereign in Europe. Philip left three sons, who successively reigned in France; Louis, surnamed Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair; together with a daughter named Isabel, married to Edward II., king of England. The three French sovereigns just mentioned, died without leaving male issue; all had daughters, but Philip and Charles asserted that no female could inherit the crown of France. The claims founded on this law of succession were but slightly questioned; and on the death of Charles IV., Philip, count de Valois, the nearest male heir, ascended the throne without encountering any immediate opposition (A.D. 1328). Edward III. of England resolved to claim the kingdom in right of his mother Isabel, but the distractions of his native dominions long presented insuperable obstacles to his projects. He even did liege homage to Philip for the province of Guienne, and for several years gave no sign of meditating such a mighty enterprise as the conquest of France.

Aided by his son, the celebrated Black Prince, the English monarch invaded France, and, contrary to the opinions of all the contemporary princes, was everywhere victorious (A.D. 1338). The war was maintained by Philip of Valois, and his son and successor John, with more obstinacy than wisdom; the former suffered a terrible defeat at Crecy, the most glorious field ever won by English valour; King John was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers. But these achievements, however glorious, could not ensure the conquest of France, the country was too large, the French nation too hostile to the invaders, and Edward's army too small for such a revolution. Both sides became weary of the contest, a treaty was concluded at Bretigni, by which several important provinces were ceded to Edward, on the condition of his renouncing his claims to the French crown (A.D. 1360). A troubled period of eight years followed, which can scarcely be called a peace, although there was a cessation from open hostilities.

There is scarcely a calamity by which a nation can be afflicted that did not visit France during this disastrous season. A foreign enemy was in the heart of the kingdom; the seditions of the capital deluged its streets with blood; and a treacherous prince of the blood, Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, was in arms against the sovereign authority. Famine devastated the land, and a plague of unparalleled virulence (A.D. 1348) consummated the work of hunger and the sword. The companies of adventurers and mercenary troops that remained unemployed during the truce that followed the victory of Poitiers, spread themselves over the land, in marauding troops, which there was no force to withstand. So little scrupulous were they, that they assailed the pope in Avignon, and compelled the pontiff to redeem himself by a ransom of forty thousand crowns. Finally, the peasantry of several districts, impatient of distress, and maddened by the oppressions of their lords, broke out into a fearful insurrection. This was named the *Jacquerie*, from the contemptuous phrase "*Jacques bon homme*," applied by the nobles to their serfs, and it was marked by all the horrors that necessarily attend a servile war, when men, brutalized by tyranny, and maddened by wrongs, seek vengeance on their oppressors.

Edward the Black Prince was intrusted by his father to the government of the French provinces. A brave and adventurous warrior, Edward was deficient in the qualities of a statesman. Having exhausted his finances by an unwise and fruitless invasion of Castile, he laid heavy taxes on his subjects, and they in anger appealed for protection to their ancient sovereigns. Charles V., who had succeeded his father John on the throne of France, gladly received this appeal, and summoned Edward to appear before him as his liege lord (A.D. 1368). Though enfeebled by sickness, the answer of the gallant prince to this summons was a declaration of war, but the tide of fortune was changed, and in a few campaigns the English lost all their acquisitions in France, with the exception of a few important sea-ports.

The weakness of Richard II., and the doubtful title of Henry IV., prevented the English from renewing the war with France during their reigns; indeed they would probably have been expelled from all their continental possessions, but for the deplorable imbecility of the French monarch, Charles VI., and the sanguinary contests of the factions of Orleans and Burgundy. The English nation had been long commercially connected with Flanders, and when that country was annexed to the duchy of Burgundy, provision had been made for the continuance of trade by separate truces. Encouraged by the promised neutrality, if not the active co-operation of the Burgundian duke, Henry V. invaded France, and destroyed the flower of the French chivalry on the memorable field of Agincourt (A.D. 1415). The progress of the English was uninterrupted until the defection of the

duke of Burgundy (A.D. 1419), an event which seemed to threaten Henry with ruin; but that prince having been assassinated, his partisans in revenge joined the English, and this circumstance, combined with the unnatural hatred of the French Queen Isabel to her son the Dauphin, led to the treaty of Troyes, by which Henry, on condition of marrying the princess Catharine, was appointed regent of France, and heir to the unconscious Charles VI.

Notwithstanding this arrangement, Charles VII., on the death of his father, was recognised as king in the southern provinces of France, while Henry VI., the infant inheritor of the crowns of England and France, was proclaimed in the northern provinces, under the reign of his uncle the duke of Bedford (A.D. 1422). At first the fortunes of Charles wore the most unfavourable appearance; and the siege of Orleans (A.D. 1428) threatened to deprive him of hope. A simple country girl overthrew the power of England. Joan of Arc, called also the Maid of Orleans, whether influenced by enthusiasm or imposture, it is not easy to determine, declared herself supernaturally inspired to undertake the deliverance of her country. The English felt a superstitious awe, and lost their conquests one by one, and after a protracted but feeble struggle, no memorial of the victories of Edward and Henry remained but the town of Calais and an empty title (A.D. 1449). The destruction of the French nobility in this long series of wars, enabled Charles VII. to mould the government into a despotic form, which was permanently fixed by his crafty successor Louis XI. Scarcely a less important change was made in ecclesiastical affairs; Charles VII. secured the Gallican Church from any future encroachment of the Holy See, by adopting several decrees of the council of Basil which were solemnly recognised in a national assembly held at Bourges (A.D. 1438), and published under the name of the Pragmatic Sanction.

Spain, during this period, continued to be divided into several kingdoms; the Christian monarchies of Navarre, Castile, and Aragon, could not be brought to combine against the Moors whose strength was concentrated in the province of Granada. Alphonso XI. was the only Castilian monarch who distinguished himself in war against the Mohammedans; he defeated the combined forces of the kings of Morocco and Granada, who had united to besiege Tariffa (A.D. 1340), and by this victory, not only delivered his own frontiers, but acquired several important fortresses. The power of Castile was weakened by the unexampled tyranny of Peter the Cruel. He was dethroned by his illegitimate brother, Henry, count of Trastamare, but was subsequently restored by Edward the Black Prince. Proving ungrateful to his benefactor, he provoked a second contest, in which he lost his kingdom and life. The kingdom now passed to the house of Trastamare (A.D. 1368), and for a considerable period enjoyed peace and

prosperity. Though the kingdom of Aragon was inferior in extent to that of Castile, yet the advantages of a better government, and wiser sovereign, with those of industry and commerce, along a line of sea-coast, rendered it almost equally important. The Aragonese kings acquired the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, and the county of Barcelona, with several other Catalonian districts. They would probably have struggled for the supremacy of Spain, had not the crowns of Aragon and Castile been united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella (A.D. 1469).

A similar event had nearly united the crowns of Castile and Portugal. Ferdinand, king of Portugal, having no male heir, wished to secure the succession for his daughter Beatrice, and married her, at the early age of eleven, to John I., king of Castile. On the death of Ferdinand, his illegitimate brother, Don Juan, commonly called John the Bastard, profiting by the national hatred between the Portuguese and Castilians, usurped the regency. A fierce war ensued, the Castilians were overthrown in the decisive battle of Aljubarota (A.D. 1385), and John was proclaimed king by the states of Portugal. The war was continued for several years, but finally a treaty was concluded, by which the Castilian monarchs resigned all claim to the inheritance of Beatrice.

SECTION V.—*The State of England and the Northern Kingdoms in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.*

THE inglorious reign of Edward II. in England was not on the whole unfavourable to the progress of constitutional liberty. After the weakness of the king and profligacy of his favourites had for four years disgusted the nation, the barons compelled the monarch to grant a reform of abuses in full parliament (A.D. 1311). The Great Charter was renewed, and a fresh clause added, of too much importance to be omitted even in this scanty page:—"Forasmuch as many people be aggrieved by the king's ministers against right, in respect to which grievances no one can recover without a common parliament; we do ordain that the king shall hold a parliament once in the year, or twice, if need be." But this security against mis-government proved inefficacious, the monarch was deposed, and soon after murdered (A.D. 1327). Edward III. was proclaimed king; and during his minority, the administration was entrusted to Queen Isabella. After the lapse of three years, Isabella, who had disgraced herself by a criminal intrigue with Mortimer, earl of March, was stripped of power, and her paramour beheaded.

Edward III. rendered his reign illustrious, not more by his splendid achievements in France, than by the wise laws he sanctioned in

England. These, perhaps, must be ascribed less to the wisdom of the sovereign than the increasing spirit of the commons. It was during this long and prosperous reign that parliament established the three fundamental principles of our government,—the illegality of raising money without the consent of parliament; the necessity of both houses concurring in any alteration of the laws; and the right of the commons to investigate public abuses, and impeach the royal ministers for mal-administration. While in the midst of victory, able to boast of his queen having conquered and captured the king of Scotland, and of his son having taken the king of France prisoner, Edward found his parliaments well-disposed to second all his efforts, and gratify all his wishes; but, when the tide of fortune turned, he had to encounter the hostility of a constitutional opposition, at the head of which appeared the prince of Wales. On the death of the heroic Black Prince, the royal favourite, the duke of Lancaster, became supreme in parliament, but the fruits of the victories acquired by the patriots were not lost, the statute law of the realm was improved, the administration of justice improved, and the great security of ministerial responsibility established. English literature began to assume a settled form; Chaucer, the greatest poet that modern Europe had produced, with the exception of Dante, flourished in the time of Edward; and the language had become so far perfect, that it was resolved to have all laws written in English, instead of the Norman French, which had been used since the time of the Conquest.

Richard II. son of the Black Prince, succeeded his grandfather (A.D. 1377), ere he had attained his twelfth year. The early part of his reign was troubled by the contests of his ambitious uncles for the regency, and by a dangerous insurrection of the peasants, headed by the celebrated blacksmith, Wat Tyler. About the same time, the zeal with which Wickliffe denounced the corruptions of the Church, provoked the hostility of the clergy; his doctrines were condemned by a national synod (A.D. 1382), but they had taken fast hold of the people, and some of his disciples carried them to the continent, more especially into Bohemia, where they continued to flourish in spite of persecution. The continued misgovernment of Richard provoked a revolution, while he was absent in Ireland. Henry of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, enraged at the forfeiture of his paternal estate, headed the revolt; Richard, on his return, finding the royal cause hopeless, surrendered to his haughty cousin, and was forced to abdicate the crown (A.D. 1399).

The throne, thus vacated, was claimed by Henry, as representative of the duke of Lancaster, the third son of Edward III., but the hereditary right belonged to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, the lineal descendant of Lionel, duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III. The Mortimer claim, at a later period, was vested by marriage in the

family of York, descended from the fourth son of Edward. Henry of Lancaster, however, was the idol of the people, and the master of the parliament; his demand passed without question, and the first acts of his reign were well calculated to make the nation acquiesce in his title. The efforts of some discontented nobles to restore Richard were crushed by the spontaneous exertions of the populace, and the death of the deposed monarch seemed to secure tranquillity. But the fourth Henry found that discontented friends were the most dangerous enemies; the proud Percies, to whom he owed his elevation, dissatisfied with the scanty reward of their services, took up arms, and involved the country in civil war. The Percies were overthrown at Shrewsbury (A.D. 1403), but their Welsh ally, Owen Glendower, maintained a stern resistance to the house of Lancaster for several years.

On the death of Henry IV., his son, Henry of Monmouth, ascended the throne (A.D. 1413). His dissipation in youth gave little promise of a glorious reign, but immediately after his accession he resigned all his follies, and having secured the tranquillity of England by judicious measures of reform, he revived the claims of Edward to the throne of France. The glorious battle of Agincourt left him master of the open field, the crimes and follies of the French court gave him possession of Paris; he died in the midst of victory (A.D. 1422), leaving a son only nine months old to inherit his kingdoms.

The early part of Henry VI.'s reign is occupied by the series of wars that ended in the expulsion of the English from their continental possessions. The loss of trophies so gratifying to popular vanity, alienated the affections of the nation from the house of Lancaster, and this dislike was increased by the haughtiness of Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou, and the ambition of unprincipled favourites. Richard, duke of York, sure of succeeding to the crown, would probably not have asserted the claims of his house, but for the unexpected birth of a prince, on whose legitimacy some suspicion was thrown. Encouraged by many powerful nobles, he took up arms; the cognizance of the Yorkists was a white rose, that of the Lancastrians, a red rose, and the fierce contests that ensued are usually called the "wars of the roses." After a sanguinary struggle, marked by many vicissitudes of fortune, the white rose triumphed, and Edward IV., son of Richard, duke of York, became king of England (A.D. 1461). Ten years afterwards, his triumph was completed, and his rights secured, by the battle of Tewkesbury, in which the Lancastrians were decisively overthrown. Edward's reign was sullied by cruelty and debauchery; after his death (A.D. 1483), the crown was usurped by Richard, duke of Gloucester, who endeavoured to secure himself by the murder of his nephews. But the claims of the Lancastrian family were now revived by Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, the heir to that house by right of his mother, and a proposal, favoured by the principal nobles, was made

for uniting this nobleman in marriage to the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and thus for ever extinguishing the hostility between the rival houses. At the decisive battle of Bosworth field, Richard was defeated and slain (A.D. 1485); Henry became king of England, and his marriage with Elizabeth united the rival claims of York and Lancaster in the Tudor family.

The wars excited by disputed successions in Scotland, were terminated by the transfer of the crown to the family of the Stuarts (A.D. 1371). Under this dynasty, the royal authority, which had been almost annihilated by the nobles, was greatly extended, and judicious laws enacted for restraining the turbulence of the aristocracy.

Intestine wars long harassed the northern kingdoms, but their tranquillity was restored by Queen Margaret, commonly called the Semiramis of the North, who united Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, into one state, by the treaty of Calmar (A.D. 1397). The predilection shown by Margaret's successors for their Danish subjects, displeased the Swedes, and on the death of King Christopher, without issue, they separated from the union, and chose Charles VIII., one of their native nobles, to be their sovereign. The Danes conferred their crown on Christian I., count of Oldenberg (A.D. 1450), and it has ever since continued in his family.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Russia was divided into several principalities, all of which were under the Mongolian yoke, while the western provinces had the additional misery of being ravaged by the Poles and Lithuanians. A diversion in their favour was made by the Teutonic knights, who added several rich provinces to their Prussian dominions, but the oppressive government of the order provoked insurrections, of which the Poles took advantage, not only to regain their former provinces, but also to acquire a considerable portion of Prussia, which was ceded to them by the peace of Thorn (A.D. 1466). A great revolution in the Polish form of government roused the martial enthusiasm, but proved fatal to the tranquillity of the Poles. Casimir the Great, having no male issue, wished to secure the succession for his nephew, Louis, king of Hungary, and convoked a general assembly of the states (A.D. 1339). The nobles, to whom an appeal was thus made, took advantage of the circumstance to render the throne elective, and to place great restrictions on the royal authority. When Louis of Hungary became king of Poland (A.D. 1370), he was obliged to swear fealty to a constitution which changed the monarchy into a republican aristocracy. On his death, the crown of Poland was given to Jagellon, duke of Lithuania (A.D. 1382), who renounced paganism on his election, and established the Christian religion in his hereditary estates. Though the crown continued elective, the Polish kings were always chosen from the Jagellon family, until its extinction in the sixteenth century.

SECTION VI.—*Rise and Progress of the Ottoman Empire.*

UNDER the administration of the Palæologi, the Byzantine empire sunk into hopeless decay; its history presents an unvaried picture of vice and folly; the weakness of the sovereigns, the exorbitant power of the patriarchs and monks, the fury of theological controversy, the multiplication of schisms and sects, would have ruined the state, but for the external pressure of the Mohammedan dynasties; while, on the other hand, the triumph of these enemies was delayed by the revolutions in the sultanies of Anatolia, and the difficulties that the siege of a maritime capital presents to hordes ignorant of navigation. But when the power of the Ottoman Turks became consolidated, it was manifest that the fate of Constantinople could not be averted, though its fall was long delayed.

The power of the Ottoman Turks commenced in Asia Minor; when the Mongolian hordes overthrew the Seljûkian dynasties, a small wandering tribe of Turks sought refuge in Armenia, but after seven years of exile, seized what they deemed a favourable opportunity of returning to their ancient possessions. While fording the Euphrates, the leader of the Turks was drowned, and the tribe was divided into four, by his sons. Ertogrul, the warlike leader of one division, resolved to return into Asia Minor: the sultanies into which the Seljûkian empire had been divided, were harassing each other with mutual wars, and could not be persuaded to combine against either the Mongols or the crusaders, and consequently a band of adventurous warriors might reasonably hope to obtain fame and fortune in such a distracted country. During Ertogrul's retrograde march, he met two armies engaged in mortal combat, and without giving himself the trouble of investigating the cause, he took the chivalrous resolution of joining the weaker party. His unexpected aid changed the fortunes of the day, and he was rewarded by the conqueror, who proved to be a chief of the Seljûkians, with the gift of a mountainous district, forming the frontiers of ancient Bithynia and Phrygia.

Othman, or Ottoman, usually regarded as the founder of the Turkish Empire (born A.D. 1258,) succeeded his father Ertogrul at an early age. He was fortunate in winning the friendship of a young Greek, who embraced Islamism to please his patron, and instructed the Turkish prince in the art of government. From this renegade descended the family of Mikal-ogli¹, which so often appears conspicuous in Turkish history. To the information obtained from this Greek, Othman owed the supremacy which he speedily acquired over

¹ Sons of Michael.

his Seljúkian rivals²; aided by the surrounding emirs, he wrested several important places from the Byzantine empire, particularly Prusa, the ancient capital of Bithynia, which under the slightly altered name of Brúsa, became his metropolis (A.D. 1327). The new kingdom, thus formed at the expense of the sultans of Iconium and the Greek emperors, increased rapidly, and soon became one of the most flourishing states in the East.

Orkhan, the son and successor of Othman, instituted the military force of the Janissaries, to which the Turks owed the chief part of their success. Having greatly enlarged his dominions, he took the title of sultan, and began to expel the Greeks from Anatolia. While Orkhan pursued his victorious career in Asia, his son Soliman crossed the Hellespont (A.D. 1358), captured Gallipoli, and thus laid the first foundation of the Turkish power in Europe.

Amurath, or Morad I., steadily pursued the policy of his father and brother. He captured Adrianople (A.D. 1360), which he made his capital. He subdued Thrace, Macedon, and Servia, but fell at the battle of Cossova, one of the most sanguinary ever fought between Turks and Christians.

Bayezíd, surnamed Ilderín, or the Thunderer, put an end to all the petty Turkish sovereignties in Asia Minor; he subdued Bulgaria, and maintained his conquest by the decisive victory that he gained at Nicopolis over Sigismond, king of Hungary. The pride, the cruelty, and the bravery of Bayezíd have been celebrated in history and romance. Southern Greece, the countries along the Danube, and the

² The Turkish historians, with true Oriental taste, cannot be satisfied with so simple an explanation, and they attribute all Othman's success to a dream. This celebrated vision, which every Turk learns by rote, from his childhood, possesses too much historical importance to be omitted. It is only necessary to premise, that Othman was at the time visiting a sheikh, named Edebali, with whose daughter he was in love, but had not at first been able to gain the sheikh's consent. "He dreamed that he was reposing on the same couch as his host; suddenly the moon seemed to emerge from Edebali's person, and after having attained wondrous size and splendour, to enter his own breast. Instantly, there sprang from his loins an immense tree, rapidly acquiring fresh size and foliage, until its branches shaded Europe, Asia, and Africa. Beneath this tree, the mountains of Caucasus, Atlas, and Hæmus raised their snowy summits and seemed to be the columns that supported this leafy tent. From the roots of the tree, sprang the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Nile, and the Danube, whose waters were almost hidden by forests of masts. Yellow harvests covered the plains, waving wood crowned the

hills and mountains, countless rivulets meandered through groves and gardens. Through the vistas of the valleys were seen cities adorned with domes, cupolas, towers, obelisks, and columns. The crescent gleamed from every spire, and on every minaret was heard the voice of the muezzin, summoning the faithful to prayer; the sound mingling with the notes of countless nightingales, and the chattering of millions of parrots, whose gay plumage exhibited all the colours of the rainbow. These birds sported gaily through the immense mass of foliage, and seemed not to fear the leaves, though they were long, pointed, and glittering, like sabres. Suddenly a wind arose, and directed the points of all these sabre-like leaves towards the principal cities of the universe, but especially towards Constantinople, which, placed at the junction of two seas and two continents, resembled a noble diamond, set between two sapphire stones and two emeralds, forming the precious jewel of the ring of a vast dominion, that circled the entire world; a ring destined to grace the finger of Othman, as soon as he woke."

western districts of Thrace, submitted to his arms; the empire of Constantinople was bounded by the walls of the city; even this was held blockaded for ten years, and must eventually have fallen, had not Bayezid's attention been directed to Asia, by the rapid successes of a conqueror, more savage than himself.

Timúr Lenk, that is to say, "lame Timúr," a name commonly corrupted into Tamerlane, was the son of a Jagatay Turk, who ruled a horde, nominally subject to the descendants of Jenghiz Khan. His amazing strength, exhibited even in early infancy, procured him the name Timúr, which signifies "iron." While yet a youth, he resolved to deliver his country from the Mongolian yoke, but at the same time, aware of the high value placed upon illustrious birth, he pretended to be descended from Jenghiz, and on this account he is frequently called Timúr the Tartar, and this error was perpetuated in India, where his descendants, the emperors of Delhi, have been denominated the Great Moguls. He was as indefatigable a student as he was a warrior. His published works prove that he was deeply read in the Korán, and its most approved commentaries, and that he was familiar with Persian literature, and the Mongolian traditions and laws. On account of his literary acquisitions, he is a great favourite with the Oriental writers, "he knew," they say, "how to rule the world he had subdued; while other conquerors left no trace of their empire, he imprinted a character on many succeeding generations." His empire was rapidly extended from the wall of China to the Mediterranean Sea; India in the south, and Russia in the north, acknowledged his sway, and his determination to wrest Syria and Anatolia from the Turks, compelled Bayezid to abandon the siege of Constantinople, and hasten to the defence of his Asiatic dominions (A.D. 1403). Before he could reach the scene of action, Sivas (the ancient Sebaste) had fallen, and the bravest warriors of the garrison had been buried alive by the ferocious victor. Damascus soon after shared the same fate; it was laid waste by fire and sword, and a solitary tower alone remained to mark the spot that had once been a city.

Bayezid encountered Timúr in the plains of Angora; he was defeated with great loss, and taken prisoner. The Turkish historians assert that Bayezid was confined by the conqueror in an iron cage, but Timúr's own companion and historian asserts that the conqueror treated his captive with great lenity; all that can be determined with certainty is that the sultan died in the enemy's camp. Timúr himself fell a victim to disease, while preparing to invade China (A.D. 1405); his empire was dismembered after his death, but Baber, one of his descendants, established an empire at Delhi, in Northern India (A.D. 1526), which, sadly shorn of its ancient glories, subsisted almost to our own times, under the name of the empire of the Great Moguls.

After a long fratricidal war, Mohammed I., the youngest of

Bayezid's sons, succeeded to his father's dominions. The greater part of his reign was spent in restoring the Ottoman power in western Asia, and thus the Byzantines obtained a respite, by which they knew not how to profit. Morad, or Amurath II., raised the glory of the Ottomans to a height greater than it had yet attained. He deprived the Greeks of all their cities and castles on the Euxine Sea, and along the coasts of Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly; he even stormed the fortifications that had been constructed across the Corinthian isthmus, and carried his victorious arms into the midst of the Peloponnesus. The Grecian emperors acknowledged him as their superior lord, and he, in turn, accorded them protection. Two Christian heroes arrested the progress of the sultan, John Hunniades, and George Castriot, better known by the name of Scanderbeg. Hunniades was a celebrated Hungarian general; he drove the Turks from Servia, whose possession they eagerly coveted, and long impeded their progress westward. Scanderbeg was an Albanian prince, possessing a small district in the Epirote mountains, of which Croia was the capital. At the head of a small but faithful band of followers, he long resisted the mighty armies of the Ottomans, and compelled Amurath himself to raise the siege of Croia.

At length Mohammed II. ascended the Ottoman throne (A.D. 1451), and from the moment of his accession, directed all his efforts to the capture of Constantinople. At the head of an army of three hundred thousand men, supported by a fleet of three hundred sail, he laid siege to this celebrated metropolis, and encouraged his men by spreading reports of prophecies and prodigies, that portended the triumph of Islamism. Constantine, the last of the Greek emperors, met the storm with becoming resolution; supported by the Genoese, and a scanty band of volunteers from western Europe, he maintained the city for fifty-three days, though the fanaticism of his enemies was raised to the highest pitch by their confident reliance on the favour of heaven, while prophecies of impending woe and desolation proportionally depressed the inhabitants of Constantinople. At length, on the 29th of May, A.D. 1453, the Turks stormed the walls, the last Constantine fell as he boldly disputed every inch of ground, multitudes of his subjects were massacred in the first burst of Turkish fury, the rest were dragged into slavery, and, when Mohammed made his triumphal entry, he found the city a vast solitude. A shade of melancholy mingled with the pride of victory, he vented his feelings in a quotation from the Persian poet Sadí,—

The spider spreads the hangings of the palace of Cæsar,
The owl relieves the sentry on the towers of Afrasiáb.

The conquest of Constantinople was followed by that of Servia, Bosnia, Albania, Greece, including the Peloponnesus, several islands of the Archipelago, and the Greek empire of Trebizond. All

Christendom was filled with alarm; Pope Pius II. convened a council at Mantua, for the purpose of organizing a general association to resist the progress of the Turks (A.D. 1459). A crusade was preached by his order, and he was about to undertake the command of the expedition in person, when death cut short his projects at Ancona (A.D. 1464). The Christian league was dissolved by his death, the Turks were permitted to establish their empire in Europe, and this received a great increase both of security and strength by the voluntary tender of allegiance which the khans of the Crimea made to Mohammed II. (A.D. 1478). After the first burst of fanaticism was over, Mohammed granted protection to his Christian subjects, and by his wise measures, Constantinople was restored to its former prosperity.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REFORMATION, AND COMMENCEMENT OF THE STATES-SYSTEM IN EUROPE.

SECTION I.—*Progress of Maritime Discovery.*

THE rapid progress made in maritime discovery at the close of the Middle Ages cannot be fully appreciated without some knowledge of the state of navigation among the ancients, and we gladly avail ourselves of some valuable articles on the subject in the *Saturday Magazine*, to give an outline of the amount of maritime science and information which existed before the use of the mariner's compass was introduced into Europe.

The scene of the earliest known navigation was the Mediterranean Sea, which naturally seemed to the ancients to be situated *in the middle of the earth*; as is implied by its name. As navigation advanced only at a creeping pace, and as but a small amount of fresh experience was laid up by one generation for the benefit of the next, it took very many ages to explore the Mediterranean, Tyrrhene, Hadriatic, and Ægean seas. The people of Tyre and Sidon, the Phœnicians, "whose merchants were princes," (Isaiah xxiii. 8,) were among the first whom the spirit of commerce and the desire of gain had made dissatisfied with what had hitherto seemed the natural limits of marine excursion. The great antiquity of the Phœnicians, however, is perhaps the reason why our knowledge of them is obtained from incidental and isolated accounts: but on the naval spirit and industry of Carthage, a colony planted by the former power, in the ninth century before Christ, the light of history, owing to their

connexion with the Romans, is more abundantly shed. With the Carthaginians, perhaps, had originated the idea of quitting the Mediterranean by the straits of Gades (now Gibraltar), of sailing southward, circumnavigating the coast of Africa, and then returning northward by the Red Sea, towards the Levant, or eastern side of the Mediterranean. This notion seems to have been cherished for ages, as the prime, the crowning enterprise, long thought of and debated; but which only a solitary few, at long intervals of time, determined to try to effect. Knowing only a portion of the globe, and conceiving that portion to be upon an extended plane, those who held a voyage from Crete to Egypt to be a signal proof of naval courage, and who had never reached Sicily or Africa, but by a wayward tempest, or by shipwreck, and who were then objects of wonder at having escaped the dangers of Scylla and Charybdis, and the Syrtes, those wave-bound prisons of mariners, might justly have feared for themselves, in being committed to unknown waters, and in tracking shores, which the reports of others, who had never seen these regions, no less than their own fears, had represented as the abode of every horror. In short, distance from the land seems to have alarmed all the ancients; who, upon every occasion, when quitting sight of the shore, fancied they saw, as Homer tells us,—

A length of ocean and unbounded sky,
Which scarce the sea-fowl in a year o'erfly.

The general truth of these observations is corroborated by the story of the Pamphylian, who was taken prisoner, and carried to Egypt. He was kept as a slave, for a very long time, at a town near one of the mouths of the Nile, where Damietta now stands. Being frequently employed to assist in maritime business, he conceived the idea of committing himself to the mercy of the waves in a sailing boat, in order that he might once again behold his native country. Having provided himself, to the best of his means and ability, he set sail, resolving rather to perish in the bosom of the old ocean than to remain longer in captivity. He traversed the vast expanse of waters which lies between Egypt and Asia Minor, and arrived safely at Pamphylia. From this bold and unusual adventure he lost his original name, and received the appellation of *Mononantes*, or *the lone sailor*, which, for a long time after, we may presume, served his family as a patent of nobility. We have the foregoing account from Eustathius, the commentator of Homer.

The first great natural relief given to ancient navigation, was the discovery of the trade-winds which prevail in the Indian Ocean. These winds, from the dependence which may be placed upon them, and from their consequent value to navigation, are called *trade-winds*, and extend about thirty degrees on each side of the Equator. These winds, however, maintain their regularity only in the open ocean.

Where land breaks the continuity of the liquid surface, great changes are produced; but the most remarkable effects exist in the Indian Ocean. The third degree of south latitude is a boundary between distinct winds; from that boundary northward to the continent of Hindostan, a north-east wind blows from October to April, and a south-west from April to October; while from the same boundary to the tenth degree of south latitude, a north-west wind blows from October to April, and a south-east from April to October. These winds are called *monsoons*. The term *monsoon*, or, according to the Persian, *monsum*, implies *seasons*; and is so used in the Malayan, *moassin*, and other dialects of the East. The *breaking up of the monsoons*, or periodical changes in the direction of these winds, divides the Indian year into two *seasons*. The monsoons on the eastern side of the globe originate with the trade-winds, of which they are a species, produced by the diversity of continent and islands, seas and gulfs, in this part of the world. These periodical currents of winds, if noticed by the Arabians, were not made to serve their maritime trade, until the keener enterprise of the West, in the person of Hippalus (about A.D. 50), first ventured to steer off from the Arabian and Persian shores, and to be impelled eastward in the direction of the wind. A voyage which had consumed years, now took up but as many months, by a conformity, on the part of the mariner, with this invariable law of nature. The means of profit and information were now less monopolized, and the West became better acquainted with the inhabitants and produce of the East.

The navigation to the Indies was continued, when the Romans became masters of Egypt, by sailing down the Arabian Gulf, and from thence to the mouth of the river Indus, along the southern coasts of Arabia and Persia. But, under the Emperor Claudius, this route was so far changed, that after emerging from the Arabian Gulf, they cut across the Indian Ocean directly to the mouth of the Indus, by noticing, and taking advantage of, the time when the south-west trade-wind blew. The trade was carried on with India thus:—The goods that were intended for the Indian markets, were embarked at Alexandria, and carried up the Nile, a distance of about three hundred miles, to Coptus. From the latter place, the merchandise was carried on camels' backs to Berenice, a distance of two hundred and sixty miles. Berenice is on the shore of the Red Sea, and there the goods were warehoused, until the proper season for sailing; when they steered for the opposite coast of Arabia, and took on board frankincense, and other Arabian commodities, giving arms, knives, vessels, &c., in return. They now proceeded on their voyage to India; whence having disposed of their articles of merchandise, and got gold, spices, drugs, &c., in return, they pursued their voyage back to Alexandria, where they usually arrived about December or January. The Indi-

commodities were conveyed from Berenice to Alexandria in the way before described; and a fleet sailed annually from the latter place to Rome, conveying the treasures of the East.

When the Constantinopolitan empire was formed, by the division of the Roman empire into two parts, their maritime and commercial arrangements were very extensive. One fleet, called the fleet of Alexandria, was destined to bring to the capital the produce of India, as conveyed to the Red Sea. Another fleet was that of Seleucia, on the river Orontes, by which an intercourse was kept up with Persia, and higher Asia. A third fleet was stationed in the Euxine, or Black Sea, by which intercourse could be kept up with the nations of Eastern Europe, while at the same time a check could be given to the ravages of the uncivilized tribes of Scythia.

When the Arabians, in their rapid career of conquest, had reached the Euphrates, they immediately perceived the advantages to be derived from an emporium situated upon a river which opened on the one hand a shorter route to India than they had hitherto had, and on the other, an extensive inland navigation through a wealthy country; and Bassora, which they built on the west bank of the river (A.D. 636), soon became a great commercial city, and entirely cut off the independent part of Persia from the Oriental trade. The Arabian merchants of Bassora extended their discoveries eastward, far beyond the tracks of all preceding navigators, and imported directly from the place of their growth, many Indian articles, hitherto procured at second-hand in Ceylon; which they accordingly furnished on their own terms to the nations of the West.

The Saracens continued for a long period to maintain a naval superiority in the Mediterranean, whether for the purposes of war or of commerce. Some of the Saracenic vessels were of a very large size. About the year 970, Abderrahman, the Saracen Sultan or Caliph of the greater part of Spain, built a vessel larger than had ever been seen before in those parts, and loaded her with innumerable articles of merchandise, to be sold in the eastern regions. On her way she met with a ship carrying despatches from the emir of Sicily to Almoez, a sovereign on the African coast, and pillaged it. Almoez, who was also sovereign of Sicily, which he governed by an emir or viceroy, fitted out a fleet which took the great Spanish ship returning from Alexandria, loaded with rich wares for Abderrahman's own use. Many other instances of ships of a very large size having been constructed by the Saracens, have been recorded; and it has been suggested as probable, that it was in imitation of those ships that the Christian Spaniards introduced the use of large ships, for which they were distinguished down to the time of Philip the Second, whose "Invincible Armada" consisted of ships much larger than the English vessels opposed to them.

As an instance of the depressed state of human knowledge during the middle ages, we may mention that Cosmas, a Greek merchant of the sixth century, wrote a book called *Christian Topography*, the chief intent of which was to confute the heretical opinion of the earth being a globe, together with the pagan assertion that there was a temperate zone on the southern side of the torrid zone. He informed his readers that, according to the true orthodox system of cosmography, the earth was a quadrangular plane, extending four hundred courses, or days' journeys, from east to west, and exactly half as much from north to south, inclosed by lofty mountains upon which the canopy or vault of the firmament rested: that a huge mountain on the north side of the earth, by intercepting the light of the sun, produced the vicissitudes of day and night; and that the plane of the earth had a declivity from north to south, by reason of which the Euphrates, Tigris, and other rivers running southward, are rapid; whereas the Nile, having to run up-hill, has necessarily a very slow current. Many other specimens of the blending of truth and fiction, or of the propagation of the latter alone, may be afforded. Masudi, who wrote a general history of the known world in the year 947, compares the earth to a bird, of which Mecca and Medina are the head, Persia and India the right wing, the land of Gog the left, and Africa the tail.

The Feroe Islands had been discovered about the latter end of the ninth century, by some Scandinavian pirates; and soon after this Iceland was colonized by Flok, the Norwegian. Iceland, it appears, had been discovered long before the Norwegians settled there; as many relics, in the nature of bells, books in the Irish language, and wooden crosses, were discovered by Flok, in different parts of the island: so that the Irish seem to have first set foot upon that isle. The Icelandic chronicles also relate that, about these times, the Northmen discovered a great country to the west of Iceland, which account has by many been deemed apocryphal: for, if true, they must be held to be some of the early discoverers of America; but it seems pretty clear that they made their way to Greenland in the end of the tenth century. The settlement effected in Greenland, though comprising but a small population, seems to have been very prosperous in these early times in mercantile affairs. They had bishops and priests from Europe; and paid the pope, as an annual tribute, 2600 pounds weight of walrus-teeth, as tithe and Peter's pence. The voyage from Greenland to Iceland and Norway, and back again, consumed five years; and upon one occasion the government of Norway did not hear of the death of the bishop of Greenland, until six years after it had occurred; so that the art of navigation after all must have been in these times but at a very low pitch. ●

The description left of Greenland by the old navigators agrees

with modern observations. It presents the same dreary appearance now as it did then; looking like a vast but irregular accumulation of rocks and glaciers. Enormous icebergs floated along the coast, and filled every inlet. The awful appearance of nature in these parts of the world, its remoteness, and the horrors of the stormy seas which intervened, soon made it, in the popular belief, a land of wonders. The surrounding sea was said to be inhabited by marine giants of both sexes; and the terrific icebergs, as they moved along, were reported to be guided by invisible hands. It was also said that a man, named Hollur Geit, walked from Norway to Greenland on the ice, conducted by a goat. The northern horrors, just alluded to, are well portrayed by the poet of the *Seasons*:—

Ill fares the bark with trembling wretches charged,
That, tossed amid the floating fragments, moors
Beneath the shelter of an icy isle,
While night o'erwhelms the sea, and horror looks
More horrible. Can human force endure
Th' assembled mischiefs that besiege them round?
Heart-gnawing hunger, fainting weariness,
The roar of winds and waves, the crush of ice,
Now ceasing, now renewed with louder rage,
And in dire echoes bellowing round the main.

Greenland, of which we have spoken above, seems to have been called Viinland, or Finland, from the vines which were discerned by the early discoverers as abounding in this country; and, in fact, wild vines are found growing in all the northern districts of America. A German, one of the party who first went to these coasts, having observed the vines, and having shown his companions the use of this vegetable produce, they agreed to call the place *Viinland*, or *land of wine*. Some Normans landed there soon after, and saw there many of the natives, of diminutive stature, whom they called dwarfs, in canoes covered with leather. These persons appear to have been the Esquimaux, with whom they carried on a very lucrative trade in furs. This Viinland is, however, supposed by some persons to have been Newfoundland; and if so, America must in reality have been discovered as much as five centuries before Columbus sailed so far as the West Indies; and moreover, it has been supposed that the many traditions about the West, existing in the time of Columbus, first set him to prosecute the idea of discovering another world.

The impulse which the cultivation of ancient learning had received in Europe was greatly strengthened by the downfall of Constantinople, which drove the most learned Greeks into exile; they sought refuge for the most part in Italy, and the libraries of that peninsula became the depositories of what remained of the ancient treasures of Greek literature and philosophy. It was hence that the first stimulus was given to the study of the Greek language in Europe. Translators of

the Greek authors and commentators upon them, began to multiply; and the rapid progress of the art of printing gave an additional impulse by the facilities it afforded for the dissemination of learning. The belief that there existed a fourth division of the globe, larger than any yet discovered, had been encouraged by some of the ancient philosophers; and it had been so generally received, that two eminent fathers of the Church, St. Augustine and Lactantius, had zealously laboured to refute the theory, believing it inconsistent with the doctrines of Christianity. With the cultivation of Greek literature the old notion was revived, and at the same time the rapid development of the spirit of maritime discovery induced several nations, but especially the Portuguese, to search out new and unknown lands.

The Canaries, or Fortunate Islands, were the first discovery that followed the introduction of the mariner's compass; they became known to the Spaniards early in the fourteenth century, but no regular attempt was made for their colonization. Various circumstances prompted the Portuguese to exert their energies in maritime affairs; after the expulsion of the Moors, they engaged in fierce wars with the Mohammedan states of Africa, and thus kept alive the martial and adventurous spirit of the nation.

In the early part of the fifteenth century, John I., king of Portugal, had effected some very important conquests over the Moors; in which he had been very materially assisted by his son, Prince Henry, who being an able and active-minded cavalier, took delight rather in the more solid glories of learning and science, than in the fame of war, in which he had, however, of late so highly distinguished himself. Upon the cessation of hostilities he retired to the promontory of St. Vincent, and lived at the sea-port town of Sagres, which he had himself founded, where he cultivated the science of astronomy, for the purpose of making it available to the mariner, in guiding him over the ocean, when he had quitted the servile tracking of the shore. He, in fact, established a naval college, and an observatory. He engaged to his assistance all the best-informed men of his time; and the point to which he especially directed his attention, was the practicability of sailing round Africa, and of thus reaching the East Indies. His ideas respecting the accomplishment of this project had been awakened, or enlarged, by intercourse with some well-informed persons at Ceuta, a town on the coast of Africa, opposite to Gibraltar, whither his father's military proceedings against the Moors had carried him. Prince Henry did not live to see the whole of his views accomplished; but the many minor discoveries which were effected under his auspices, laid up a fund of knowledge and experience for succeeding navigators to profit by. Maps were formed under his superintendence; by which means all the geographical knowledge respecting the earth was brought together; the different parts were marked out;

and the rocks, coasts, and quicksands to be avoided, were all noted down.

The southernmost cape of Africa known in those days was Cape Non, which received this appellation from the idea that it was utterly impossible to get beyond this cape; but the officers of Henry having at length doubled it, found Cape Bojador in the distance, whose violent currents and raging breakers, running for miles out to sea, seemed a barrier which could not even be approached with safety by mariners, who were in the habit of coasting along the shore. Seamen now began to be more alarmed than ever at the idea of the torrid zone, and to propagate the notion, that he who should double Cape Bojador would never return. At length this awful cape was passed by; the region of the tropics was penetrated, and divested of its fancied terrors; the river Senegal was observed, the greater part of the African coast, from Cape Blanco to Cape de Verde, was explored, and the Cape de Verde and the Azore Islands were discovered; the Madeiras and Canaries having been visited for the first time by the Spaniards some years before. This prince died in the year 1473, after having obtained a papal bull, investing the crown of Portugal with sovereign authority over all the lands it might discover in the Atlantic, to India inclusive.

Many of the inhabitants of the African coast felt the most curious sensations of astonishment and fear at the sight of the vessels, which probably for the first time had reached their shores. When they first saw the ships under sail, they took them for large birds with white wings, that had come from foreign countries; but when the sails were furled, they thought, from the great length of the vessels, and from their swimming on the water, that they must be great fishes. Others believed that they were spirits that wandered about by night because they were seen at anchor in the evening at one place, and would be a hundred miles distant by the morning. Not being able to conceive how anything human could travel more in one night than they could in three days, they set down the European vessels for denizens of another world.

The passion for discovery languished after the death of Prince Henry; but it was revived by his grand-nephew, King John II., with additional ardour (A.D. 1481). In his reign, the Portuguese, for the first time, crossed the equator, and for the first time beheld the stars of a new hemisphere. They now discovered the error of the ancients respecting the torrid zone, and practically refuted the common belief that the continent of Africa widened towards the south, for they beheld it sensibly contracting and bending towards the east. The hopes inspired by this discovery, induced the Portuguese monarch to send ambassadors in search of an unknown potentate supposed to profess the Christian religion, by whose aid, it was hoped, that a

lucrative trade might be opened with India, and the progress of the true faith secured.

Early in the thirteenth century, reports were prevalent in Europe of some great potentate in a remote part of Asia having embraced the Christian faith¹. In consequence, the pope, Innocent IV. sent two monks to preach Christianity in the Mongolian court (A.D. 1246); and soon after, St. Louis of France employed the celebrated Rubruquis to seek the aid of the supposed Christian sovereign, who was commonly called Prester John, in the crusade that he contemplated. A Venetian, named Marco Polo, visited the most distant parts of Asia (A.D. 1263), and penetrated to Peking, the capital of China. He was followed by Sir John Mandevile, an Englishman (A.D. 1322), and the narrations of both, though deficient in accuracy of information, contributed to keep alive the feelings of interest and curiosity which had been excited in Europe.

While the Portuguese monarch's emissaries were engaged in a hopeless search for Prester John, and the more useful task of investigating the state of navigation in the Indian seas, an expedition from Lisbon, conducted by Bartholomew Diaz, had actually discovered the southern extremity of the African continent (A.D. 1483). A storm prevented him from pursuing his career; he named the promontory that terminated his voyage "the Cape of Tempests;" but King John, aware of the vast importance of the discovery, called it "the Cape of Good Hope." At the same time letters were received from the monks who had been sent overland, in which the practicability of reaching the East Indies, by sailing round Africa, was strenuously maintained. But the intervening discovery of America diverted, for a season, men's minds from this voyage round Africa: and fifteen years had nearly elapsed before Vasco de Gama, having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, reached India, and anchored in the harbour of Calicut, on the coast of Malabar (May 22, A.D. 1498).

Among the adventurers who flocked to join the Portuguese from every part of Europe was Christopher Colon, or Columbus, a native of Genoa. The narrative of Marco Polo had led to the belief that the extent of India, beyond the Ganges, was greater than that of the rest of Asia; and, as the spherical figure of the earth was known, he was naturally led to the conclusion that India might more easily be reached by sailing westwards, than by the long and tedious circumnavigation of Africa. Columbus made proposals successively to the republic of Genoa, the king of Portugal, and the king of England, but was mortified to find that his plans were regarded as visionary.

¹ It is probable that this error arose from ceremonials of the Buddhist priests bear a some inaccurate description of Buddhism. striking resemblance to those of the Roman Most persons are aware that the rituals and Catholic Church.

Finally, he applied to the Spanish court, then rising rapidly into importance in consequence of the union of the crowns of Arragon and Castile, by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. After enduring many disappointments, Columbus obtained a small armament through the favour of the queen; and, on the 3rd of August, A.D. 1492, sailed from the little port of Palos, in Andalusia, to discover a New World.

During the long voyage, the crew of Columbus was more than once on the point of mutinying and turning back in despair; at length land was discovered on the 12th of October, and Columbus found himself soon in the midst of that cluster of islands, which, in consequence of the original error about the extent of India, were named the West Indies. On his return to Europe, he was received by Ferdinand and Isabella with the highest honours; a second expedition was prepared to extend and secure his discoveries, but, before his departure, application was made to the pope for a grant of these new dominions, and Alexander VI. shared all the unknown regions of the earth inhabited by infidels between the Spaniards and Portuguese, fixing as their common boundary an imaginary line drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues to the west of the Azores, and assigning all west of that line to Spain, and all east of it to Portugal.

Columbus continued to extend his discoveries after his return to the New World, but he was destined to experience the ingratitude of Spain, and the injustice of mankind. The suggestions of envious courtiers caused him to be sent to Europe a prisoner and in fetters; the new continent, instead of being called after the first discoverer, derived its appellation from Americo Vespuccio, who visited the southern part in company with a Spanish captain, and gave his name to the countries that he depicted on his chart.

The Spaniards conquered the islands and the countries of America as fast as they discovered them. Excited by the thirst of gold, which the New World offered them in abundance, they were guilty of the most shocking cruelties that ever disgraced humanity. Millions of the unfortunate natives were massacred or drowned; those who were spared were compelled to work for their savage masters in the mines: and, to supply this drain of the population, negroes were imported from the coast of Africa, and the execrable slave-trade firmly established. The principal conquests of the Spaniards in America were made during the reign of the Emperor Charles V. It was in his reign that Cortez, with a mere handful of followers, subdued the great empire of Mexico (A.D. 1521), whose last sovereigns, Montezuma and Guatimozin, were put to death with cruel tortures. Peru was conquered by Pizarro, its last monarch, Atabalipa, put to death, and in both countries the massacres of the natives were equally ruthless and desolating.

The colonies established by the Spaniards differed from those founded by other European countries. The Spaniards were not a

trading people, indeed ignorance of the advantages that result from commerce has been always a characteristic of that nation; the precious metals were the only objects that excited their attention, and for a series of years they devoted themselves exclusively to the exploration of mines. It was only when the augmentation of the European population, and the diminished returns from the mines forced their attention to agriculture, that they began to pay any attention to raising colonial produce. In consequence of these restricted views, the commercial and colonial policy of Spain was always the worst possible; it was fettered by monopolies, exclusions, and restrictions equally injurious to the parent state and its dependencies; and perseverance in this erroneous system is a principal cause of the low state of civilization both in Spain and its late colonies.

The success of the Portuguese in India, though not so brilliant, was scarcely less important than that of the Spaniards in America. Albuquerque conquered Goa (A.D. 1511), and made it the capital of the Portuguese establishments in the East; the leagues of the Mohammedan princes for the expulsion of the Christians from India were defeated, and the Molucca islands brought under subjection. But the Portuguese generally abstained from territorial acquisition; they contented themselves with commercial establishments along the coast, whence they exported from India direct, the articles which the Venetians had formerly supplied to Europe through Egypt and the Levant. This event made a complete revolution in the commercial condition of Europe; the trade which had been confined to the Mediterranean now traversed the Atlantic, and the western nations hastened to share in its gains. With characteristic indolence, the Portuguese carried the Indian produce no farther than Lisbon, where it was sold to foreign merchants for transmission to other countries. The Dutch engaged very eagerly in this carrying trade, and found it so lucrative, that they took the earliest opportunity of excluding the Portuguese themselves from all share in their commerce by depriving them of their colonies.

Not only the Dutch, but the English and French, were roused to emulation by the success of the Spaniards and Portuguese. In the reign of Henry VII., Cabot, a mariner of Bristol, made some considerable additions to maritime knowledge; but it was not until the time of Elizabeth that regular plans of colonization were formed. Sir Walter Raleigh founded the first English colony, Virginia (A.D. 1584), in North America; and in the following reigns, the number of these establishments was greatly increased by the multitudes whom religious disputes, and the intolerance of the Stuarts, drove from England to seek "freedom to worship God" in the wilds of America. The Canadas, and the West Indian islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe, were colonized by the French; but many circumstances combined to prevent the

progress of French colonization, and the Dutch and English may be considered as the only rivals and successors of the Spaniards and Portuguese.

The growth of commerce in this age was very rapid, but there appeared still room for further discoveries until the globe was circumnavigated by Magellan (A.D. 1521). From that time the attention of nations began to be directed more to completing old discoveries than to the search for new lands. The navies of Europe began to assume a formidable aspect; manufactures multiplied, and states, previously poor, became suddenly rich. Sovereigns and governments began to direct their attention to commerce, justly persuaded that mercantile wealth is equally the source of the prosperity and glory of nations.

SECTION II.—*Origin of the Reformation.*

THE extravagant claims of the popes to temporal, as well as spiritual supremacy, had been early resisted by several men of learning, whose works did not die with them, but continued to exercise a powerful, though secret effect, on succeeding generations. This repugnance to ecclesiastical domination was greatly increased by the scandalous schism at the close of the fourteenth and commencement of the fifteenth century. Two or three popes reigning at the same time, excommunicating each other, appealing to the laity for support, compelled men to exercise the right of private judgment, and directed attention to the ecclesiastical abuses that had produced such unhappy fruits. The partial reforms, or rather attempts at reformation, made by the councils of Constance and Basil, spread the disrespect for the Romish See still wider; their deposition of contending pontiffs taught men that there was a jurisdiction in the Church superior to the papal power, their feeble efforts to correct abuse brought the evils prominently forward, and left them unamended to meet the public gaze. While this dissatisfaction was hourly increasing, the papal chair was filled successively by two pontiffs, whose career of unscrupulous guilt was sufficient to disgust even a less enlightened age. Alexander VI., profligate in private life, cruel and tyrannical in his public administration, was followed by Julius II., whose overbearing ambition led him to trample on the very semblance of justice and moderation when they interfered with the success of his schemes. The sovereigns of France and Germany, alternately engaged in active hostilities with these heads of the Church, could not prevent their subjects from ridiculing papal pretensions, and assailing papal vices. Nor were these scandals confined to the papacy; the licentious lives of the ecclesiastics in Italy and Germany, the facility with which they obtained pardons for enormous crimes, their exorbitant wealth, their personal immunities, and their encroachments on the rights of the laity, had given just offence; and this was the more sensibly felt in Germany, because most of the great benefices were in the hands of foreigners.

When men's minds were everywhere filled with disgust at the existing administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and eager for some change, a dispute, trivial in its origin, kindled a flame, which rapidly spread over Europe, destroying all the strongholds that had been so laboriously erected for the security of tyranny and superstition. Leo X., on his accession to the papal chair, found the treasury of the Church exhausted by the ambitious projects of his predecessors, Alexander VI. and Julius II. Generous in his disposition, magnificent in his habits of life, eager for the aggrandizement of his family, the princely Medicis, he could not practice the economy necessary to recruit his finances, and he therefore had recourse to every device that his ingenuity could suggest to raise money for the splendid designs he contemplated. Among these he introduced an extensive sale of indulgences, which often had proved a source of large profits to the Church.

The origin of indulgences has been sometimes misrepresented by eminent writers; and as we have now reached a period when their abuse produced the most decisive blow which the papacy had yet received, it will be necessary to take a brief survey of their history. In the primitive Church it was customary that those who had committed any heinous offence should perform a public penance before the congregation, "that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord; and that others, admonished by their example, might be the more afraid to offend." In process of time rich and noble offenders became anxious to avoid public exposure, and private penances or a pecuniary compensation were substituted for the former discipline. On this change the popes founded a new doctrine, which, combined with the commutation of indulgences, opened the way for profitable traffic. They taught the world that all the good works of the saints, over and above those which were necessary to their own justification, are deposited, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ, in one inexhaustible treasury. The keys of this were committed to St. Peter and his successors the popes, who may open it at pleasure, and by transferring a portion of this superabundant merit to any particular person for service in a crusade, or for a sum of money, may convey to him either the pardon of his own sins, or a release for any one, in whose happiness he is interested, from the pains of purgatory. These indulgences were first issued to those who joined personally in the expeditions for the recovery of the Holy Land; subsequently to those who hired a soldier for that purpose; and finally to all who gave money for accomplishing any work which it pleased the popes to describe as good and pious. Julius II. bestowed indulgences on all who contributed to the building of St. Peter's at Rome, and Leo continued the traffic under the same pretence.

Different orders of monks derived considerable profit from the

sale of indulgences, and great indignation was excited among the Augustinian friars when the monopoly of the trade in Germany was granted to their rivals the Dominicans. Tetzels, the chief agent in retailing them, was a man of licentious morals, but of an active spirit, and remarkable for his noisy and popular eloquence¹. He executed his commission with little regard to discretion or decency, describing the merits of the indulgences in such a blasphemous style of exaggeration, that all men of sense were disgusted, and even the ignorant began to suspect the worth of pardons for sins dispensed by men whose profligacy was notorious and disgusting. The princes and nobles of Germany were enraged by witnessing the large sums of money drained from their vassals to support the lavish expenditure of the pontiff, and many of the higher ranks of the clergy viewed with jealousy the favour displayed to the monastic orders.

MARTIN LUTHER, an Augustinian friar of great learning and indomitable courage, had prepared his mind for the noble career on which he was about to enter by a diligent study of the Holy Scriptures; the question of indulgences early engaged his attention, and he convinced himself that the Bible, which he began to consider as the great standard of theological truth, afforded no countenance to a practice equally subversive of faith and morals. Having vainly sought to procure the suppression of the traffic from the archbishop of Magdeburgh, he appealed to the suffrages of men of letters, by publishing ninety-five theses condemning the sale of indulgences as contrary to reason and Scripture.

Much has been written respecting the personal character of this daring reformer; his boldness frequently degenerated into violence, his opposition to the corrupt discipline of the Church sometimes passed the bounds of decency; but these errors arose from the circumstances of his position; he was in fact the representative of the public opinion of his age: and before we pass too severe a censure on the aberrations that sully his career, we must remember that the age had scarcely emerged from barbarism, and that the human mind, as yet unaccustomed to freedom, when suddenly delivered from habitual

¹ The following is the form of absolution used by Tetzels:—"May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by all the merits of his most holy passion; and I, by his authority, that of his blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul and of the most holy Pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee first from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they have been incurred, and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognizance of the holy see; and as far

as the keys of the holy Church extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in purgatory on their account; and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the Church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism; so that when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened; and if you shall not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

restraint, necessarily rushed into some extravagances. While hostile writers describe Luther as the vilest of sinners, or the purest of saints, they forget that there is a previous question of some importance, the standard by which his conduct must be measured. We have no right to expect that Luther, engaged in a struggle for life or death, should display the moderation of a modern controversialist, or to look for the intelligence of the nineteenth century at the commencement of the sixteenth. Remembering the school in which he was educated, it is reasonable to believe that many monkish absurdities must long have been perceptible in his words and actions; we need not, therefore, deny that he was sometimes wrong, we need not disguise nor palliate his errors, for the cause which he promoted depends not on the character of him or of any other person. His adversaries, however, have never ventured to deny his courage, his sincerity, his integrity of purpose, and his superiority to all pecuniary considerations. He lived and died poor, though Rome would have purchased his return by wealth and dignity, though the leading reformers were ready to reward his perseverance by any grants he might have required.

An honest and impartial testimony is borne to his character by his cotemporary, the Rabbi Joseph; and as the account given by a Jew of the Reformation is something more than a matter of mere curiosity, the extract is worthy of attention.

“And it came to pass when the Pope Julius began to build the great high place (St. Peter’s Cathedral), which is in Rome, that he sent the Franciscan friars into all the districts of the uncircumcised. And he gave them to loose and to bind, and to deliver souls from perdition. And they departed and cried with a loud voice, saying, ‘Take off the ear-rings of your wives and daughters, and bring them for the building of the high place; and it shall come to pass when ye shall come, that ye shall save the souls of your generation from perdition.’ And it came to pass, after the death of Julius, that the Pope Leo sent again, and they went as before unto the cities of Ashkenaz (Germany): and they were lifted up. And it came to pass, whenever the Germans would speak, saying, ‘How could ye say this thing, and how could the pope do it?’ they answered them proudly, saying, ‘Ye shall be cursed if ye do not believe; for there is no faith in you, and ye shall be an abhorrence to all flesh.’ And there was one Martin Luther, a monk, a skilful and wise man; and he also said unto them, ‘Why are ye not ashamed when ye let your voice be heard on high, speaking such dreams?’ And the priests could not give an answer, and they behaved with madness after their manner. And they anathematized him in the year one thousand five hundred and eighteen. And the wrath of Martin was much kindled; and Martin opened his mouth and preached with a loud voice against the pope, and against the dreams and the abominations of the popes; but still he delighted

in THAT MAN², and many gathered themselves unto him. And he made them statutes and ordinances, and spake revolt against the wise men of the Church; and he would explain from his own heart their law and the words of Paul; and they went not after the precepts of the popes; and their laws are two different laws until this day³."

Luther comprehended the state of public opinion; his publications were the manifestation of the revolt of reason against authority, rather than a thesis in his theology. His perseverance, the very violence and grossness of his invectives, showed that he felt human reason to be on his side. If he had not at first calculated the effects of his first blow, he showed great sagacity in measuring its results. Numerous echoes responded to his summons; Zuinglius began to preach in Switzerland, and the reform engaged the attention of enlightened men of letters; among others, the celebrated Erasmus pointed out corruptions in the Church, though he had not moral courage enough to separate himself from it openly. The papal party accepted Luther's challenge, fully believing that the slightest exertion of power would at once stifle opposition (A.D. 1520). Leo X., too indolent to examine the state of the public mind, and too proud to trouble himself about the opposition of a simple friar, published a bull condemning the theses of Luther as heretical and impious (A.D. 1520). The bold reformer at once declared open war against the papacy, by appealing to a general council, and burning the bull of excommunication in presence of a vast multitude at Wittemberg. He treated the volumes of the canon law with the same contumely, and justified his action in a manner more offensive to the advocates of the papacy than the action itself. Having collected from the canon law some of the most extravagant propositions with regard to the plenitude and omnipotence of the papal power, as well as the subordination of all secular jurisdiction to the authority of the holy see, he published these, with a commentary, pointing out the impiety of such tenets, and their evident tendency to subvert all civil governments. From this time, the interests of princes were even more deeply engaged on the side of Luther than popular reason. In fact, as a Romish historian has remarked, "policy became more Lutheran than religious reform!" Sovereigns naturally received with enthusiasm a doctrine which placed at their disposal the enormous wealth of the clergy, and gave them mastery over more riches than could be acquired by the most formidable force, or the most sanguinary combats. Thus, in Germany, Luther, who could at first with difficulty procure a horse when he had to appear before the diet, soon counted princes and entire nations among his disciples. Frederick the Wise,

² Rabbi Joseph means that his only objection to Luther was, the Reformer's belief in Jesus Christ.

³ *Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph*, vol. i. p. 481.

duke of Saxony, was the first among his converts, and the most powerful of his protectors.

It is assuredly very inconsistent in the advocates of the Romish church, to expose the mixture of secular and religious motives in the active supporters of the Reformation; for the abuses which they condemned were equally temporal and spiritual. Indeed, it is very obvious, that the corruptions of doctrine were introduced to serve the political purposes of the papacy; a sordid desire for wealth was the foundation of the system of indulgences, which first provoked the revolt; an ambitious lust for power had caused the subversion of the independence of the national Churches, which it was the earliest object of the Lutherans to restore. Politics influenced the enemies of the papacy only because popery was itself a political system, and because in the struggle that now menaced its existence, it had at once recourse to secular auxiliaries.

John Calvin, another reformer, was a follower of Zuinglius; he was a native of Noyon, in Picardy, and began first to publish his opinions at Paris (A.D. 1532). Driven from thence by the persecutions of the French clergy, he removed to Strasburgh, where he soon rendered himself so eminent by his talents as a writer and a preacher, that the name of Calvinists was given to that section of the reformed congregations which had at first been named Zuinglians.

Calvin was subsequently invited to Geneva, where he organized a system of church-government on the presbyterian principle; and under the pretence of providing for purity of morals and the continuance of sound doctrine, he contrived to transfer no small portion of the power of the state to the ecclesiastical courts. Unfortunately, these courts soon began to emulate the tyranny of the Romish inquisition, by persecuting those who differed from the standard of religious opinion adopted by the church of Geneva, and an unfortunate Spaniard, named Servetus, was burned alive for publishing some obnoxious doctrines on the subject of the Trinity. The differences which arose between the followers of Luther and Calvin, the obstinacy manifested by each of the parties in support of their own opinions, and the virulence with which they inveighed against each other, sadly checked the progress of the Reformation, and produced a reaction which enabled the court of Rome to recover several countries which it had very nearly lost.

Although much of the early success of the Reformation was owing to the general progress of intelligence and scientific research, there were many among the leading reformers who viewed all secular learning with suspicion, and thus enabled their adversaries to identify their cause with ignorance and barbarism. This was a serious injury to the progress of improvement, for there were many like Erasmus who would gladly have joined in overthrowing the monkish corruptions

Christianity, but who were alarmed at the prospect subjected to the bigoted caprice of the presbyteries and other bodies which began to claim and exercise a power of control over opinion in most of the cities where the reformed religion was established. Whether the Romish church would have displayed a greater spirit of concession, had the reformers exhibited more moderation in their demands for innovation, may be questioned, but it is certain that the papal party could not have made so effectual a struggle as it maintained, had it not taken advantage of the violence, the imprudence, and the dissensions of the reformers themselves.

The rapid progress of the new doctrines was attempted to be checked by the diet of Spires (A.D. 1529), where a decree was promulgated, forbidding any innovation until the assembling of a general council. Luther's friends and followers protested against this decree, and hence the professors of the reformed religion received the common name of Protestants. Soon afterwards they presented a general confession of their faith to the emperor at Augsburgh; but unfortunately this celebrated document showed that there were irreconcilable differences between the Calvinistic and Lutheran sections of the reformers.

As the struggle, once begun, was maintained with great obstinacy, it soon led to serious political convulsions. Half of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Prussia, and Livonia, adopted the doctrines of Luther, as taught in the confession of Augsburgh. England, Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland, embraced the tenets of Zuinglius and Calvin; while efforts to establish similar principles were made in France, Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland.

The means taken to end the controversy only aggravated the evil. It was proposed that the entire matter of dispute should be submitted to a general council, but it was impossible to determine the basis on which it should be convoked. After much delay, a council was assembled at Trent (A.D. 1545), whose sittings were continued, with some interruption, for several years; but when at the close (A.D. 1563), its decrees were published, they were rejected, not only by the Protestants, but by many Catholic princes, especially the king of France, as subversive of the independence of national churches, and destructive of the lawful authority of sovereigns.

SECTION III.—*History of the Negotiations and Wars respecting Italy.*

In the midst of the civil and ecclesiastical changes produced by the progress of intelligence, a system of policy for regulating the external relations of states was gradually formed, and attention began to be

paid to what was called the Balance of Power; that is, the arrangement of the European states in such a system that the weak might be protected from the aggressions of the powerful and the ambitious. This system first began in Italy, which was divided into a number of petty states; its chief members were the duchy of Milan, and the republic of Venice, in the north; the republic of Florence, and the states of the Church, in the centre; and the kingdom of Naples, in the south. Encouraged by the distracted condition of the peninsula, foreigners were induced to attempt its conquest; and the kings of France and Spain, and the emperors of Germany, made this country the battle-field of rival ambition.

After the expulsion of the house of Anjou from Italy, it was established in the petty principality of Provence, where the graces of courtly refinement and light literature were more sedulously cultivated than in any other part of Europe. Renè, the last monarch of the line, the father of the heroic English queen, Margaret of Anjou, is justly described by Shakspeare as bearing

. the style of king of Naples,
Of both the Sicilies and Jerusalem,
Yet not so wealthy as an English yeoman;

he had the prudence not to hazard his security by mingling in the troubled politics of France and Burgundy, but amused himself and his subjects by floral games and poetic contests, heedless of the sanguinary wars that convulsed the surrounding states. His character, so strangely contrasted with that of the artful Louis XI. of France, or the daring Charles the Bold of Burgundy, is thus faithfully portrayed by Sir Walter Scott.

Ay, this is he who wears the wreath of lays
Wove by Apollo and the sisters nine,
Which Jove's dread lightning scathes not. He hath doft
The cumbrous helm of steel, and flung aside
The yet more galling diadem of gold;
While, with a leafy circlet round his brows,
He reigns the king of lovers and of poets.

As Renè had no male heirs, the succession to Provence was claimed even in his life-time by the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, but neither felt disposed to injure the harmless monarch, or deprive him prematurely of his little kingdom. They seem to have regarded him with mingled feelings of compassion and contempt, and to have allowed him to play a farce of mimic royalty as a child is permitted to amuse itself with toys. But when Charles of Burgundy began to exhibit those signs of impatient ambition which brought him to an untimely end, Renè believed it right to place himself under the protection of the king of France whom he recognised as his heir. On Renè's death Provence became a county under the French crown, and was justly deemed a most important acquisition (A.D. 1481.) But

with the substantial dominions of the house of Anjou, the French monarchs also inherited its pretensions to the thrones of Naples and Sicily. Louis XI. was far too prudent a monarch to waste his strength on the assertion of such illusory claims; he directed his attention to a far more useful object, the establishment of the royal power over the great vassals of the crown, several of whom possessed greater real power than the nominal sovereign. The means employed by Louis were base and dishonourable, but the object at which he aimed was beneficial to his country, for the clashing pretensions of the feudal lords of France with the king and each other, kept the country in a perpetual state of civil war, which not only rendered the monarchy weak but the country miserable.

Charles VIII. departed from his father's prudent line of policy; instead of securing the royal authority at home, he directed his attention to foreign conquests, and resolved to assert his imaginary claims to the throne of Naples. He was instigated also by the invitations of Ludovico Sforza, duke of Milan, and by some romantic hope of overthrowing the Turkish empire. A French army crossed the Alps (A.D. 1494), and marched through the peninsula without encountering any effective opposition. Rome, Florence, and Naples, submitted to the conqueror, and Ferdinand II. fled to the island of Ischia. But during the progress of the expedition, a league was formed for the expulsion of all foreigners from Italy; the Venetian republic was the moving power of the confederacy, in which the pope and even Sforza were associated, while the Emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Spain, secretly favoured its designs. Alarmed by the coming danger, Charles, leaving half his army to protect his conquests, led the remainder back to France. He encountered the Venetians on his road, and gained a complete victory; but the forces he left in Italy were compelled to capitulate, and Ferdinand II. was restored to the throne of Naples.

Charles VIII. was bent on vengeance, and the distracted state of the peninsula gave him hope of success; but before he could complete his arrangements for a second expedition, he was snatched away by a sudden death (A.D. 1498). The duke of Orleans, Louis XII., in addition to his cousin's claims on Naples, inherited from his grandmother a title to the duchy of Milan. But the French monarch, before undertaking such an extensive conquest, deemed it necessary to strengthen himself by alliances with the republic of Venice, Pope Alexander VI., and Ferdinand, king of Spain. Thus strengthened, he found little difficulty in overrunning Italy; Milan was captured (A.D. 1499), and the turbulent Sforza, after vain attempts to re-establish his power, died in captivity. Naples was next attacked; Ferdinand of Spain had entered into alliance with the Neapolitan monarch Frederic, and his invader Louis, secretly determined to cheat both.

By his aid the kingdom of Naples was subdued, and the dupe Frederic imprisoned for life (A.D. 1501); but no sooner was the conquest completed, than the Spaniard prepared to secure the whole of the spoil. Aided by the abilities of Gonsalvo de Cordova, Ferdinand succeeded in expelling the French from Naples; and the kingdom was finally confirmed to him on his marriage with Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis XII., with whom the French monarch, on the receipt of a million of ducats, assigned over his claims on Naples as a dowry (A.D. 1505).

Italy, however, was soon destined to have its tranquillity disturbed by the grasping ambition of Pope Julius II. Anxious to recover the dependencies of the holy see which had been seized by Venice, he organized a confederacy against that republic, of which he was himself the head; while Louis, Maximilian, and Ferdinand, were active members (A.D. 1509). The republic would have been ruined, had the union of the confederates been sincere and permanent; but, owing to the mutual jealousies of its enemies, it escaped when brought to the verge of destruction. The impetuous valour of the French disconcerted all the measures the Venetians had taken to preserve their territories; and the total ruin of their army at Aguadello (A.D. 1509) left them wholly without defence. Julius seized all the towns which they held in the ecclesiastical territories; Ferdinand added all their sea-ports in Apulia to his Neapolitan dominions; but at the moment when the dismemberment of the republic seemed inevitable, the mutual jealousies of Louis and Maximilian dissolved the confederacy. The Venetians appeased the pope and Ferdinand, by large concessions, which were the more readily accepted, as Julius had now formed the design of expelling all foreigners from Italy, especially the French, of whose valour and ambition he was justly afraid.

From the fragments of the league of Cambray, a new and stronger confederacy was formed against France, and Henry VIII., who had just ascended the throne of England, was engaged to divert the attention of Louis from Italy, by an invasion of his dominions (A.D. 1511). The master-stroke, however, of the pope's policy was winning over the Swiss, whose mercenary infantry was the best body of troops then used in war. Louis XII. resisted all the efforts of this formidable conspiracy with undaunted fortitude. Hostilities were carried on during several campaigns in Italy, on the frontiers of Spain, and in Picardy, with alternate success. But, weakened by the loss of his allies, Florence and Navarre, of which the former, having been subjected to the Medicis, joined the league (A.D. 1512), and the latter was conquered and annexed to Spain, Louis would probably have been reduced to great distress, had not the death of Pope Julius (A.D. 1513) come to his relief. Leo, of the princely house of the Medicis, succeeded to the papacy, and immediately made peace with France.

Spain, England, and the empire, followed this example, and the war terminated with the loss of everything which the French had acquired in Italy, except the castle of Milan and a few inconsiderable town in that duchy.

SECTION IV.—*The History of Burgundy under the Princes of the House of Valois.*

No feudal state was more important in the middle ages than the duchy of Burgundy, and its history is the best calculated to illustrate the political condition of states, and the relations between powerful princes and their sovereign, produced by the institutions of feudalism. At the same time, the history of Burgundy must in some degree be regarded as an episode in the general annals of Europe, for though its existence was brilliant, it left no permanent trace behind, save the resentment between the houses of France and Austria, arising from the division of its spoils.

The duchy of Burgundy lapsed to the crown of France soon after the liberation of King John from the captivity in which he had been detained by the English after the battle of Poitiers. He resolved to bestow this rich inheritance upon his third son, Philip, surnamed the Hardy, who had fought gallantly by his side in the unfortunate battle of Poitiers, though only sixteen years of age, and who when John was taken prisoner had accompanied him to England to share his captivity. John's bequest was honourably executed by his son and successor, Charles V. of France; he gave to Philip the investiture of the duchy with all legal forms, and on the 2nd of June, 1364, the new duke entered upon his inheritance; he soon afterwards married the only daughter of the count of Flanders, and thus became involved in the wars which that nobleman waged against the insurgent citizens of Ghent, and at the same time he actively assisted his brother against the English.

After a long war, in which the burgesses of the free cities of Flanders sustained with great bravery their municipal franchises against the feudal chivalry of their count and his allies, the insurgents, suffered a severe defeat at Rosebecque, in which their gallant leader, the younger Artavelde, was slain. Philip took advantage of the crisis to mediate a peace between the count of Flanders and the revolted cities, which was finally concluded on very equitable conditions. When tranquillity was restored, the duke directed his whole attention to the affairs of France, and during the reign of his unfortunate nephew, Charles VI., took a principal share in the government of that kingdom. Whilst he was thus engaged, ambassadors arrived from the king of Hungary to announce that the Turks not only menaced his territories with ruin, but avowed their deter-

mination to subdue the whole of Christendom. Sultan Bayezid openly vaunted that his cavalry should trample on the cross in every European city, and that he would himself feed his horses on the altar of St. Peter's, in Rome.

Duke Philip eagerly seconded the solicitations of the Hungarian ambassadors: under his auspices a crusade was proclaimed; the great body of French chivalry and all the young nobility embraced the project with the greatest ardour, and the young count de Nevers, heir of Burgundy, was appointed to command the expedition. Philip lavished the wealth of his duchy and of Flanders on the equipment of his son's army; banners embroidered with gold, horses with caparisons decorated as for a triumphal procession, tents of green silk, and armour of the highest cost, filled France and Germany with admiration. When the count de Nevers commenced his march (April 30th, A.D. 1396), he boasted that he would not only deliver Hungary, but expel the Turks from Europe, pursue them across the Hellespont, chase them through Anatolia, Syria, and Palestine, and restore the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. The march of the army through Bavaria and Austria resembled rather the return of conquerors from battle than the advance of soldiers to a dangerous war. They indulged in the most extravagant luxury and wanton licentiousness; the property and the persons of the peasants through whose lands they passed were cruelly and ostentatiously violated, while the remonstrances made by the ministers of religion were answered with mockery and insult.

Sigismund of Luxemburg, king of Hungary, was far from being gratified by the arrival of such auxiliaries. Bayezid, engaged in suppressing some petty insurrections in his Asiatic dominions, had concluded a truce with the Hungarians, and the prudent king was far from being disposed to revive a war with so dangerous an enemy. His remonstrances were wasted on the proud chivalry of France; the count de Nevers at once crossed the Turkish frontier, and after capturing some places of minor importance, laid siege to Nicopolis. In the hurry of their advance the French had left their battering artillery behind; they were therefore compelled to blockade the place in the hope of reducing it by famine. An army of twenty thousand Turks advanced to relieve the town; a trifling victory gained over one of its detachments by the sire de Caucy so increased the presumption of the French, that they neglected the discipline of their camp, which became one wide scene of riot and debauchery.

Intelligence of this folly was soon conveyed to Bayezid; he learned with some astonishment, but greater joy, that the Franks lived in open violation of the principles of that religion which they declared that they had taken up arms to support, and as he was himself a rigid observer of the morality prescribed by the Mohammedan law, he at once despised the luxury, and detested the licentiousness of the

western crusaders. So little vigilance was exhibited by the Christians, that the garrison of Nicopolis had intelligence of the near approach of Bayezid before the Christians knew that he had commenced his march. The news that the sultan was close at hand filled their camp with confusion; the siege of Nicopolis was precipitately raised, and in the first alarm the knights massacred all their prisoners, forgetting that the chances of war might expose themselves to a terrible retribution. They, however, were all eager to come to an immediate engagement; the Hungarians vainly advised them not to hazard a battle until they had ascertained the number of the Turks, and the tactics which the sultan intended to employ. Some of the more aged and experienced warriors seconded this advice, but they were overborne by the clamours of the young knights, whose ardour was far too great to be moderated by prudence.

Bayezid had arranged his troops in the form of a crescent, with the convex side turned towards the enemy: he expected thus to induce the Christians to attack his centre, by gradually withdrawing which he might reverse the form of his line, and thus getting his enemies into the concavity of the crescent, avail himself of his vast superiority of numbers to overwhelm them on both flanks. The Christians fell into the snare; so soon as they came within sight of the hostile lines, the French knights charged at the top of their speed, leaving the Hungarian infantry designed for their support, far in the rear. They found the Turkish line protected by a hedge of sharp stakes which for some time checked their ardour, but they forced their way over this obstacle under a tremendous fire of arrows and other missiles, and then charged through the Turkish infantry of the advanced guard, which was at once put to the rout. Behind this line they found a brilliant body of cavalry, which they imagined to be the sultan's main body, and therefore charged it with all their former impetuosity; as had been arranged, the Turkish squadrons gave way, and the French hurried forward in disorderly pursuit. No sooner, however, had they advanced into the middle of the plain than the Turks turned round and renewed the combat, while Bayezid's two wings advancing with loud shouts, aided by the clang of the cymbals and the braying of trumpets, attacked the knights on both flanks, closed upon their rear, and held them completely surrounded. The Hungarian infantry, left exposed by the rapid advance of the knights, was broken by a charge of a select body of the Turkish cavalry; Sigismund and the grand master of Rhodes escaped in a small boat, leaving their allies to their fate; the palatine of Hungary alone remained with a small body of his countrymen to rescue the French from the consequences of their rashness.

Friends and foes have equally celebrated the desperate valour of the French knights on this fatal day; by general consent the admiral of Vienne is declared to have most vigorously supported the honour of

the French chivalry. Six times he recovered the banner of France, and rallied a few of his companions around their national standard; as often the Turkish squadrons overwhelmed his party by their vast superiority of numbers, and flung the banner in the dust. At length, left alone, and bleeding from countless wounds, he dashed into the midst of the enemy, and found death upon a heap of the slain.

The Turks at first gave no quarter; it was late in the day before Bayezíd commanded them to make prisoners, and even then he was induced to do so by no feelings of mercy, but by his desire to have an opportunity of revenging the fate of the Turks who had been slaughtered in the camp before Nicopolis. Two knights were also saved under circumstances too singularly illustrative of the spirit of adventure which characterized the chivalry of the age to be omitted. The incident is thus told by Froissart. "There was a knight from Picardy, Sir James de Helly, who had resided some time in Turkey, and had served in arms under Amurath (Morad), father of the Sultan Bajazet (Bayezíd) and who knew a little of the Turkish language. When he saw the day was lost, he thought of saving his life, and as he knew the Saracens to be a covetous race, he surrendered himself to them on their granting him his life. Thus did he escape, and also another squire from the Tournaisis, called James du Fay, who had formerly served Tamerlane (Timúr Lenk), king of Tartary; but when he learned that the French were marching to Turkey, he quitted Tamerlane and joined his countrymen. He was at this battle, and saved by Tamerlane's men, who had been ordered thither in compliance with the request made to him for assistance by Bajazet."

Bayezíd recognized Sir James de Helly as one of his old companions in arms, and ordered him to be set at liberty by his captors. He then commanded him to point out who were the greatest lords among the Christian captives, that they might be spared for the sake of their ransoms. The count de Nevers and several other princes were pointed out to the sultan as "of the noblest blood in France, nearly related to the king, and willing to pay for their liberty a great sum of money." The sultan said, "Let these alone be spared, and all the other prisoners put to death, to free the country from them, and that others may take example from their fate."

We shall quote what followed from the picturesque narrative of Froissart. "The sultan now made his appearance to his people before the tent, who, bowing down, made him their obeisance. The army was drawn up in two wings on each side; the sultan with his nobles, the count de Nevers, and those who were to be spared, were in the centre; for he would they should witness the execution of their companions, which the Saracens were eager to perform. Many excellent knights of France and other nations, who had been taken in battle or in the pursuit, were now brought forth in their shirts, one after the other,

before Bajazet (Bayezíd), who eyeing them a little, [they were led on, and as he made a signal, were instantly cut to pieces by those waiting for them with drawn swords. Such was the cruel justice of Bajazet this day, when upwards of three hundred gentlemen of different nations were thus pitilessly murdered. It was a cruel case for them thus to suffer for the love of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and may he receive their souls!"]

Three knights in addition to Sir James de Helly were saved from the slaughter, that the count de Nevers should choose one of them to go as ambassador to his father for the purpose of procuring his ransom. The young count selected Helly, and the other three were immediately doomed to share the fate of their companions. According to a legend faithfully preserved by the credulous historians of a later age, Bayezíd would not have spared the young heir of Burgundy, had he not been informed by an astrologer that the count would in the course of his life cause a greater effusion of Christian blood than any Mohammedan hero.

When Sir James de Helly brought the intelligence of these sad events to France, the whole kingdom was filled with mourning. There was scarcely one noble family which had not to bewail the loss of a father, a brother, or a child. Mothers, sisters, and wives ran raving through the streets, bewailing their losses; even those whose relatives remained prisoners lamented them as dead, fearing, not without reason, that the Turks might destroy them in some fit of fanaticism, or that the captives might sink under the proverbial privations and sufferings of a Turkish prison. All grieved for those brave warriors who fell in a foreign land without the presence of a friend to close their dying eyes. The entire kingdom was in mourning; the churches were only opened for funeral solemnities and masses for the dead, at which the king of France regularly attended as chief mourner for the flower of his nobility.

Heavy taxes were laid on the states of Burgundy to raise the enormous sum which the sultan demanded as a ransom for the heir of the duchy. To increase the difficulty of the transaction, the king of Hungary refused to allow such rich treasures to pass through his dominions for the purpose of strengthening his enemies. It was not until after the lapse of several months that a Genoese merchant, named Pellegrini, in the island of Chios, undertook to arrange the terms of ransom: and the sultan more readily accepted the security of a commercial house, which could only exist by credit, than the plighted oaths of kings and princes, which he knew were too often most flagrantly and shamelessly violated.

While the count de Nevers was thus engaged in the East, his brother-in-law, the count of Ostrevant, aided by his father, Albert, duke of Bavaria, was carrying on a war scarcely less destructive

against the Frisons. These barbarous tribes sent out piratical expeditions, which ravaged the coasts of Holland, Flanders, and sometimes of France; the naval forces maintained to keep them in check were found very expensive, and not always efficacious, so that the Flemings and Hollanders supplicated their princes to attack the Frisons in their native fastnesses. An immense armament was prepared for this hazardous enterprise; auxiliaries were obtained from England, France, and Western Germany, while crowds of Hollanders and Flemings hastened to volunteer their services against enemies who had been their constant plague.

The Frisons made vigorous preparations for resistance; they elected as their chief, Invingen, a warrior whose exploits had been celebrated through the entire north of Europe, and conferred upon him the title of the Great Frison. Invingen was well aware of the inferiority of his countrymen in regular war; they had neither shields, cuirasses, nor coats of mail; for defensive armour they used cloths of felted hair, leathern jerkins, or hauberks of twisted cord. He therefore recommended them to burn their villages and retire into the woods when the enemy approached; but the multitude of the Frieslanders rejected this advice, and taking the crosses and banners from their churches hastened to repel the invasion.

Duke Albert was debarking his men when the Frison army came to prevent him. A woman, supposed to be an idiot, clothed in a blue dress, marched in front of the barbarous host, using the most insulting words and gestures to the Hainaulters and Hollanders. They were so much enraged at this, that several of them leaped into the water and rushing on the unfortunate creature, hewed her in pieces with their swords. This was a prelude to two desperate battles, in which the Frieslanders were defeated by the superior weapons and discipline of the invaders; and in the last of these fights, their leader, the Great Frison, was slain. After his death, the Frieslanders began to follow the advice he had first given them; they avoided a general engagement, but harassed the invaders by ambuscades and skirmishes, in which they neither took nor gave quarter. In about five weeks after the landing, winter set in with unusual severity, and at an earlier period than had been known for many years before. The duke was forced to evacuate the country and disband his army; but about three years after he took advantage of the civil dissensions among the Frisons to reduce the entire country to obedience.

The administration of the government of France by Philip, duke of Burgundy, was on the whole advantageous to the nation. It was chiefly owing to his prudence that the insanity of Charles VI. did not produce the calamities of civil war. He had, however, one great fault; his expenditure, both public and private, was most extravagant, and at his death his sons were forced to sell his plate in order to defray the

expenses of his funeral. He died of fever (April 27th, 1404), generally regretted, for it was not difficult to foresee the commotions that would ensue when the conduct of the state, which had taxed his talents and energies to the utmost, should be entrusted to a feebler hand.

SECTION V.—*The History of Burgundy (continued).*

JOHN the Fearless succeeded Philip the Hardy, and immediately began to take measures for procuring to himself the same influence in the government of France which his father had possessed; he was opposed by the queen and the duke of Orleans, who justly dreaded his ambition, and the means which he employed to gain his objects amply justified the prediction of the Turkish astrologer which had saved his life when count of Nevers. In the fury of civil contest he hired assassins to murder the duke of Orleans; and this atrocious crime was perpetrated in the very midst of Paris. Such, however, were the power of the duke and the apathy of the times, that he would probably have obtained a justification of his conduct from the court, had he not been obliged to retire to his territories to quell an insurrection of the citizens of Liege; the partisans of Orleans took advantage of his absence to raise a cry for justice, and being joined by all the enemies of Burgundy, they soon formed a very powerful faction. A desultory civil war ensued; the citizens of Paris declared for the duke of Burgundy, and massacred the Armagnacs, as the favourers of Orleans were called, wherever they could find them; but after some time, with their usual instability, they began to favour the adverse faction, and the duke found his power and popularity waning more rapidly than they had risen. At this crisis the English monarch, Henry V., invaded France, took Harfleur by storm, and destroyed the flower of the French chivalry at the battle of Agincourt. These calamities did not check the feuds between the Burgundians and Armagnacs; intent only on mutual slaughter, they allowed a mere handful of Englishmen to overrun a great part of France without opposition, and it was even suspected that the duke had secretly entered into an alliance with the invaders.

The general belief that the duke had committed treason against the state, enabled the faction of Orleans to persuade the dauphin that his death was necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and to join in a perfidious plot for his assassination. Ambassadors were sent to invite John the Fearless to an interview with the dauphin on the bridge of Montoreau, in order that they might in common concert measures for the defence of the kingdom. In spite of the remonstrances of his friends and servants, who had obtained information that the Orleans faction was all powerful with the dauphin, John

went to the appointed rendezvous with a very scanty train, armed only with such weapons as gentlemen of the period usually wore on visits

A saloon of wood was constructed in the middle of the bridge, having two very narrow entrances; no barrier was raised to divide the parties, as was usual at interviews of the kind; but deputies were appointed to stand at the entrances of the saloon, and receive the oaths of peace from the rival princes. The dauphin and his followers entered the saloon a little before Burgundy made his appearance; the duke having heard of his arrival, advanced to meet him, leaving the greater part of his train a little behind. So soon as he came into the dauphin's presence, he took off his velvet cap, and bent his knee in token of homage; but before he could rise, he was struck down by the axes and swords of the royal guards, and butchered with such of his train as had entered the saloon. The murder was completed in less time than it has taken to relate it, and the excuse made by the dauphin that the duke had insulted and menaced him, was contradicted by the partisans of Orleans, who declared that the whole plan had been arranged months before, in revenge for the assassination of their patron (A.D. 1419). The murder of the duke of Orleans was almost the only stain upon the memory of John the Fearless; his Flemish subjects, whose franchises he had protected, and whose trade he had fostered, were most grieved for his loss; but they respected his memory most for his having entrusted the education of his eldest son to the magistrates of the free cities, and in fact the young prince had been educated as a Fleming rather than as a Burgundian.

Philip the Good, immediately after his accession, prepared to take vengeance for the murder of his father; his Flemish education had prevented him from having any very strong sense of the feudal obligations which bound the duchy of Burgundy to the crown of France; he therefore did not hesitate to enter into alliance with Henry V. of England, and recognised him as the legitimate heir to the crown of France, on condition that Charles VI. should not be deprived of his regal dignity during the remainder of his unhappy existence. It is doubtful whether Charles had sufficiently recovered his senses to understand that he was disinheriting his son; the queen had no such apology for her conduct, and the virulent hatred which she manifested towards her eldest child, excited indignation throughout France.

The war between the English and French now became identified with the struggle between the Burgundians and Armagnacs; the virulence of private animosities was thus added to the horrors of open war, and the atrocities committed on both sides were shocking to human nature. One outrage which excited great notice, may be briefly related as an illustration of the manners of the age. One of the most renowned captains in the Orleans faction was designated the

bastard of Vaurus; he had been originally in the service of the count of Armagnac, and to revenge the death of his master, he practised the most dreadful cruelties on all the Burgundians who fell into his power. An elm-tree near Meaux received his name, because he hung from it those victims who were unable to pay the enormous ransoms he demanded. A young farmer became his captive, and the bastard put him to the torture; the wife of the prisoner, who had been about a year married, appeared before the barbarian, and besought mercy for her husband. The bastard fixed an immense sum as the price of his liberation, and required that it should be paid before a certain day. Notwithstanding all her exertions the unfortunate woman was a few days too late; but not believing that Vaurus would execute his savage threat, she proceeded to Meaux, and tendered the ransom. Overwhelmed with fatigue and anxiety, she fainted on her arrival before the bastard, and when she recovered, her first question was for her husband. "Pay the money," said Vaurus, "and then you shall see him." She complied, and was then informed that he had been hanged on the appointed day. Her shrieks and reproaches filled the city with horror; but the bastard, indignant at her grief, ordered her to be stripped naked, and exposed under the tree where he was accustomed to hang his victims. The cruel orders were so rigidly obeyed, that the cords which bound her to the tree were so tightly drawn, as to cut through her flesh to the bone. The night on which she was thus exposed was dark and stormy; its terrors were heightened by the quivering of the corpses suspended from the tree, the feet of which frequently touched her head as the branches swayed in the wind. In this situation she was seized with the pangs of premature labour; her cries of mortal agony were heard in the distant town, but dread of the bastard prevented any one from coming to her assistance. The wolves, which in the distracted state of France prowled everywhere through the fields, soon scented their victim; on the following morning she was found a mangled corpse, with the torn remains of her unborn infant by her side. Henry V. immediately laid siege to Meaux; the defence was protracted for seven months, but it was at length taken by assault, the bastard of Vaurus was hanged on his own tree, and several of his associates shared his fate.

The death of Henry V. of England, followed speedily by that of Charles VI. of France, produced a great change in the aspect of the war. Henry VI., who was proclaimed king of England and France, was an infant in the cradle, while the dauphin was in the very prime of life, surrounded by the greater part of the French nobility, and warmly supported by the bulk of the nation. Though severely defeated, and apparently brought to the brink of ruin, when his chief city Orleans was besieged, a deliverer suddenly appeared in the person of Joan of Arc, the tide of prosperity, which had hitherto flowed in

favour of the English, suddenly turned, and the duke of Burgundy opened negotiations with the dauphin. It was at this crisis that Philip instituted the order of the Golden Fleece, on the occasion of his marriage with Isabella of Portugal (A.D. 1430), an order of knighthood which soon became the most illustrious in Europe. Soon after his marriage, the alienation of the duke from the English interest continued to increase, and finally, under the auspices of the pope, he concluded a treaty with Charles VII., whom he consented to recognize as legitimate sovereign of France.

Having disengaged himself from the French wars, the duke of Burgundy devoted himself to the improvement of his dominions in the Low Countries. His brilliant court realized the visions of chivalry; the jousts and tournaments given under his sanction surpassed in magnificence any that had yet been witnessed in Europe; the wealth of the commercial cities in Flanders was freely poured forth to defray the expenses, and noble knights from all parts of Europe flocked to the court of Burgundy to prove their valour in the lists. Philip encouraged this taste for display amongst his subjects from political motives; he found that luxury diverted the attention of the turbulent municipalities and their magistrates from affairs of state, and suspended, if it did not eradicate, the ancient jealousies between commercial freedom and feudalism.

Nearly a century and a half had now elapsed since the Swiss cantons had emancipated themselves from the yoke of the house of Austria; the free states had become jealous of each other, some leagued with their ancient enemies, others sought alliances with the petty princes of Germany, and the feudal powers, to whom the example of Swiss independence seemed fraught with dangerous consequences, believed that an opportunity was offered for reducing the mountaineers to their former bondage. A league for the purpose was formed by the potentates of western Germany under the direct sanction of the emperor, and application was made to the duke of Burgundy for assistance. He received the proposal very coolly, upon which the imperialists sought the aid of the king of France, who was very anxious, now that the wars were over, to get rid of the Armagnacs, and other companies of soldiers, who lived at free quarters on the peasantry, and prevented the country from enjoying the blessings of tranquillity. An immense army was soon raised and placed under the command of the dauphin; it advanced towards the frontiers of Switzerland, desolating the provinces through which it passed, and actually commenced the siege of Basle before the Swiss had made any arrangements for defence. Intelligence of the danger of Basle reached the Swiss army engaged in the siege of Farnsburg; the leaders were anxious to retire to the mountains, but the patriotic soldiers insisted

on being led to the succour of their countrymen, and the generals were forced to gratify their ardour.

On the morning of the 24th of August, 1444, Switzers and Frenchmen met for the first time in mortal combat. The advanced guard of the French, which alone was ten times more numerous than the entire Swiss army, occupied the heights on the right bank of the river Pirse, while the main body remained on the left bank, urging forward the siege of Basle. Though fatigued by their forced march, and exhausted by want of sleep and refreshment, the Swiss did not hesitate one moment in assaulting the intrenchments of the French; their desperate valour bore down every obstacle, the Armagnacs were driven from the heights, and fled in confusion across the Pirse. It was proposed by the Swiss leaders to rest satisfied with this success, to fortify themselves on the heights which they had just won, and wait until the contingents from the other cantons arrived before renewing the engagement; but the impetuosity of the Swiss soldiers was not to be restrained by the counsels of prudence, they rushed down from the heights, plunged into the Pirse, and broke their ranks as they struggled through the waters.

The dauphin took the necessary precautions to meet the daring onset; he posted his main body in such a position as to prevent communication between the Swiss and the garrison of Basle, which had actually made a sally, in the hope of effecting a junction. The Swiss reached the left bank of the Pirse under a heavy fire of cannons and culverins; but when, on emerging from the river, they attempted to form into line, they were charged so fiercely by the Germans and Armagnacs, that they were broken into separate bodies and surrounded by overwhelming numbers. Each detached body of the Swiss maintained a fight with all the courage of despair; during ten hours they resisted every effort made to drive them into the Pirse; they fell on the ground which they had occupied, and the dauphin's victory was obtained with the loss of eight thousand of his best soldiers. The French were not willing to fight a second battle with such fearless warriors; in spite of the remonstrances of the Germans, the dauphin resolved to act the part of mediator, and a peace was concluded under his auspices, by which the liberties of the Swiss cantons were formally recognised. The duke of Burgundy took no share in this war; he was too deeply engaged by the troubles of Flanders, where a formidable revolt had been raised by the citizens of Ghent. After a sanguinary struggle, the insurgent Flemings were subdued, and Ghent was deprived of most of its municipal privileges.

The dauphin of France, afterwards Louis XI., having provoked his father to war, was obliged to fly from his estates and seek shelter with the duke of Burgundy, who was at the time rendered uneasy by

the turbulent disposition of his own son, the count of Charolais, subsequently known in history as Charles the Bold. These family disturbances embroiled the courts of France and Burgundy for several years, but at length the death of Charles VII. rendered the dauphin king of France; the duke escorted him safely to his dominions, rendered him homage as his sovereign, and assisted in the ceremonies of his coronation. Louis was far from being grateful for these benefits; he formed several plots to seize the person of the count of Charolais, foreseeing that he would become his most formidable rival, and he broke all the engagements he had made to restore the towns which had at various times been wrested from the dukes of Burgundy by the monarchs of France. The count of Charolais was not disposed to endure these wrongs with patience; contrary to the wishes of his father, he supported the nobles of France in their revolts against their sovereign, and had just organized a formidable league against Louis, when the death of Duke Philip compelled him to adjourn his warlike designs, until he had secured to himself his inheritance of the duchy of Burgundy.

Few sovereigns were more generally and justly lamented than Philip the Good; during the fifty years of his reign, Burgundy was the most wealthy, prosperous, and tranquil of all the states of Europe; and had he pleased to assert his independence, he might have become a more powerful sovereign than the king of France himself. The general grief for his loss was increased by the dread which the character of his successor inspired; the rashness, the pride, the obstinacy, and the cruelty of Charles the Bold had stained his entire career as count of Charolais; his subjects and his neighbours were equally filled with alarm, lest the same qualities should be still more signally manifested in the duke of Burgundy.

SECTION VI.—*The History of Burgundy (concluded).*

IMMEDIATELY after his installation as duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, on the invitation of the principal citizens, paid a visit to Ghent, accompanied by his daughter Mary and a very limited escort. A popular festival celebrated during his visit brought the members of the old trading corporations together; they began to complain to each other of the loss of their municipal privileges, the heavy taxes imposed upon them by the late duke, and the tyranny of the officers who had been placed over them on the abolition of the civic magistracy. Some daring spirits proposed to take advantage of the crisis and obtain a redress of grievances. An insurrection was organized on the spot, and, ere the duke knew that any disturbances were meditated, he was closely besieged in his palace, and the whole city was at the mercy of the revolvers. It was with the greatest difficulty that his councillors

prevented the haughty duke from falling on the infuriate populace at the head of his guards; but he soon discovered that force would be unavailing against such a multitude; he was forced to yield to the popular demands, but in doing so, he made a secret vow that he would exact deadly vengeance for the insult which had been offered to his authority. His indignation was increased by similar revolts in the cities of Brabant and in Liege, which he justly attributed to the example of Ghent, aided by the secret intrigues of French emissaries.

The troubles of Brabant were easily quieted; but the citizens of Liege, relying on the indistinct promises of aid made by the king of France, not only raised the standard of revolt, but committed such atrocious crimes, that Charles determined to destroy the city. With some difficulty his councillors dissuaded him from executing his design; the insurgents, after having been defeated in a pitched battle, were forced to capitulate; the duke compelled them to submit to very severe terms, he refused to enter their city through the gates, and caused a breach of more than a hundred yards in breadth to be made in the walls, through which he led his army with all the insulting pomp of an ancient triumph.

In revenge for the incentives to rebellion which the king of France was more than suspected of having supplied to the people of Liege, Charles entered into a close league with the discontented French princes who had taken up arms against Louis XI., while that monarch renewed his intrigues with the discontented burgesses in all the cities subject to the duke of Burgundy. Louis was, however, far the more successful in this species of unavowed warfare; cold, cautious, and cunning, he was able to conduct complicated intrigues, and to await their success with patience, while the violent temper of Charles frequently led him to frustrate the plans on which he had bestowed the most care and attention. In one memorable instance, the reliance of Louis on his own craft had nearly proved his destruction; finding that his envoys did not produce the effect he desired on the mind of his rival, he resolved to try the effect of a personal interview, and unexpectedly presented himself at the duke of Burgundy's court in Peronne, escorted by a feeble company of his personal retainers. The interview between the king and the duke was far from satisfactory; their mutual jealousies soon began to threaten a rupture, when the intelligence of a new revolt in Liege, and the massacre of all the partisans of Burgundy in that city, including the prince-bishop, so roused the fury of Charles, that he made his sovereign a prisoner, and would probably have proceeded to further extremities, but for the interference of his council.

Louis, taken in his own toils, was obliged to submit to the terms of peace dictated by Charles; the most mortifying condition of his liberation was that he should lead an army against the insurgent citi-

zens of Liege, and thus aid his vassal in suppressing a revolt which he had himself secretly instigated. The ducal and royal armies were soon assembled, and they marched together against the devoted citizens of Liege, who had never imagined the possibility of such a combination. They did not, however, despair, but defended themselves with great courage, until the advanced guard of the Burgundians had forced its way through the breaches of the walls, and made a lodgment in the principal street. All resistance was then at an end; the city became the prey of the barbarous soldiers; it was cruelly pillaged for several days, and those citizens who escaped the sword either perished of hunger as they wandered through the woods and fields, or were delivered over to the executioner. After this scene of massacre had lasted eight days, Charles left the city, after having given orders that every edifice in Liege should be destroyed, except the churches, and the houses belonging to the clergy. As Liege was an episcopal city, the clergy possessed or claimed a very considerable portion of it, and the exception made in their favour saved it from ruin.

Louis never forgave the indignities which he had endured at Peronne, and in his forced march to Liege; without openly declaring war against Burgundy, he secretly raised up enemies against the duke in every quarter, and Charles, by the violence of his passions, constantly exposed himself at disadvantage to the machinations of his rival. Rendered insolent by continued prosperity, he alienated from him the brave chivalry of Burgundy, by bestowing all his confidence on a foreign favourite, the count of Campo-Basso, who flattered his vanity by an absolute submission to his caprices. Louis had the good fortune to win the friendship of the Swiss, whom his rival had changed from friends into foes by the most wanton violation of treaties; and Charles, to whom the very name of freedom was odious, on account of the revolts of Ghent and Liege, resolved to bring the independent mountaineers once more under the yoke of feudal bondage.

Rarely had Europe seen so splendid an army as that which Charles led to the invasion of Switzerland; it consisted of thirty-six thousand soldiers, long inured to military exercises, accompanied by the most formidable train of artillery that had ever yet been brought into the field. Count de Nomont, who commanded the advanced guard, opened the campaign by laying siege to Yverdun, a city which had formed part of his domain, and where he had numerous partisans. The gates of the city were treacherously opened to the Burgundians during the night; but the Swiss garrison, though surprised and half naked, made a desperate resistance, and finally succeeded in cutting their way to the castle. Count de Nomont immediately invested this fortress, declaring that the Swiss should receive no quarter if they made the slightest resistance. His menaces were received with defiance, and his first assault was repulsed with great loss. He then ordered his

soldiers to fill the ditch with fascines of dried wood, straw, hay, and other combustibles, to which he set fire, and in a few minutes the conflagration spread round the castle. Suddenly the gates were opened and the drawbridge fell; the Swiss, linked together in a serried phalanx, rushed upon the Burgundian lines, broke their way through them, and leisurely retired to Granson, having suffered but a trifling

The duke himself advanced to besiege Granson; it was bravely defended, but the walls soon began to crumble under the heavy fire of the Burgundian artillery, and several of the citizens, seduced by promises and bribes, clamoured for a capitulation. It was agreed that the governor and the best soldiers of the garrison should present themselves before Charles and demand to be admitted to mercy, as his emissaries had promised. The moment, however, that they appeared Charles ordered them to be seized and bound; without listening to their appeals or to the remonstrances of his own nobles, he commanded the governor and his officers to be hanged, and all the rest to be hurled as they were, bound hand and foot, into the lake. About two hundred Swiss were thus treacherously massacred; they died without murmur or complaint, fully persuaded that their murder would be avenged by their countrymen.

Intelligence of this event spread rapidly through the cantons; on every side the bold mountaineers flew to arms, while the duke, having formed an intrenched camp at Granson, advanced with a strong detachment towards Neufchatel. Pride had rendered him so regardless of ordinary precautions that he came unexpectedly in presence of the main body of the Swiss in the mountain defiles, when with his usual impetuosity he gave the signal to engage. The Swiss pikemen formed in close line drove back the Burgundian cavalry, and steadily advancing in close order forced the squadrons of horse before them, destroying some of the bravest knights of the enemy as they got entangled in the press. Every effort which the duke made to extricate his gallant chivalry only added to the confusion, and whilst he vainly strove to form his lines, fresh troops appeared upon the heights on his left flank, raising the war-cry of "Granson! Granson!" to show that they came to revenge the massacre of their brethren. Soon after the horns of Uri and Unterwalden were heard in the distance; they were two enormous horns which according to tradition had been bestowed upon these cantons by Pepin and Charlemagne; their sound had often filled invaders with dread during the old wars of Austria, and appeared on the present occasion scarcely less ominous to the Burgundians.

The retreat of the advanced-guard of Charles became every moment more disorderly, it was at length converted into a precipitate flight, and the fugitives on reaching the intrenched camp filled it with the same terror and confusion by which they were possessed themselves. In vain

did Charles attempt to remedy the disorder; his artillery-men after a feeble and ineffectual fire abandoned their guns; his Italian auxiliaries fled without striking a blow, and at length, being left almost alone, he quitted his camp with a few attendants, leaving to the Swiss the richest booty that had been gained in war for several centuries. Among the spoils thus abandoned were three celebrated diamonds, of which one now adorns the tiara of the pope, a second is reckoned amongst the most splendid treasures of the emperor of Austria, and the third, usually called the Souci diamond, was long the richest brilliant in the crown of France.

Grief and rage for his defeat reduced Charles to a state bordering on insanity. It was not until after the lapse of several weeks that he began to take active measures for repairing his losses, and preventing the king of France from profiting by his reverses. All the wealth which he had hoarded during his reign; all the treasures which he could procure from the wealthy commercial cities in Flanders and Brabant, were freely poured forth to recruit his army; the bells of the churches were melted down and cast into cannon to repair the loss of his artillery at Granson; he hired auxiliaries from France, from Italy, and from England; the chronicles assert that his English legion, consisting of three thousand men, was the only trustworthy division of his army. On the other hand the Swiss employed themselves in fortifying Morat, which they regarded as the key of Berne, and sent pressing messages to their confederates to hasten the arrival of their respective contingents.

On the 27th of May, 1476, Charles quitted his camp at Lausanne to commence the siege of Morat; rarely has a place been more vigorously assailed or more obstinately defended; the walls were breached in several places, but every assault of the Burgundians was repulsed, and the duke himself was twice driven back from the ruined ramparts. This marvellous resistance gave the Swiss time to assemble their armies, but Morat was on the point of falling when they advanced to its relief. Several of his officers advised Charles to raise the siege on the approach of the Swiss, and retire to ground more favourable for a field of battle, but he was as obstinately deaf to good counsel as he had been at Granson, and his passions had produced a kind of fever which rendered him so irritable that his dearest friends were afraid to approach him. The Swiss formed their line of battle under the shelter of a line of hills covered with trees which effectually concealed their movements from their enemies; Charles advanced to dislodge them from this position in a tempest of rain which injured his powder and relaxed the bow-strings of his archers. The Burgundians, finding that they could not get through the wood nor entice the Swiss from their lines, began to retire towards their camp, drenched with rain and exhausted by their useless march. The Swiss general, Hans de Hallwyll, who had

already earned high fame in the wars of Hungary, gave the signal of pursuit; Renè, the young duke of Lorraine, whom Charles had stripped of his paternal dominions, advanced at the head of the cavalry of the confederates, and the Burgundians were attacked in their intrenched camp. Charles could scarcely be persuaded that the Swiss would have hazarded so perilous an attempt; he hastened to bring up his men-at-arms to the place where the chief assault was made, and at the same time opened a heavy fire from his batteries on the advancing columns. His best artillery-men however had fallen at Granson; his cannon being ill-served did but little execution, whilst Hallwyll under cover of the smoke led a body of troops along the Burgundian lines and suddenly falling on their exposed flank, forced his way into the midst of the camp before the manœuvre was discovered. On the other extreme the Burgundians were equally surprised by an unexpected sally from the garrison of Morat; they fell into remediless confusion, the battle was no longer a fight but a carnage, for the Swiss sternly refused quarter, so that "cruel as at Morat," long continued to be a proverb in their mountains.

The states of Burgundy, Flanders, and Brabant, refused to grant the duke the enormous sums which he demanded to raise a third army, and whilst he was engaged in threatening them with his wrath, and collecting as many soldiers as he could procure from his own resources, he learned that Lorraine was nearly recovered by its young duke Renè, who, after making himself master of several towns, with little or no opposition, had laid siege to Nancy. The city was taken before Charles was ready to march, and Renè having secured it with a faithful garrison, proceeded to the Swiss cantons to solicit aid against their common enemy. Sieges were always unfavourable to the duke of Burgundy; he was unable to reduce Nancy, but he obstinately persisted in remaining before the walls, while his army suffered severely from an inclement winter and the increasing want of pay and provisions. In fact the unfortunate duke was now sold to his enemies by his favourite Campo-Basso, and his rash cruelty had led him to precipitate the execution of the chief agent of the plot, whom he had by chance made prisoner.

On the 4th of January, 1477, Renè of Lorraine, at the head of the Swiss confederates, was seen from the Burgundian camp advancing to the relief of Nancy. In the very beginning of the battle the desertion of the traitor Campo-Basso decided the fate of the day, but the brave chivalry of Burgundy in this, the last of their fields, maintained a desperate resistance until night put an end to the combat. The fate of the duke of Burgundy was for a long time uncertain, but after a tedious search his body was found covered with wounds, some of which had every appearance of being inflicted by assassins. Renè paid every possible respect to the remains of the unfortunate Charles, and he liberated all his Burgundian prisoners that they might attend the funeral.

The history of Mary of Burgundy, the daughter and successor of Charles the Bold, must be related briefly. No sooner was the news of her father's death known than the king of France prepared to seize on her dominions in Burgundy, and the Flemings rose in insurrection against her authority. Louis at first was disposed to force her to marry the dauphin, and thus re-unite Burgundy to France, but the tortuous course of policy which he pursued defeated his object. The Flemings discovered the intrigue; they seized on the favourite councillors of the unhappy princess, and beheaded them before her eyes in the market-place of Ghent. Mary was subsequently married to Duke Maximilian of Austria, but he only obtained possession of her dominions in the Netherlands; Burgundy was conquered by the French, and Maximilian had neither the energy nor the wisdom to recover it from Louis. This was the origin of the bitter hostility between the sovereigns of France and Austria, which for a long series of years kept the continent of Europe in almost perpetual war.

SECTION VII.—*The Age of Charles V.*

THE political idea of maintaining a balance of power, which was first formed in Italy, began to spread north of the Alps, in consequence of the rapid and overwhelming increase of the Austrian power. Maximilian of Austria, son of the Emperor Frederic III., married Mary of Burgundy, daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy (A.D. 1477), as has been already related, and in her right obtained possession of the fertile and wealthy provinces of the Netherlands. His son, Philip the Fair, was united to Joanna, infanta of Spain, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, whose union had joined the kingdoms of Arragon and Castile. The fruit of Philip's marriage with Joanna was two sons, Charles and Ferdinand; and the elder of these, at the age of sixteen, inherited the crown of Spain and its colonies, in addition to his paternal dominions in the Netherlands (A.D. 1516). The death of his grandfather Maximilian transmitted to him the Austrian territories, and the other domains of the house of Hapsburgh, and the electors chose him to fill the vacant throne of the empire. Thus Charles, the first of Spain, and the fifth of the empire, possessed greater power than any sovereign that had flourished in Europe since the days of Charlemagne. In the beginning of his reign, he resigned his hereditary dominions in Germany to his brother Ferdinand, who afterwards succeeded him in the empire, and became the founder of the second Austrian line of emperors, which ended with Charles VI. (A.D. 1740). From the Emperor Charles descended the Austrian family of Spanish kings, which was terminated by the death of Charles II. (A.D. 1700).

These two branches of the Austrian house, the German and the Spanish, long acted in concert to secure reciprocal advantages, and were fortunate in strengthening their power by new alliances. Ferdinand married Anne, sister of Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia; and when that monarch fell in war against the Turks, added both these kingdoms to the hereditary dominions of Austria. Charles V., by his marriage with Isabella, daughter of Emmanuel, king of Portugal, prepared the way for his son Philip's annexation of that country to Spain.

Two monarchs, cotemporary with Charles, were almost equally bound by their interests to check the preponderance of the house of Austria, Henry VIII. of England, and Francis I. of France. Henry VII., after the victory of Bosworth field had given him undisputed possession of the crown, laboured diligently and successfully to extend the royal authority, and to raise the commercial prosperity of the nation. On his death (A.D. 1509) he bequeathed to his son a rich treasury and a flourishing kingdom. Possessing such advantages, Henry VIII. might have been the arbitrator of Europe, but his naturally fine talents were perverted by flattery; he allowed free scope to all his passions, and his actions were consequently the result of caprice, vanity, or resentment, rarely, if ever, of enlightened policy. Many of the defects in his administration must, however, be ascribed to the pride and ambition of his prime minister, Cardinal Wolsey, who sacrificed the welfare of England and the honour of his sovereign to further his private ends or gratify his idle vanity.

Francis I. was a prince of higher character; he had many of the noble qualities, and not a few of the faults, usually ascribed to the spirit of chivalry; bold, enterprising, and personally brave, he did not always regulate his actions by prudence, and his rashness lost what his valour had won. Soon after coming to the crown, he undertook to recover Milan, and overthrew Sforza and the imperialists at Marignano. The defeated duke resigned his country for a pension; the pope and the northern Italian states assented to the arrangement, and the possession of the contested duchy seemed secured to France by the conclusion of a treaty with the Swiss cantons (A.D. 1516). Nearly at the same time a treaty was made with Charles, who had not yet succeeded to the empire, which seemed to establish peace, but only rendered war more certain.

Henry and Francis were both candidates with Charles for the empire; the former, however, had no rational hopes of success, while Francis could not hide his anticipations of success, no more than his mortification when he failed. The mutual jealousies of the French and Spanish monarchs were aggravated by hostile claims; Charles, by right of descent, could demand the ancient possessions of the duke of Burgundy, and he was feudal sovereign, as emperor, over the northern

exp. lian states, the chief duchy of which had been recently annexed to France. On the other hand, Francis had claims to the thrones of Navarre and Naples, which he was very unwilling to resign. Peace could not long subsist between these potentates, neither were their forces so unequally matched as might at first be supposed. The extensive dominions of Charles were governed by different constitutions; in none, not even in Spain, was he wholly unfettered, while Germany, where the Reformation was constantly raising embarrassing questions, and the princes ever anxious to circumscribe the imperial authority, added more to his nominal than to his real strength. His finances were also embarrassed, and he often found it an almost insuperable difficulty to provide for the payment of his troops, most of whom were necessarily mercenaries. On the other hand, Francis inherited almost despotic authority; his power concentrated, his own subjects were enrolled as his soldiers, and the regular organization of the French government freed him from the financial embarrassments of his rival. Both strengthened themselves by alliances; Charles gained the aid of the pope, and won Henry VIII. to his side by duping the egregious vanity of Wolsey; Francis, on the other hand, was supported by the Swiss and the Venetians. The war began nearly at the same moment in Navarre, the Netherlands, and Lombardy. The treachery of the queen-mother, who withheld from the French commander, Lautrec, the money necessary to pay the troops employed in Italy, led to the loss of Milan and the greater part of the duchy. An effort made to recover the lost ground led to the battle of Bicocca (A.D. 1522), in which the French were totally defeated and finally expelled from Italy; and Genoa, their most faithful ally, was subjected to the power of their enemies. An event of scarcely less importance was the death of Leo, and the elevation of Adrian, a devoted adherent of Charles, to the papal chair; and this was soon followed by the desertion of the Venetians to the imperial side.

Francis might have still recovered the Milanese, where the emperor's troops had been disbanded for want of pay, had not the queen-mother, blinded by passion, induced him to treat the Constable of Bourbon with such gross injustice, that this powerful noble entered into a secret intrigue with the emperor, and agreed to raise the standard of revolt. The discovery of the plot delayed the French king's march into Italy; and though he protected his own territories, the Milanese was irrecoverably lost. Encouraged by this success, Charles commanded the imperial generals to invade France on the side of Provence, while the king of England promised to attack it on the north. Had this plan been executed, Francis must have been ruined; but Wolsey, provoked by the elevation of Clement VII. to the papacy, on the death of Adrian, avenged himself for the broken promises of the emperor, abated Henry's ardour for enterprise, and

persuaded him to keep his forces at home under pretence of resisting the Scots, who had embraced the side of the French king. Charles, unable to command money, could not make a diversion on the side of Spain or the Netherlands, and the imperialists, having uselessly wasted the country, were compelled to retire from Provence.

Elated by his success, Francis hastened to invade Italy; but instead of pressing the pursuit of the shattered imperialists, he laid siege to Pavia, and thus gave his adversaries time to strengthen and recruit their forces. With similar imprudence, he sent a large detachment to invade Naples, hoping that the viceroy of that kingdom would withdraw a large portion of the imperialists from the Milanese for its defence. But Charles's generals having received a strong reinforcement raised in Germany by the Constable of Bourbon, attacked the French in their intrenchments, and gained a decisive victory, in which Francis himself was made prisoner.

This great calamity was principally owing to the romantic notions of honour entertained by the French king; he had vowed that he would take Pavia or perish in the attempt; and rather than expose himself to the imputation of breaking a promise of chivalry, he remained in his intrenchments, though the means of safe retreat were open to him. Never did armies engage with greater ardour than the French and imperialists before the walls of Pavia (February 24th, 1525). On the one hand, a gallant young monarch, seconded by a generous nobility, and followed by subjects, to whose natural impetuosity indignation at the opposition which they had encountered added new force, contended for victory and honour. On the other side, troops more completely disciplined, and conducted by generals of greater abilities, fought, from necessity, with courage heightened by despair. The imperialists, however, were unable to resist the first efforts of the French valour, and their firmest battalions began to give way. But the fortune of the day was quickly changed. The Swiss in the service of France, unmindful of the reputation of their country for fidelity and martial glory, abandoned their post in a cowardly manner. The garrison of Pavia sallied out and attacked the rear of the French during the heat of the action with such fury as threw it into confusion; and Pescara, falling on their cavalry with the imperial horse, among whom he had prudently intermingled a considerable number of Spanish foot, armed with the heavy muskets then in use, broke this formidable body by an unusual method of attack, against which they were totally unprovided. The rout became universal, and resistance ceased in almost every part but where the king was in person, who fought now, not for fame or victory, but for safety. Though wounded in several places and thrown from his horse, which was killed under him, Francis defended himself on foot with an heroic courage. Many of his bravest officers, gathering round him, and endeavouring to save his life at the

expense of their own, fell at his feet. The king, exhausted with fatigue and scarcely capable of further resistance, was left almost alone, exposed to the fury of some Spanish soldiers, strangers to his rank, and enraged at his obstinacy. At that moment came up Pomperant, a French gentleman who had entered, together with Bourbon, into the emperor's service, and placing himself by the side of the monarch against whom he had rebelled, assisted in protecting him from the violence of the soldiers; at the same time beseeching him to surrender to Bourbon, who was not far distant. Imminent as the danger was which now surrounded Francis, he rejected with indignation the thoughts of an action which would have afforded such triumph to his traitorous subject; and calling for Launoy, who also happened to be near at hand, gave up his sword to him; which he, kneeling to kiss the king's hand, received with profound respect; and taking his own sword from his side, presented it to him, saying "that it did not become so great a monarch to remain disarmed in the presence of one of the emperor's subjects."

Although Launoy treated his royal captive with all the marks of respect due to his rank and character, he nevertheless guarded him with the utmost precaution. He was solicitous, not only to prevent any possibility of his escaping, but afraid that his own troops might seize his person, and detain it as the best security for the payment of their arrears. In order to provide against both these dangers, he conducted Francis, the day after the battle, to a strong castle, and committed him to the custody of an officer remarkable for the strict vigilance which such a trust required. Francis, who formed a judgment of the emperor's disposition by his own, was extremely desirous that Charles should be informed of his situation, fondly hoping that, from his generosity or sympathy, he should obtain speedy relief. He therefore gave a passport to an imperial officer to carry the intelligence of the battle of Pavia and his own capture through France, as the communication with Spain by land was the most safe and certain at this season of the year.

Charles received the account of this signal success with affected moderation, but at the same time deliberated with the utmost solicitude how he might derive the greatest advantages from the misfortunes of his adversary. His first demands were that Francis should restore the duchy of Burgundy, which, as we have seen, was dishonourably wrested from his ancestors by Louis XI.; that Provence and Dauphiné should be erected into an independent kingdom for the constable of Bourbon; that satisfaction should be made to the king of England for his claims on France; and that all the pretensions of France to territories in Italy should be renounced for ever. Francis was so indignant at being required to make such ignominious concessions, that he drew his dagger, and made an attempt to commit suicide; he was of course

prevented, and it was hinted that a personal interview with the emperor would lead to the offer of more equitable conditions. Francis himself was of the same opinion; he was sent in a Spanish galley to Barcelona, from whence he was removed to Madrid; but on reaching that city, he was sent to the Alcazar, and guarded more carefully than ever, and it appeared evident that the king's reliance on the emperor's generosity had been wholly misplaced.

But this triumph, which seemed to have made Charles master of Italy and arbiter of Europe, so far from yielding the substantial advantages which might reasonably have been expected, served only to array against him the jealousy of England, of the Italian states, and of the Protestant princes of Germany. At the same time the disorganized condition of his finances, and the consequent difficulty of finding pay, subsistence or the munitions of war for his soldiers, reduced his Italian armies to inactivity in the very moment of victory. Henry VIII. was the first of the imperial allies to set the example of defection; he entered into a defensive alliance with Louise, the queen-regent of France, in which all the differences between him and her soon were adjusted; at the same time he engaged that he would employ his best offices in order to deliver his new ally from a state of captivity. Imprisonment soon began to produce such injurious effects on the mental and bodily health of Francis, that Charles began to fear that all his plans might be frustrated by the death of his captive, and he therefore sought a personal interview with him, in which he held out a hope of milder conditions of liberation.

The chief obstacle that stood in the way of Francis's liberty was the emperor's continuing to insist so peremptorily on the restitution of Burgundy as a preliminary to that event. But the history of Burgundy while an independent duchy, as detailed in preceding sections, sufficiently proves that compliance with such a demand would have reduced the monarch of France to a state of complete dependence on his nominal vassals. Francis often declared that he would never consent to dismember his kingdom; and that, if even he should so far forget the duties of a monarch as to come to such a resolution, the fundamental laws of the kingdom would prevent its taking effect. Finding that the emperor was inflexible on the point he suddenly took the resolution of resigning his crown, with all its rights and prerogatives, to his son the dauphin, determining rather to end his days in prison than to purchase his freedom by concessions unworthy of a king.

Charles was so alarmed by this resolution that he consented to modify his demands so far as not to insist on the restitution of Burgundy until the king was set at liberty. The remaining conditions of the treaty were sufficiently onerous; but a few hours before signing them, Francis assembled such of his counsellors as happened to be in

Madrid, and having exacted from them a solemn oath of secrecy, he made a long enumeration in their presence of the dishonourable acts as well as unprincely rigour which the emperor had employed in order to ensnare or intimidate him. For that reason, he took a formal protest in the hands of notaries that his consent to the treaty should be considered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void. By this disingenuous artifice, for which the treatment he had received was no apology, Francis endeavoured to satisfy his honour and conscience in signing the treaty, and to provide at the same time a pretext on which to break it.

About a month after the signing of the treaty, the regent's ratification of it was brought from France, and two princes of the blood sent as hostages for its execution. At last Francis took leave of the emperor, whose suspicion of the king's sincerity increasing as the time of putting it to the proof approached, he attempted to bind him still faster by exacting new promises, which after those he had already made, the French monarch was not slow to grant. He set out from Madrid, a place which the remembrance of so many afflicting circumstances rendered peculiarly odious to him, with the joy natural on such an occasion, and began the long-wished-for journey towards his own dominions. He was escorted by a body of horse, under the command of Alarçon, who, as the king drew near the frontiers of France, guarded him with more scrupulous exactness than ever. When he arrived at the river Andaye, which separates the two kingdoms, Lautrec, one of his favourite generals appeared on the opposite bank, with a guard of horse equal in number to Alarçon's. An empty bark was moored in the middle of the stream; the attendants drew up in order on the opposite banks; at the same instant Launoy put off with eight gentlemen from the Spanish, and Lautrec with the same number from the French side of the river; the former had the king in his boat; the latter the two princely hostages, the dauphin and the duke of Orleans; they met in the empty vessel; the exchange was made in a moment; Francis, after a short embrace of his children, leaped into Lautrec's boat, and reached the French shore. He mounted at that instant a Turkish horse, waved his hand over his head, and, with a joyous voice, cried aloud several times, "I am yet a king!" then, putting spurs to his horse, he galloped at full speed to St. Jean de Luz, and thence to Bayonne. This event, no less impatiently desired by the French people than their monarch, happened on the 18th of March, 1526, a year and twenty-two days after the fatal battle of Pavia.

The states of Burgundy afforded Francis the first opportunity of refusing to fulfil the conditions of his liberation. They represented to the monarch that he had no right to make a transfer of their allegiance without their consent, and that they would rather assert their independence than submit to a foreign dominion. Upon this, Francis,

turning towards the imperial ambassadors, represented to them the impossibility of performing what he had undertaken, and offered, in lieu of Burgundy, to pay the emperor two millions of crowns. The ambassadors, who were well aware that the entire scene had been concerted between the king and the states, refused to admit any modification of the treaty; they returned to Madrid, and Charles, who perceived that he had been over-reached, exclaimed in the most public manner and in the harshest terms against Francis, as a prince void of faith and honour. The French king, on the other hand, asserted that no promise obtained by force was binding, and easily obtained from the pope a full absolution from all the obligations which he had contracted.

During this period, Germany was cruelly harassed by insurrections of the peasants, goaded to madness by the oppressions of their lords. In Thuringia, where a great part of the population had been converted to Lutheranism, Muncer, a wild fanatic, became the leader of the insurgents, and by stimulating their ignorant zeal, added religious bigotry to the horrors of civil war. Luther sincerely lamented the scandal that these disturbances brought on the cause of the reformation; but his own marriage with a nun who had broken her vows gave such general offence, that his influence, for a season, was greatly diminished.

Francis was not long at liberty before he not only protested against the treaty of Madrid and refused to fulfil any of its stipulations, but organized a new league against Charles, which was named "Holy," because the pope was its nominal head. The Venetians, the duke of Milan, and the English king, joined the confederacy; but their operations were so slow and feeble, that the imperialists easily maintained their ascendancy in the north of Italy. The constable of Bourbon, irritated by the vacillating conduct of the pope, marched against Rome, heedless of the truce that had been granted to the pontiff by the viceroy of Naples. "The eternal city" was taken by assault, and suffered more severely from the soldiers of a catholic king than from the barbarous pagans of an earlier age. Bourbon fell in the assault; but the command of the imperialists devolved on the prince of Orange, who besieged the pope in the castle of St. Angelo, and compelled him to yield himself a prisoner (A.D. 1527). Charles received the intelligence of this success with contemptible hypocrisy; he professed the most sincere sorrow for the captivity of the holy pontiff, and ordered prayers to be offered for his deliverance in all the Spanish churches, instead of sending orders for his liberation. So great was the indignation excited by the harsh treatment of the pope, that Francis was enabled to invade Italy and penetrate to the very walls of Naples. But here his prosperity ended; the pope, liberated from captivity, resolved to conciliate the emperor; the Venetians

became jealous of the French power, and, finally, the Genoese hero, Andrew Doria, roused by the wrongs which Francis had inflicted on himself and his country, revolted to the emperor, and turned the scale of the war by making the imperialists superior at sea. Doria's first care was to restore the republic of Genoa; and such was the opinion entertained of his patriotism and disinterestedness, that he was universally called "THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY AND THE RESTORER OF ITS LIBERTY" (A.D. 1528). These circumstances, and the defeat of his army in the Milanese, inclined Francis to peace; a treaty was negotiated at Cambray by the emperor's aunt and the king's mother, but the fair diplomatists left enough of disputable points unsettled to furnish grounds for a future war.

Charles having thus prevailed over France, resolved to make a vigorous struggle to crush the reformation in Germany, but the Protestant princes, undismayed by his power, formed a league for their mutual protection at Smalkald (A.D. 1530), and applied to the kings of France and England to patronize their confederacy. Henry VIII. was eager to grant them support; he was desirous to be divorced from his wife, Catherine of Arragon, the emperor's aunt, and attributed the pope's reluctance to the intrigues of Charles. Hostilities were for a time averted by the emperor's making some important concessions, for he was anxious to have his brother Ferdinand chosen as his successor, with the title of King of the Romans, and the progress of the Turks, on his eastern frontiers, could only be resisted by the united strength of the empire.

Francis had concluded peace at Cambray, because he was no longer able to maintain war. He sought the earliest opportunity of renewing hostilities, and secured the friendship of the pope, by uniting his son, the duke of Orleans, to the pontiff's niece, Catherine de Medicis. But, though he thus gained one ally, he lost others. Henry VIII., inflamed by love of Anne Boleyn, and enraged by the pope's confirmation of his marriage with Catharine, no longer kept any measures with the court of Rome; his subjects seconded his resentment; an act of parliament was passed, abolishing the papal power and jurisdiction in England (A.D. 1534); by another act, the king was declared supreme head of the Church, and all the authority of which the popes were deprived, was vested in him. Henry was thus disinclined to support the pope's ally, and the Protestant princes of Germany viewed Francis with some suspicion, because he persecuted the reformed in his own dominions. The death of Clement VII., and the election of Paul III., an adherent of the emperor, suddenly deprived Francis of the papal aid, on which he had confidently calculated, and compelled him to delay his projects for troubling the peace of Europe.

The insurrection of the Anabaptists, a new set of fanatics in Germany, and the emperor's expedition against the piratical states of

Barbary, employed men's minds for a season. The suppression of the fanatics, and the conquest of Tunis, crowned the emperor with glory, yet it was at this moment that Francis chose to renew the war, (A.D. 1535). Savoy was immediately overrun by the French troops, and its unfortunate duke in vain implored the aid of the emperor, whose resources had been exhausted in the African war. It was on this occasion that Charles challenged his rival to single combat, in which farcical proposal he only imitated the former follies of Francis. On the other hand, the death of the dauphin, amid the joy occasioned by the repulse of the imperialists, who had invaded Provence, was absurdly attributed to poison, administered by emissaries of Charles. To complete the exhibition of folly, Francis summoned Charles, as count of Flanders, to appear before the parliament of Paris, and on his refusal, he was declared to have forfeited the Low Countries to his feudal superior. The war itself was languidly conducted, but the pope, alarmed by the progress of the Turks, personally interfered, and a truce for ten years was concluded between the two sovereigns at Nice (A.D. 1538).

The religious disputes in Germany between the princes of the Protestant and those of the Catholic league, the struggles made by the pope to prevent the meeting of a general council, unless under circumstances that would give him complete control over its deliberations, filled Charles with anxiety, which was not a little increased by the turbulent disposition of his Flemish subjects, and the success of the Turks in Hungary. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, he undertook an expedition against Algiers (A.D. 1541), but his fleet was shattered by a storm, his army wasted by a pestilential disease, and his stores of provision rendered unavailing. He was compelled to return, overwhelmed with loss and disgrace, and his defeat raised the courage of his enemies so high that he had to encounter a new war in Europe.

Francis was eager to take advantage of his rival's distress, and the crime of the imperial governor of the Milanese furnished him with a decent pretext. This imprudent functionary seized two ambassadors, sent from the Parisian court to Turkey, and put them to death, in direct violation of the law of nations. Francis now changed his plan of operations; acting on the defensive in Italy, he invaded the Netherlands and Rousillon (A.D. 1542), but failed to make any permanent impression. Charles found an ally in the king of England: the death of his aunt had removed the great source of enmity between the emperor and Henry, and the close alliance between France and Scotland, recently cemented by the marriage of the Scotch king, James V., to a French princess, Mary of Guise, had excited great jealousy and alarm in England. Henry, with his usual impetuosity, having introduced the reformation into England, became anxious that Scotland should also withdraw its allegiance from the pope, and

endeavoured to win his nephew James to adopt his plan, by the most advantageous offers. The influence of the Scottish clergy prevailed over that of the English monarch, and Henry in his fury proclaimed war against Scotland. In the midst of these troubles, James V. died, leaving his dominions to his infant daughter, Mary, the celebrated and unfortunate queen of Scots. This changed all Henry's plans; he aimed at uniting the two kingdoms, by effecting a marriage between his son Edward and Mary, but he knew that this could only be effected by crushing the French party in Scotland, and eager to accomplish this object he readily entered into the alliance against Francis.

The French monarch, on the other hand, entered into close union with the Turks, and courted the support of the German Protestants; but the princes of the empire refused to join so bitter a persecutor of the reformed doctrines, and his only ally, the duke of Cleves, was forced to submit to Charles. The sultan afforded him more effective support, he invaded Hungary in person, and sent the celebrated admiral and pirate, Barbarossa, to join the French in invading Italy. Nice was besieged by their united forces; to the astonishment and scandal of all Christendom, the lilies of France and the crescent of Mohammed appeared in conjunction against a fortress, on which the cross of Savoy was displayed. The allies were finally compelled to raise the siege, and Francis had not even the poor consolation of success, in return for the infamy of having taken as auxiliaries the deadly enemies of Christianity. The battle of Cerisoles (A.D. 1544) gave his arms the fame of useless victory, but it did not prevent the cotemporary invasion of France by the emperor on the side of Lorraine, and the English through Calais. Had Charles and Henry acted in concert, Francis must have yielded unconditionally, but he took advantage of their disunion to conclude a separate peace with the emperor at Crespy (A.D. 1544). Henry VIII. continued the war for some time longer, but it did not produce any event of consequence. Charles had now secured his predominance in Italy, and was secretly preparing to restore the imperial authority in Germany. Death removed his two powerful cotemporaries, Francis and Henry, in the same year (A.D. 1547), both of whom would have been dangerous antagonists. Though Henry's motives in favouring the reformation were not very pure, his intense hatred of the popes must have induced him to protect the Protestant interest in Germany.

The secularization of Prussia, by Albert of Brandenburg (A.D. 1525), was the first example of the seizure of church property, consequent on the change of religion; but the indignation of the Catholic princes, and the ambition of the Protestants, were restrained by the Turkish and the French wars. Still the emperor's conduct at the diets of Spire and Augsburg, the pope's anxiety to convene a council subservient to his will, and the intrigues of the ecclesiastics in the states that retained

their connection with Rome, compelled the Protestants to renew the league of Smalkald, and assign the fixed contingent of men and arms that should be supplied by the several members. When the council of Trent finally opened (A.D. 1545), its very form and its first decision rendered it impossible for the Protestants to take any part in it. But the peace of Crespy left them unprotected, and their want of mutual confidence prevented them from acting in concert. At the very commencement of the war, Prince Maurice of Saxony deserted the league and joined the emperor; John Frederic, the elector of Saxony, and chief leader of the Protestants, was made prisoner at the battle of Mühlberg (A.D. 1547), and his dominions rewarded the treachery of Maurice. The landgrave of Hesse, the last hope of the Reformers, was inveigled to visit the emperor, at Halle, and dishonourably detained as a captive.

This rapid success of the emperor alarmed the pope, who began to fear that Charles would prevail upon the council to limit his pontifical authority, and the two potentates, apparently believing the Protestant cause crushed, began to seek for their own private advantages. Charles published a code of doctrines called the "Interim," because the regulations it contained were only to be in force until the convocation of a free general council, and this edict which was strictly conformable to the tenets of the Romish church, he resolved to enforce on the empire (A.D. 1548). Catholics and Protestants equally declaimed against this summary mode of settling a nation's faith, but the emperor scarcely encountered any open resistance, except from the free city of Magdeburgh, and an army sent to reduce this disobedient place, was entrusted to Maurice of Saxony.

* Maurice was secretly dissatisfied with the conduct of the emperor, and was especially grieved by the detention of his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse. He formed a bold plan for compelling the emperor, by a sudden attack, to establish religious freedom, and liberate the landgrave, but concealed his projects, until the most favourable moment for putting them into execution. On the surrender of Magdeburgh (A.D. 1551), he contrived to win the confidence of the garrison and the citizens, without awakening the suspicions of the emperor, and he entered into a secret treaty with Henry II. of France, the son and successor of Francis. No words can describe the astonishment and distress of the emperor, when Maurice, having completed his preparations, published his manifesto, detailing the grievances which he required to be redressed. The active prince proceeded with so much promptitude and vigour, that Charles narrowly escaped being made prisoner at Innspruck. The council of Trent was broken up; the prelates tumultuously voted a prorogation for two years, but more than ten elapsed before its proceedings were renewed. The emperor had the mortification to see all his projects overthrown by the prince

whom he had most trusted, and was compelled to sign a treaty at Passau, by which the captive princes were restored to liberty, and a free exercise of their religion secured to the Protestants (A.D. 1552). The war with France lasted three years longer; it was conducted without any great battles, but on the whole, proved unfavourable to the emperor. From the hour that the treaty of Passau had wrested from Charles V. the fruits of his whole political career, he felt that his crowns were heavy on his brows. The principles of mutual toleration were formally sanctioned by the diet of Augsburg: Paul IV., who may be esteemed the successor of Pope Julius—for the twenty days' reign of Marcellus produced no political event—was so offended, that he became the avowed enemy of the house of Austria, and entered into close alliance with the king of France. A storm was approaching, when Charles, to the great surprise of the world, abdicated his dominions.

Though a prince of moderate abilities, Charles V. had reigned with more glory than most European sovereigns. A king of France and a pope had been his captives; his dominions were more extensive than those of Alexander, or of Rome. By his generals, or his ministers, he had acquired all the objects which usually excite ambition; he had gained even the distinction of being regarded as the champion of orthodoxy, in an age when toleration was a crime. But the triumph of civilization over the system of the middle ages, of which he was at once the last support and the last representative, was certain and complete, and he could not resist the mortification of finding himself vanquished; the peace of Passau was to him "the hand-writing on the wall;" it announced that his policy was past, and his destiny accomplished. The feebleness of old age overtook him at fifty-six; harassed by vain repinings, overwhelmed by infirmities, he felt that he could no longer appear a hero, and he desired to seem a sage. He became a hermit, removed all his diadems from his head, and sank into voluntary obscurity. He was, however, sure to be regretted, for he bequeathed to the world his successor, the sanguinary Philip, just as Augustus adopted Tiberius.

The Protestant religion was first legally established in England by Edward VI., the pious son of the profligate Henry. But the troubles occasioned by his minority, and the ambition of his guardians, prevented the reformed church from being fixed on a permanent foundation. Edward died young (A.D. 1553), and the papal dominion was restored by his bigoted successor and sister, Mary. Charles, having failed to procure the empire for his son Philip, negotiated a marriage between that prince and Queen Mary, which was concluded, much to the dissatisfaction of the British nation. Mary's cruel persecutions of the Protestants failed to reconcile her subjects to the yoke

of Rome, and on her death (A.D. 1558), the reformed religion was triumphantly restored by her sister Elizabeth.

The diet which assembled at Augsburg, (A.D. 1555), did not secure to the Protestants all the advantages they had a right to expect. Maurice had fallen in a petty war, and they had no leader fit to be his successor. With strange imprudence, the Lutherans consented to the exclusion of the Calvinists from the benefits of religious toleration, and left several important questions undecided, the pregnant source of future wars. When the labours of the diet terminated, Charles, mortified at being forced to resign the hope of securing the empire to his son, saddened by his experience of the instability of fortune, and broken down by illness, resolved to abdicate his double authority. He resigned the sceptre of Spain and the Netherlands to his son, Philip II., and the imperial crown some months after to his brother Ferdinand: he then retired to the monastery of St. Justus, in Valladolid, where he died (A.D. 1558).

The long struggle for religious freedom during the reign of Charles V. terminated in favour of the Reformation; but the Romish church was far from being subdued, and it derived most efficient support from the institution of the Jesuits, a political rather than religious society, admirably organized for the support of the highest and most unyielding assumptions of papal authority. This body became formidable from its unity and the secrecy of its operations, but it at length excited the alarm of Catholic princes, and was suppressed in the last century.

In the course of the wars between Charles and Francis, the republic of Venice, which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, had appeared so formidable that almost all the potentates of Europe united in a confederacy for its destruction, declined from its ancient power and splendour. The Venetians not only lost a great part of their territory in the war excited by the league of Cambray, but the revenues as well as vigour of the state were exhausted by their extraordinary and long-continued efforts in their own defence, and that commerce by which they had acquired their wealth and power began to decay without any hopes of its reviving. All the fatal consequences to their republic, which the sagacity of the Venetian senate foresaw on the first discovery of a passage to the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope, actually took place. Their endeavours to prevent the Portuguese from establishing themselves in the East Indies, not only by exciting the Mameluke sultans of Egypt and the Ottoman monarchs to turn their arms against such dangerous intruders, but by affording secret aid to the infidels in order to ensure their success, proved ineffectual. The activity and valour of the Portuguese surmounted every obstacle, and obtained such a firm footing in that

fertile country, as secured to them large possessions with an influence still more extensive. Lisbon instead of Venice became the staple [for the precious commodities of the East. The Venetians, after having possessed for many years the monopoly of that beneficial commerce, had the mortification to be excluded from almost any share in it. The discoveries of the Spaniards in the western world proved no less fatal to inferior branches of commerce. When the sources from which the state derived its extraordinary riches and power were dried up, its interior vigour declined, and of course its external operations became less formidable. Long before the middle of the sixteenth century, Venice ceased to be one of the principal powers in Europe, and dwindled into a secondary and subaltern state. But as the senate had the address to conceal the diminution of its power under the veil of moderation and caution; as it made no rash effort that could discover its weakness; as the symptoms of political decay in states are not soon observed, and are seldom so apparent to their neighbours as to occasion any sudden alteration in their conduct towards them, Venice continued long to be considered and respected. She was treated not according to her present condition, but according to the rank which she had formerly held. Charles V., as well as the kings of France, his rivals, courted her assistance with emulation and solicitude in all their enterprises. Even down to the close of the century, Venice remained not only an object of attention, but a considerable seat of political negotiation and intrigue.

That authority which the first Cosmo de Medici and Lorenzo his grandson had acquired in the republic of Florence by their beneficence and abilities, inspired their descendants with the ambition of usurping the sovereignty in their country and paving their way towards it. Charles V. placed Alexander de Medici at the head of the republic (A.D. 1530), and to the natural interest and power of the family added the weight as well as the credit of the imperial protection. Of these his successor Cosmo, surnamed the Great, availed himself; and establishing his supreme authority on the ruins of the ancient republican constitution, he transmitted that together with the title of grand duke of Tuscany to his descendants. Their dominions were composed of the territories which had belonged to the three commonwealths of Florence, Pisa, and Sienna, and formed one of the most respectable of the Italian states.

SECTION VIII.—*The Age of Elizabeth.*

THE accession of Elizabeth was the crisis of the Reformation in Great Britain; as she was the daughter of Anne Boleyn, whose marriage with Henry VIII. had not been sanctioned by the Romish church,

her title was not recognized by the Catholics, and the king of France permitted his daughter-in-law, Mary, queen of Scots, to assume the arms and title of England. Elizabeth secured herself by entering into secret alliance with the heads of the Protestant party in Scotland, who succeeded in withdrawing that kingdom from its allegiance to the pope, and so fettering the royal authority, that the queen dowager, who acted as regent for her daughter, was too much harassed at home to make any hostile attempt on England. Connected with the cause of the Reformation by her own interests, Elizabeth was naturally regarded as the head of the Protestants in Europe, while Philip II. was the champion of the Catholics. Hence England became the counterpoise to Spain in this age, as France had been in the preceding. But the ancient rivalry between France and Spain was of the highest importance to England; it prevented a cordial union between the Catholic powers of Europe for checking the progress of the Reformation, and it secured support for her doubtful title, ere her noble qualities becoming known, earned for her the best of all securities, the affections of the English nation.

Mary, queen of Scots, was the niece of Henry VIII., and next heir to his crown if the illegitimacy of Elizabeth were established; she was wedded to the heir-apparent of the French monarchy; her maternal uncles, the princes of Lorraine, were remarkable for capacity, valour, and daring ambition, and she had reasonable prospects of success at a time when Scotland was divided between the contending communions, Ireland altogether Catholic, and while Catholics predominated in the north of England. The death of Henry II., by a mortal wound in a tournament, raised Mary's husband, the feeble Francis II., to the French throne, and through the young queen's influence transferred the power of the monarchy to the princes of Lorraine. The bigoted Philip II. was so alarmed at the probable accession of power to his great rivals, that he not only acknowledged Elizabeth's title, but proffered her marriage. She declined the offer, and Philip gave his hand to the princess Elizabeth of France, and concluded a treaty with that power at Château Cambresis. Though no express stipulations were made, it was well known that the extirpation of heresy formed a part of this alliance between the two great Catholic powers; it led to a furious war of religion, which ended in the establishment of a new European state.

Before entering on the history of the religious wars in France and the Netherlands, it is of importance to examine the state of England and Scotland during the early part of Elizabeth's reign. On the death of Francis II. (Dec. 1560), Mary was compelled to return to her native dominions by the jealousy of her mother-in-law, Catherine de Medicis, who secretly envied the power of the princes of Lorraine. She left France with a heavy heart, and from the very first moment

of her landing had to endure indignities the most mortifying to her proud spirit. Popery had been overthrown in Scotland, but the Protestantism erected in its stead was just as bigoted and as intolerant as the ancient creed had been in the worst of times. Still, the winning manners of the queen, and the weakness of her party, prevented any immediate outbreak; and the confidence of the Protestants in the earl of Moray restrained the violence of their fanaticism. The marriage of Mary to the young Lord Darnley, in spite of the remonstrances both of Elizabeth and Lord Moray (A.D. 1565), led to the first open breach between the queen and her subjects. Several lords, indignant at the refusal of security to the Protestant religion, sought safety in England, and they soon gained Darnley himself to join their association. An Italian, of mean birth, David Rizzio, having been appointed private secretary to the queen, gained such an ascendancy over her, that Darnley's jealousy was roused; he entered into a conspiracy with the exiled lords, introduced an armed band secretly into the palace, arrested Rizzio in the queen's presence, and murdered him at the door of her chamber. The birth of a son led to an apparent reconciliation between Mary and her husband; but its hollowness was proved by Darnley's being excluded from witnessing the baptism of his own child. The appearance of renewed affection was maintained notwithstanding this insult; Darnley fell sick, Mary visited him with apparent anxiety, and, under the pretence that quiet was necessary to an invalid, removed him to a solitary house called the Kirk of Field. On the 9th of February, 1567, this house was blown up with gunpowder, and the unfortunate Darnley's lifeless body carried to some distance, where it was found without any external mark of violence. The measures taken by Mary to screen Bothwell, universally regarded as the author of this crime, and her subsequent marriage to that nobleman, seemed conclusive evidence that she had countenanced her husband's murder. The Scottish lords flew to arms; Mary was forced to yield herself a prisoner to her irritated subjects, and Bothwell fled into exile.

The unfortunate queen, confined in Lochleven castle, was forced to abdicate in favour of her son, who was crowned with the title of James VI. She escaped from her prison, and soon found herself at the head of a numerous army, but within eleven days from her deliverance she was completely defeated in the battle of Langside, and forced to seek refuge in England (A.D. 1568.) Elizabeth placed the fugitive in close custody, a measure which her safety perhaps demanded, but which was scarcely consistent with her honour. The insurrections of the Catholic lords in the northern counties, and Mary's intrigues with the duke of Norfolk, combined with the open attempts of the Catholic states against Elizabeth, rendered the unfortunate queen's detention a matter of prudent expediency, if not of prime necessity.

The imbecile Francis II. succeeded his father Henry on the throne of France; during his brief reign he was the mere tool of the Guises, whose great anxiety was to establish the Inquisition in France. Philip II. was engaged in a similar attempt in the Netherlands, and both provoked a desperate resistance. Like his father Charles V., Philip was ambitious of universal monarchy, but he used different means; he hoped to gain the clergy by his zeal, to win the nobles by the bribes which the wealth of Spanish America enabled him to offer, and to subdue the people by the united efforts of ecclesiastical and aristocratic influence. But in the Netherlands, as in France, the proposal to establish the Inquisition was a fatal error of despotism; it provoked the fierce resistance of all who were worthy of their country, it identified the papacy with cruelty and slavery, it gave to the reformed leaders the proud title of deliverers of their country. The election of Pius IV. to the chair of St. Peter precipitated the civil war in France (A.D. 1560). A conspiracy was formed for removing the Guises, in which many ardent Catholics joined; it was discovered and defeated, but the sanguinary cruelty of the Lorraine princes rendered their victory injurious to their cause; the memory of the martyrs they slaughtered won proselytes, and confirmed opposition. So powerful were the Huguenots, that liberty of conscience was sanctioned in an assembly of the Notables at Fontainebleau; and it was proposed to convoke a national council for regulating the affairs of the Gallican church. Had France been ruled by an energetic sovereign, acquainted with the interests of his crown and the wishes of the nation, the French church at this moment might have been rendered as independent of Rome as the English; the pope saw the danger, and he induced Francis to abandon the national synod, by promising the speedy convocation of a general council. Both the emperor and the king of France objected to reassembling the bishops at Trent, declaring that its name was odious to the Protestants; but the ill-health of Francis II., who was fast sinking into the grave, induced Pius to quicken his proceedings, and bulls for the continuation of the council were issued. In the mean time the States-General assembled in France. The prince of Condé and the king of Navarre, the great leaders of the Huguenot party, were arrested when they appeared at court, and the former received sentence of death. But the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, dreading that the regency would be seized by the Guises when the king died, secretly intrigued with the Huguenots to secure their support, and the life of Condé was the pledge and the reward of their assistance. But while she thus courted the alliance of the Protestants, she secretly informed Philip II. that her hatred of the Reformation was unabated, and that she only waited a favourable opportunity to imitate his example of merciless butchery and persecution. She intrigued with both parties, a fatal error; for had she frankly embraced one, she would have

stamped the other with the character of revolt; her Italian cunning only served to render civil war inevitable.

The duke of Guise saw clearly that, to sustain the part he designed to act, it was necessary to attempt something of more than ordinary magnitude; he raised the cry, "the Church is in danger;" ignorance and bigotry responded to the summons; he placed himself at the head of the zealous supporters of papal infallibility, hoping to destroy, by one blow, the queen-regent, who was suspected of culpable indifference to the interests of the faith, the government, which seemed ready to recognize the principles of toleration, and the Huguenots. Like his opponents, he appealed to the people, and attempted to guide public opinion; like them, too, he declared himself the steadfast friend of the monarchy; thus the struggle between the two parties had for its prize the throne of France, and for its pretext the defence of royalty.

In the mean time the council of Trent continued its deliberations, without showing any symptom of a desire to conciliate the spirit of the age, by improving either the doctrine or the discipline of the Church. The bishops wasted their time in scholastic disputations, and proved how delusive were their professions of a desire for peace, by celebrating the victory obtained over the Huguenots at Dreux, by a public thanksgiving. In fact, the council terrified nobody but Pius IV., who saw his power attacked on every side. Maximilian, the son of the Emperor Ferdinand, having been elected king of the Romans, refused for a long time to receive the sanction of his election from the pontiff, and finally accepted it as a mere ceremony, venerable on account of its antiquity; it would have been better for the Holy See to have abjured such a privilege, than to have it preserved as a subject of ridicule and mockery.

But though the public proceedings at Trent were far from injuring the progress of the Reformation, there were secret plans devised fraught with imminent peril to the Protestants. One of these was revealed, by the imprudence of the cardinal of Lorraine. On the 10th of May, 1563, he read a letter from his niece, Mary, queen of Scots, "submitting herself to the council, and promising that, when she succeeded to the throne of England, she would subject both her kingdoms to the obedience due to the Apostolic See." He added, verbally, that she would have sent prelates, as representatives of Scotland, to the council, had she not been restrained by the necessity of keeping terms with her heretical councillors. The Italians were engaged everywhere alarming monarchs with the republican tendency of the Reformation; a charge which seemed to derive some support from the revolts of the peasants in Germany, the troubles in Flanders, and the confusion of France. Philip II. was not the only sovereign who regarded heretics as rebels, and believed that the papacy would be found an efficient aid to despotism in crushing civil as well as religious liberty.

At length the council of Trent terminated its sittings; eighteen years of debate had produced no plan of reform for ecclesiastical morals, discipline, or doctrine (A.D. 1564). One of the last acts of the assembled fathers was to issue an anathema against heretics, which justified the Protestants in their refusal to recognize the acts of the council. But we should commit a great error if we supposed that this last of the general councils produced no change in the constitution of the papacy; it organized the spiritual despotism of the popes, clearly perceiving that the temporal empire was irrecoverably lost, and it placed the Holy See in the position of an ally to the monarchs who were eager to maintain despotic power. From the time of this council to the present day, every sovereign of France and Spain, remarkable for hostility to constitutional freedom, has been equally conspicuous for his attachment to the Holy See, and the articles of faith ratified by the council of Trent. It was by this assembly that the marriage of priests was definitely prohibited. We have already shown how necessary an element this law has been to the spiritual despotism possessed, and temporal supremacy claimed, by the pope. Family and country had no ties on the bishops of the Catholic church; Rome enjoyed exclusive possession of every feeling that can render a man a good subject or a good citizen; the infallibility and omnipotence of the pope were made articles of faith, by prelates whose whole heart was engaged in supporting the supremacy of the Holy See; the popes could rouse nations to revolt, and trouble empires, because they had obedient emissaries in every parish; the doctrine of implicit submission to the successors of St. Peter was taught by priests, when it could not be enforced by armies, and it was found sufficiently efficacious to harass Europe with a century of war. Pius IV. comprehended the immense value of an unmarried clergy; though he had violently condemned the administration of the eucharist in both kinds, he relaxed the prohibition at the instance of the Emperor Maximilian, and permitted the cup to be given to the laity in Germany; but on the point of celibacy he was inflexible, for he was justly convinced that it was the great bond by which all the portions of papal domination were united, and that, if it should be relaxed the entire edifice would fall in sunder.

After the dissolution of the council, a general suspicion was diffused through the protestants of Europe, that a league for their destruction had been formed by some of the leading Catholic powers. It is now sufficiently notorious that these suspicions were not groundless, and that Pius IV. was weary of the slow steps by which the members of this pretended holy alliance advanced to the verge of an exterminating war. He earnestly urged a personal interview between Catherine de Medicis and Philip II.; it was declined by the latter on account of his ill-health; but he sent a worthy representative, the

duke of Alva, to hold a conference with the queen-regent and her son, Charles IX., at Bayonne. The pretext for the meeting was an interview between the young queen of Spain and her mother, Catherine de Medicis; but the presence of the duke of Alva, the avowed enemy of the Protestants, whose extirpation he openly proclaimed to be his most solemn duty to God or man, was a clear proof that more important designs were contemplated. The days were spent in all the sports and festivities that are to be found in a luxurious and licentious court. But at the dead hour of midnight, when the courtiers, exhausted by the tournament, the table, and the dance, retired to repose, Catherine held secret conferences with Alva in the apartments of her probably unconscious daughter, Elizabeth. They agreed in their object, the destruction of the Huguenots, and all the parties disposed to place restrictions on the royal authority in the French and Spanish dominions, but they differed very widely as to the means by which this might be most effectually accomplished. Alva recommended the most violent measures, edicts of extermination supported by powerful armies, military execution of all who ventured to offer any opposition, and a general massacre of the Huguenot congregations. But though Catherine would not have shown any scruple in adopting these, or even more atrocious plans, she was well aware that Alva's projects could not be executed without the aid of a Spanish army, and she was too jealous of her own authority to allow a foreign court to exercise any influence in the kingdom which she governed as regent. She relied on her own craft and cunning to retain power, for her zeal for religion was always made subservient to her ambition, and she was infinitely more afraid of any combination of the nobles of France to restrain the royal authority, than of the real or supposed progress of heretical opinions. She hated the Huguenots rather as a political than as a religious body, for the aristocratic leaders of the sect were more bent on rendering the nobles independent of the crown, than of delivering the Gallican church from the power of the pope, and it was the aristocratic character thus imprinted on the principles of the Reformation in France, which prevented the Protestant movement from ever becoming popular with the great body of the middle and the lower ranks in France. In their minds it was associated with feudalism, which had become so odious to the French people that they would have accepted the worst form of oriental despotism in preference.

Philip began to execute his part of the agreement by a vigorous effort to establish the Inquisition in Flanders; and to put an end to the insurrection which such a measure provoked, he appointed the duke of Alva lord lieutenant of the Netherlands, with almost absolute authority. Many of the Flemish merchants and manufacturers left their country; they brought their industry and their capital to England,—a circumstance which had no small share in the rapid

growth of England's commercial prosperity. The cruelties of Alva, the noble resistance of the prince of Orange, long the head and hope of the Protestant party in Europe, and the final establishment of the independence of the Seven United Provinces, belong to general history; but in this narrative we must not omit to mention, that Philip's brutal obstinacy was frequently blamed by the court of Rome; the crafty Italians would have preferred fraud to violence, and assassination to the perils of open war (A.D. 1572). It must also be mentioned, that the Turks joined in the contest as the protectors of the Flemings, and that their defeat by Don John of Austria, at Lepanto, finally delivered Europe from the perils with which it was menaced by Mohammedan barbarism. Pius V., who ascended the papal throne (A.D. 1566), was disposed to take advantage of the victory at Lepanto, and organize a league against the Turks; but Philip was jealous of the glory acquired by his brother, and he declared that nothing should divert him from the prosecution of the war in Flanders. This pontiff, who was afterwards canonized as a saint, was inflexible in his hatred of the Protestants, but he made some efforts to remedy the evils of the Church by founding schools and colleges, and excluding persons of immoral life from ecclesiastical dignities. He was succeeded by Gregory XIII.

In the spring of 1560, the French Protestants were detected in a conspiracy for taking the infant king out of the hands of the persecuting Guises, and expelling the entire Lorraine family from France. The massacres with which this crime was punished, produced retaliation, a civil war ensued, which, interrupted by short and unsteady truces, lasted to 1570, when a treaty, favourable to the Huguenots, was concluded at St. Germain. To cement this peace, a marriage was proposed between the young king of Navarre, the hereditary leader of the French Protestants, and the princess Margaret, the beautiful sister of the king of France. The proposal diffused such universal joy, that even the more violent of the Catholic party were forced to acquiesce, and preparations were made for celebrating the nuptials at Paris with extraordinary magnificence. Admiral Coligni and the other Protestant leaders were invited to witness the festivities, and the chief Catholic lords, headed by the duke of Guise, came to share in the general reconciliation.

The events which led to the fearful tragedy that accompanied this marriage, have been so misrepresented by party writers on every side, that it is desirable to state the facts at some length, as they have been narrated by the principal actors themselves. At this period the populace of Paris was the most bigoted and sanguinary mob to be found in Europe. They went beyond the most cruel edicts of their rulers in persecuting all who were suspected of heretical opinions, and not unfrequently took the law into their own hands, against the wishes

of the court and the clergy. The presence of Coligni and the Protestant lords, was, therefore, a source of indignant grief to the fanatical multitude, and nothing but the presence of the royal guards prevented outbursts of popular violence. Guise and his friends, opposed to the Huguenots as heretics, and to their leaders as rivals, fostered this general discontent, while the queen-mother, Catherine, negotiated with both parties, believing that she could only retain power by balancing one against the other.

Charles IX., feeble in body, and weak in intellect, had just attained his legal majority, but the real power of the state was wielded by Catherine and her favourite son, Henry, for whom she always showed herself willing to sacrifice the rest of her children. In some of his conversations with the Protestant lords, Charles complained very bitterly of the state of thralldom in which he was held, and Coligni commiserating the unhappy monarch, promised to aid in his deliverance. The king soon began to vaunt of his design to assume the reins of power, and to remove his mother and brother from the court; they took the alarm, and easily discovering by whose counsels the king was influenced, resolved to assassinate the Admiral Coligni. Henry hired a man for the purpose, and lent him his own gun, but in order to avert suspicion, he stationed the assassin in the lodgings of a retainer of the duke of Guise. Coligni was shot as he passed the house, but the wound was not mortal; before his friends could break open the door, the assassin had escaped, leaving his gun behind him. At first the suspicions of the Protestants were directed against the duke of Guise, but the gun, and some other circumstances, soon led them to discover the real instigators of the plot, and they very imprudently proclaimed their intention to exact heavy vengeance upon Catherine and her favourite son.

In this emergency, Catherine convoked a secret council of her friends, and there it was resolved to massacre all the Huguenots on the eve of St. Bartholomew (A.D. 1572), and thus crush the entire party at one blow. The conspirators, seven in number, were well aware that they could rely on the royal guards, who were still animated by all the passions of the late religious wars, and they also knew that the Parisian populace waited but a signal of indulgence in the excess of savage bigotry. It was further resolved that the atrocious plot should be kept secret from the king until it was on the eve of execution, but that all arrangements for effectually accomplishing the general slaughter should be made, and everything kept in readiness to begin the moment that his consent had been obtained.

It was late in the evening when Catherine went to Charles, accompanied by her chosen advisers, and told him that the Protestants had formed a plan for the extermination of the royal family, which could only be frustrated by the most immediate and decisive measures. The

feeble monarch, who was not many degrees removed from idiocy, exhibited every sign of helpless alarm : whilst in this condition, his mother placed before him the dreadful decree of extermination, and demanded his signature; Charles at first refused, and for some time it was doubtful whether his consent could be obtained. At length, in a paroxysm of rage mingled with insanity, he exclaimed, "I consent, provided that you kill them all, and leave no survivor to reproach me."

It was about midnight that the sounding of the tocsin summoned the bands of murderers to commence the work of destruction. Most of the unsuspecting Huguenots were massacred in their beds, or shot on the roofs of their houses while attempting to escape; Charles himself, armed with a gun, stationed himself in a tower, from which he fired upon such fugitives as attempted to escape across the Seine; the palace itself was not respected; several of the attendants of the young king of Navarre were murdered in the royal apartments, and he was himself exposed to considerable danger.

The massacre lasted for eight days and nights without any apparent diminution of the fury of the murderers; several Catholics perished, the victims of mistake or of private animosity, and similar atrocities were perpetrated in the principal cities of the kingdom. At first the court seemed disposed to throw the blame of this fearful atrocity on the duke of Guise and his faction, but finding that the guilt could not be concealed, it was openly avowed, and a royal manifesto issued on its justification. The wish of Charles that none should survive to reproach him was not fulfilled; nearly two millions of Huguenots still survived to avenge the fate of their murdered brethren; the civil war was renewed with greater fury than ever; the Protestants felt themselves strengthened by the sympathy of all whom bigotry had not rendered callous to every feeling of humanity; and the authors of this unparalleled crime had the mortification to discover that it had been perpetrated in vain.

While public rejoicings were made at Rome and Madrid, for the supposed overthrow of heresy in France, the horror and indignation excited by the massacre in northern Europe, not only amongst Protestant, but even Catholic princes, proved a serious injury to the Catholic cause. The prince of Orange placed himself at the head of the revolvers in the Netherlands, the Gueux, or Beggars, as they were contemptuously called by their oppressors. Though at first unsuccessful, he gave the insurrection a determinate character by the capture of Brille (A.D. 1572), a conquest which secured him a naval station for his daring cruisers, and encouraged the cities of Holland and Zealand to reject the Spanish yoke. The massacre of Saint Bartholomew weakened the insurgents by depriving them of the aid of the French Huguenots; but instead of quelling their courage, it only

stimulated them to perseverance. Defeated by land, and deprived of their strongest cities, they attacked the Spaniards on sea, and captured several rich freights. At length Alva retired in despair, and was succeeded by Zunega y Requesens (Dec. 1573).

In the very commencement of his administration, Requesens gained a decisive victory over the insurgents at Monher Moor, near Nimeguen. The three brothers of the prince of Orange fell in this fatal battle, which would probably have terminated the war but for a mutiny of the Spanish soldiers. The turbulence of the royal army, the insolence and licentiousness of the Spaniards, and the pillage of Antwerp by the mutineers, excited the indignation of Catholics and Protestants. Five of the Batavian and six of the Belgic provinces entered into the Pacification of Ghent, which provided for the expulsion of foreigners, the repeal of Alva's sanguinary edicts, and restoration of the ancient power of the states-general (A.D. 1576). Don John of Austria, who had succeeded Requesens in the government, disarmed suspicion by acceding to the league of Ghent; but this confederacy soon fell to pieces, owing to the jealousy between the Protestant and Catholic states. It now became manifest that freedom could be attained only by a close union of the northern provinces, and a final rupture with Spain. Acting on this belief, the prince of Orange organized the confederacy of Utrecht, the basis of that commonwealth so renowned under the name of the Republic of the United Provinces (A.D. 1579).

But, notwithstanding these precautions, the nomination of the duke of Parma to the regency threatened to ruin all the projects of the prince of Orange. The southern provinces, inspired with a jealousy of the Protestant designs on the Catholic religion, entered into an alliance with the regent, and levied an army against the insurgents of the north. But the Hollanders, thus deserted, did not lose courage; they formally renounced their allegiance to the Spanish crown, and chose the duke of Anjou, brother to the king of France, for their sovereign (A.D. 1581). But this choice did not produce the expected advantages; and the duke of Anjou, after a brief struggle abandoned all hopes of competing with the duke of Parma, and returned to France. It is probable that the states would have chosen the prince of Orange for their constitutional sovereign, but that hero was stabbed by a fanatic, whether instigated wholly by bigotry, or partly seduced by Spanish gold, it is now difficult to determine (A.D. 1584). Amid the general gloom spread over the Protestant confederates by the loss of their illustrious leader, the Hollanders and Zealanders chose Maurice, his son, a young man of eighteen, their stadtholder and captain-general by sea and land. The war still continued; but though the duke of Parma prevailed in the field, and finally captured the important city of Antwerp (A.D. 1585), the confederates never dreamed of submission. They offered the sovereignty of their republic to Queen Eliza-

both on certain conditions, and though she rejected the proffer, she sent the earl of Leicester to their aid with a considerable army. The misconduct of Leicester prevented the Hollanders from gaining all the advantages from the English auxiliaries that might have been expected; but the breaking out of war between England and Spain, the death of the duke of Parma in the civil wars of France, and the heroism of Prince Maurice, gave them such a decided superiority by sea and land, that their independence was secured and finally recognised by Spain (A.D. 1609).

Before entering on the history of the war between England and Spain, it is necessary to take a retrospective view of the state of France. On the death of Charles IX., his brother Henry III. resigned the throne of Poland for that of France (A.D. 1574). This prince, on the return, began a war of persecution, and concluded by an ignominious peace with his own subjects, in less than a year. He then abandoned himself to the lowest debaucheries, strangely combined with the practice of the most degrading superstitions. Opposed to the king, were the princes of Lorraine, whose chief, Henry, duke of Guise, was deservedly regarded as the leader of the violent Catholic party in France. Noble in person, polished in demeanour, endowed with superior talents, and animated by grasping ambition, he seemed formed by nature to become the leader of a faction, and art had lent its aid to improve all these advantages. The utter contempt into which Henry III. had fallen, and the rage of the Catholics at the tolerance granted to the Protestants, by the late pacification, encouraged the duke of Guise to raise the cry of religion in danger, and the fanatic populace, roused by this hypocritical pretext, began to take arms to defend their church. The Holy League, drawn up by Guise's uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, for the defence of the Catholic religion, was signed and sworn to by Catholics of all ranks and conditions in Paris and the provinces. The duke of Guise was appointed head of the league; the pope and the king of Spain declared themselves its protectors, and the wretched Henry was forced to yield to the faction, assemble the states at Blois, and revoke the freedom of conscience granted to the Huguenots. The consequence was a civil war, the ninth which afflicted France since the death of Francis II.

The fate of the unhappy queen of Scots, which had been determined ever since the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was precipitated by the formation of the Holy League. Some enthusiastic English Catholics entered into a conspiracy for assassinating Elizabeth; Mary was cognizant of their plans, but her participation in the plot is very doubtful. However, an act of parliament was passed authorizing her trial; commissioners were sent for the purpose to Fotheringay castle, the place of her confinement, and after an investigation, in which the forms of law and the principles of justice were little regarded, she was con-

demned to death. Elizabeth, with much apparent, but some real reluctance, signed the warrant of execution, and placed it in the hands of Davison, her private secretary, enjoining him not to use it without further orders (A.D. 1587). Davison, however, showed the warrant to the members of the council, and they, without further consulting Elizabeth, had the unhappy Mary beheaded. Henry III. of France, soon afterwards, had his capital enemies, the duke and cardinal of Guise, assassinated; but this atrocious crime only roused the leaguers to more vigorous measures; they assembled a parliament, deposed the king, and created the duke of Mayenne lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

Philip II., in the mean time, prepared an expedition which he fondly hoped would conquer England, and thus destroy the great stay of Protestantism in Europe. Ships were prepared in all the ports throughout his extensive dominions; Spain, Portugal, Naples, and those parts of the Low Countries which still recognised his authority. An army of 30,000 picked men was assembled under the most experienced officers of Italy, Spain, and Germany, and the chief command was entrusted to the celebrated duke of Parma. The pope blessed an expedition that seemed destined once more to restore the supremacy of the Holy See; and the Catholics throughout Europe were so confident of success, that they named the armament, "The Invincible Armada." Elizabeth undauntedly prepared to meet the danger. She entrusted the command of her fleet to a Catholic nobleman, Lord Howard of Effingham, while the land army was placed under the command of the earl of Leicester. Nothing could exceed the enthusiastic determination of the English people to defend their religion and liberties, though the queen had but one ally on whose assistance she could reckon, James, king of Scotland; she trusted to the attachment of her people, and found that the love of her subjects was the best security of her throne.

On the 30th of May, 1588, the Armada sailed from Lisbon: but having been shattered by a storm, it was forced to stop at Corunna, and it did not reach the English Channel until the 19th of July. Here the Spanish admiral, the duke of Medina Sidonia, was surprised to find that the duke of Parma was not prepared to join him with a fleet and army. While he hesitated, the light English squadrons assailed his heavy vessels on all sides, and after seven days, three of which only passed without warm actions, though there was no decisive engagement, the Armada was so shattered by English skill and bravery, that it was forced to take shelter in the roads of Calais. The earl of Effingham, following up his advantage, sent in fire-ships during the night, which destroyed several vessels, and threw the others into such confusion, that the Spaniards no longer thought of victory, but escape. The duke of Medina Sidonia dreading again to encounter the English

fleet attempted to return home by sailing round the north of Scotland; but dreadful storms overtook the Armada, many of the ships were driven on the shores of Norway, Ireland, and the north of Scotland, and out of the triumphant navy that sailed from Lisbon, only a few shattered vessels returned to bring intelligence of the calamity that had overwhelmed the rest.

This glorious success was deservedly regarded, not so much as the triumph of England, as of the Protestant cause throughout Europe; it virtually established the independence of the Dutch, and it raised the courage of the Huguenots in France. It completely destroyed the decisive influence that Spain had acquired in the affairs of Europe; ever since the shipwreck of the Armada, the Spanish state and people seem to have lost all energy, and sunk into almost hopeless decay.

Henry III. of France, obliged by the violence of the league to seek the aid of his Protestant subjects, was murdered by a fanatic monk, just as he was upon the point of driving his enemies from Paris. By his death, the house of Valois became extinct, and the right of inheritance passed to the Bourbon family, descended from Robert, the sixth son of St. Louis. Its representative was Henry of Navarre, who now claimed to be Henry IV. of France, a warlike, chivalrous prince, endowed with many amiable qualities, but disliked by his new subjects on account of his attachment to the Protestant religion. After a long struggle, Henry found it necessary to abjure his faith, in order to secure his crown; but he atoned to the Huguenots for his compulsory desertion, by issuing the celebrated edict of Nantes. Still he had to make good his rights by the sword; for his abjuration could not induce either the pope or Philip II. to give up their plans. He received some aid from Elizabeth, but his final success was mainly due to his own eminent abilities; his triumph was virtually completed by the capture of Paris (A.D. 1594), but Spain persevered in its hostility until the peace of Vervins (A.D. 1598).

The close of Elizabeth's reign was clouded by sanguinary wars against her Irish subjects, whose insurrections were too often provoked by the injustice of their rulers, and by the execution of her ill-fated favourite, the earl of Essex. But notwithstanding these domestic calamities she maintained the war against Spain with great vigour, and encouraged her subjects to undermine the strength of that kingdom by enterprises against its commerce. The annexation of Portugal to the crown of Spain, apparently gave the subjects of Philip II. complete command of the Indian, as well as the South American trade; but the wars of that monarch with England and Holland raised both countries to a rivalry that terminated to the disadvantage, if not to the ruin, of the Spanish commerce. In 1591, the English, for the first time, performed the voyage to India; and in 1600 the year in which the East India Company was founded, they took possession of

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the island of St. Helena. The Hanseatic league, now fast sinking into decay, complained loudly of the encouragement given by the English government to its native merchants, and prohibited the English from trading in Germany; but this unwise attempt to enforce monopoly produced measures of retaliation that speedily proved fatal to their privileges and their power. During Elizabeth's reign, England attained the highest rank among European states, and may be said to have held the balance of power in Christendom; that this was owing, in no small degree, to the personal character of the sovereign, is manifest from the rapid decline of British influence, when the sceptre passed to the feeble house of Stuart.

SECTION VI.—*The Age of Gustavus Adolphus.*

FROM the death of Charles V. to the accession of Ferdinand II., there were few events in German history that produced any important result in the general politics of Europe. Ferdinand I. and his son Maximilian II., were sincerely attached to peace, and Rudolph II. was willing to leave the world in quiet, if the world would have left him undisturbed. From the time of his accession (A. D. 1576), Rudolph's great anxiety was to unite the Germanic princes in a firm league against the Turks; but theological discussions, united with political ambition, served to prepare the way for fresh convulsions. The influence of the Jesuits in the imperial court so alarmed the Protestants, that they formed a new alliance, called "The Evangelical Union," of which the elector-palatine was declared the chief (A. D. 1609), and this was opposed by a Catholic league, in which foreign as well as German princes were joined. In this unsettled state of affairs, the competition for succession to a small principality had nearly involved Europe in a general war. Henry IV. of France, after having secured himself on the throne, entrusted the chief management of his affairs to the duke of Sully, under whose wise administration the finances were so improved, and the strength of the kingdom so consolidated, that France began to take the lead in European policy. Henry had formed a great scheme for making all Christendom a federate republic, in which the rights and independence of the several states should be firmly secured. A more immediate project was the humiliation of the house of Austria, whose increasing power in Germany and Spain was deemed dangerous to all the surrounding countries. The vacancy in the duchies of Cleves and Juliers, which, on the death of the duke without male heirs, had been seized by the emperor as lapsed fiefs, gave Henry a pretext for interfering in the affairs of Germany; he formed alliances with several of his neighbours, and especially with the king of England and the Italian princes. But while preparing to

assist at the coronation of his queen, Mary de Medicis, he was stabbed by a fanatic named Ravaillac (A.D. 1610), and the disturbances that ensued prevented the French from making further exertions in Germany. The dissensions in the Austrian family contributed to avert a general war. Rudolph was gradually driven from his whole dominions by his brother Matthias; deserted by his ancient partisans, he became melancholy and distrustful, shutting himself up in his palace, where grief and want of exercise soon produced a mortal disease, which brought him prematurely to the grave (A.D. 1611).

Matthias succeeded to the imperial crown, and though he had been previously befriended by the Protestants, he threw himself into the arms of the Catholic party, and thus increased the dissatisfaction which had led to the evangelical union; he procured the crown of Bohemia for his cousin Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, and this bigoted monarch soon forced his Protestant subjects to revolt. While the war was yet in progress, Matthias died, and Ferdinand, to the great alarm of the Protestant party, was elected emperor (A.D. 1619). Ferdinand entered into close alliance with the Spanish branch of the house of Hapsburgh, but this family compact was not so formidable as it had been heretofore. The union of the crown of Portugal to that of Spain had not added much real strength to Philip II.; the Portuguese hated the Spaniards, especially as they were compelled to abandon their lucrative commerce with the revolted Hollanders, and were finally deprived of the greater part of their Indian colonies by the successful republicans. The defeat of the Armada, followed by these colonial losses, rendered the reign of Philip II. calamitous to the Peninsula; but on his death (A.D. 1598) it was destined to suffer still greater losses from the bigotry of his successor. Philip III. expelled the Moriscos or Moors, who had remained in the Peninsula after the overthrow of the last Mohammedan dynasty, and thus deprived himself of the services of more than a million of his most industrious subjects (A.D. 1610). He intrusted the administration of the kingdom to favourites, chosen without discrimination, and made the custom of governing by ministers a maxim of state. On his death (A.D. 1621), Spain, though still respected and even feared, was in reality deplorably weak; but the reign of Philip IV. almost completed its ruin; the Catalans revolted, and placed themselves under the protection of France; the Portuguese, choosing for their monarch the duke of Braganza, achieved their independence (A.D. 1640), and the Neapolitans, harassed by the premier, the count-duke of Olivarez, attempted to form a republic.

These events were not foreseen when Ferdinand became emperor. The Bohemian Protestants, dreading his bigotry, chose Frederick, the elector-palatine, son-in-law of the British monarch, for their sovereign, and in an evil hour for himself, Frederick assumed the royal title.

James I. was a monarch of much learning and little wisdom; the natural timidity of his disposition, and his anxiety to secure the hand of a Spanish princess for his son, induced him to observe a neutrality in this dispute, contrary to the ardent wishes of his subjects. Duped by vanity, he believed himself a consummate master of diplomacy, and entered into a series of negotiations, which only showed his weakness, and rendered him contemptible in the eyes of Europe. Deserted by his father-in-law, and by many of the Protestant princes, on whose assistance he relied, the elector-palatine lost not only Bohemia, but his hereditary dominions, which were shared by his enemies (A.D. 1623).

Circumstances, in the mean time, had occurred to change the neutral policy of England. The young prince Charles, accompanied by his favourite the duke of Buckingham, had made a romantic journey to Madrid, which, contrary to general expectation, led to the breaking off of the Spanish match. The discovery of a conspiracy for blowing up the British king and parliament with gunpowder (A.D. 1605), inflamed the English nation against the Catholics, because the plot had been devised by some fanatics of that religion, who hoped in the confusion that must have ensued, to restore the supremacy of their church. Finally, Count Mansfelt, the ablest of the Protestant leaders, succeeded in convincing James that he had been egregiously duped by the Spaniards. A new Protestant union was formed, of which Christian IV., king of Denmark, was chosen the head, and the war burst forth with fresh violence. The imperial generals, Tilly and Wallenstein, were far superior to their Protestant adversaries. Wallenstein, having been created duke of Friedland and chief commander of the imperial army raised by himself, acted with so much vigour, that Christian, threatened with the loss of his own dominions, was forced to purchase peace by renouncing all right to interfere in the affairs of Germany, and abandoning his allies, especially the dukes of Mecklenburg (A.D. 1629.) Wallenstein obtained the investiture of Mecklenburg, and claimed henceforth a rank among the princes of the empire.

England had borne little share in this arduous contest. On the death of James (A. D. 1625), his son Charles I. ascended the British throne, and was almost immediately involved in a contest with his parliament, which effectually diverted his attention from foreign affairs. The principal causes of this were the growing love of liberty in the English people; the suspicions of danger to religion from the king's marriage with so bigoted a Catholic as the Princess Henrietta Maria of France; the unpopularity of Buckingham, the royal favourite; and the increasing hostility of the puritans to the episcopal form of church government. The troubles and distractions by which France was weakened during the minority and the early part of the reign of Louis XIII. began to disappear when Cardinal Richelieu was

placed at the head of the administration. His great talents and singular firmness acquired for his country a new and vigorous influence in the political system of Europe, at the very moment when a counterpoise was most wanting to the overgrown power of the house of Austria.

Richelieu's first operations were directed against the Huguenots, whom he completely subdued and rendered utterly helpless by the capture of Rochelle. Scarcely had the reduction of this important city been effected, when the cardinal commenced his war against Austria by endeavouring to secure the duchy of Mantua for the duke of Nevers, in opposition to the emperor, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy. The war was terminated by the treaty of Chierasio (A.D. 1631), which destroyed the Spanish supremacy in Italy, restored the old influence of France, and gave that power possession of several of the most important fortresses on the frontiers. But far more important was the share which Richelieu had in renewing the war in Germany, and bringing forward a Protestant leader, able and willing to cope with the imperial generals.

During the war of the Mantuan succession, the Emperor Ferdinand published an edict at Vienna, commanding the Protestants to restore all the ecclesiastical benefices of which they had taken possession since the treaty of Passau. Some submitted, others remonstrated; imperial commissioners were sent to decide on the claims of the bishops and monks to restitution; the execution of the decree was entrusted to Wallenstein, who acted with so much rigour that the Protestants were inflamed with just rage, and even the Catholics joined in demanding justice against him from the emperor. So great was the clamour, that the emperor was forced to dismiss his general, and confer the command of the imperial army upon Count Tilly. Scarcely had this important step been taken, when Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, secretly urged by some of the discontented Protestant princes, published a declaration of war against the emperor, and after having captured the important island of Rugen, landed in Germany (June 24, 1630). An alliance was formed between the king and the leading Protestant princes of Pomerania, Brandenburg, and Hesse; Saxony, after some effort to preserve neutrality, was forced to accede to the league; and Richelieu, who had no small share in forming the original plan, secured for the confederates the active co-operation of France. The early successes of Gustavus would have been more decisive but for the jealousy of the Saxon princes, who prevented his passage through their dominions, and thus hindered him from relieving the city of Magdeburg, hard pressed by Count Tilly and the imperial forces. The unfortunate city was finally taken by assault; the cruel Tilly would show no mercy, thirty thousand of the inhabitants perished by water, fire, and sword; and of this once flourishing city nothing

was left standing except the cathedral and about one hundred and fifty fishing huts on the banks of the Elbe.

This atrocious cruelty cemented the alliance between Gustavus and the Protestant princes; the elector of Saxony, justly alarmed by the fate of his neighbours, and irritated by the menaces of Tilly, whom his recent success had filled with presumptuous pride, joined the king with all his forces at Wittemberg. A resolution to try the chances of battle was taken; and at Leipsic the imperialists were so decisively overthrown, that if Gustavus had marched immediately to Vienna, that city would probably have fallen. All the members of the evangelical union joined the king of Sweden; the measures of the Catholic confederates were disconcerted, and the whole country between the Elbe and the Rhine was occupied by the Protestant forces. Early in the following year Count Tilly was killed in disputing with the Swedes the passage of the Lech, and Gustavus overran Bavaria.

The emperor, in his distress, had recourse to Wallenstein, who was restored to command with unlimited powers. Gustavus attacked the imperialists in their intrenchments at Nuremberg, and was defeated with some loss; but, anxious to retrieve his fame, he sought an early opportunity of bringing his rival to a second engagement. The armies met at Lutzen (Nov. 16, 1632), the confederates attacked the imperialists in their intrenchments, and after a dreadful contest, that lasted nine hours, put them completely to the rout. But the victors had little cause to triumph; Gustavus fell, mortally wounded, in the middle of the engagement, and died before the fortune of the day was decided. His death produced great changes in the political state of Europe. The elector-palatine, believing all his hopes of restoration blighted, died of a broken heart; the Protestant confederates, deprived of a head, were divided into factions; while the Swedes, overwhelmed with sorrow, saw the throne of their heroic prince occupied by a girl only seven years old. But the council of regency, appointed to protect the minority of the young queen Christina, entrusted the management of the German war to the Chancellor Oxenstiern, a statesman of the highest order; under his guidance, the Protestant alliance again assumed a formidable aspect, and hostilities were prosecuted with vigour and success by the duke of Saxe Weimar and the generals Banier and Horn. An unexpected event added to their confidence; Ferdinand became jealous of Wallenstein, and suspected him, not without cause, of aiming at sovereign power. The emperor was too timid to bring this powerful leader to a legal trial; he, therefore, had recourse to the dishonourable expedient of assassination (A.D. 1634), and Wallenstein was murdered in his own camp.

The confederates did not gain all the advantages they anticipated from the fall of the duke of Friedland; the emperor's eldest son, the king of Hungary, having succeeded to the command, gained several

advantages, and twenty thousand Spaniards arrived in Germany to the aid of the imperialists, under the duke of Feria. The Protestant leaders, anxious to stop the progress of the king of Hungary, attacked him at Nordlingen. The battle was one of the most obstinate recorded in history; it ended in the complete rout of the confederates, notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts of the Swedes. The emperor improved his victory by negotiation; he concluded a treaty with all the Protestant princes, except the landgrave of Hesse, at Prague (A.D. 1635,) and thus the whole weight of the war was thrown on the French and the Swedes.

SECTION VII.—*Administration of the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarine.*

RICHELIEU ruled France with a rod of iron; hated alike by the nobility and the people, he continued to hold the reins of government, and all conspiracies formed against him ended in the ruin of the contrivers. Jealousy of Gustavus prevented him from cordially co-operating with that prince, and Oxenstiern afterwards was unwilling to give the French any influence in Germany. But the battle of Nordlingen rendered a change of policy necessary, and the Swedish chancellor offered to put the French in immediate possession of Philipsburg and the province of Alsace, on condition of their taking an active share in the war against the emperor. Richelieu readily entered into a treaty so favourable to his projects for humbling the house of Austria. He concluded treaties with the Dutch republic and the duke of Savoy, proclaimed war against Spain, and in a very short space equipped five armies to act at once in Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. The balance now turned against the imperialists; the duke of Saxe Weimar proved a worthy successor to the king of Sweden, and Banier restored the lustre of the Swedish arms by the victory he gained over the elector of Saxony at Wislock. The death of the Emperor Ferdinand II. (A.D. 1637), and the accession of his son Ferdinand III., made little alteration in the state of the war; the victorious leaders of the confederates invaded the hereditary dominions of Austria, but in the midst of their triumphant career, the duke of Saxe Weimar fell a victim to poison (A.D. 1639), said to have been administered by an emissary of Richelieu, for the cardinal had reason to fear that the prince's patriotism would prove a serious obstacle to the aggrandisement of the French power.

The war was still continued, but though the imperialists were generally worsted, disunion crept into the councils of the confederates, and prevented them from improving their advantages. Banier's death might have proved their ruin, had he not been succeeded by Torstenson,

a general of scarcely inferior abilities. While the Swedes, under their new leader, maintained their former eminence in Germany, and gained a complete victory at Leipsic, almost on the very ground where Gustavus had triumphed, the French were equally successful in Spain, having reduced Colioure and Perpignan¹. The death of Richelieu, and his master, Louis XIII., the accession of the infant Louis XIV. (A.D. 1643), and some changes in Germany, for a time inclined the Swedes to peace; but when it was found that Cardinal Mazarine had resolved to pursue Richelieu's plans, and that France possessed such generals as Condé and Turenne, the hopes of the confederates were once more revived, and the Swedes had even the courage to provoke a fresh enemy by invading the dominions of Denmark. After several vicissitudes, the triumph of the confederates was so decided, that the emperor found it necessary to solicit terms of peace. After long and tedious negotiations, which varied according to the vicissitudes of the war, the celebrated Peace of Westphalia was signed at Munster (A.D. 1648), and became a fundamental law of the empire.

While the Protestant cause was thus triumphant in Germany, England was convulsed by civil war. The failure of the expedition to relieve Rochelle, and the complete overthrow of the Huguenots in France, had caused great discontent in England, and embittered the dispute between the king and his parliament respecting the extent of the royal prerogative. The Petition of Right, extorted from Charles I., might have laid the foundation of a constitutional monarchy, had the king adhered strictly to its spirit; but he continued to levy taxes by his own authority, and when the remonstrances of the Commons became too energetic, he dissolved the parliament (A.D. 1629), with a fixed resolution never to call another until he should see signs of a more compliant disposition in the nation. Religious disputes aggravated these political animosities. When the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was wrested from the See of Rome, the people of England had submitted to a jurisdiction no less arbitrary in the prince, and the sovereign obtained absolute power in all affairs relative to the government of the Church and the consciences of the people. An ecclesiastical tribunal, called the High Commission Court, was established under the immediate direction of the Crown. Its judges enforced conformity with established ceremonies by fines and imprisonment. There were many who thought the English reformation incomplete; they deemed that the Church had not been sufficiently purified from Romish errors, and they wished for the simpler forms of worship that had been established in Scotland and Germany. Many of the Puritans, as

¹ Richelieu had just detected and punished a conspiracy, when Perpignan was taken. He sent intelligence of both events to Louis

XIII., in the following laconic letter; "Sir, your enemies are dead, and your troops in possession of Perpignan."

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reformers were called, had more justifiable reason for discontent; regarded the ecclesiastical sovereignty of the monarch as dangerous to general liberty, and they were anxious to transfer a portion of the authority to parliament. About this time, a sect, called from their founder, the Arminians, had rejected the strict doctrines of predestination and absolute decrees, maintained by the first reformers. Their number, in England, was yet small, but by the favour of James and Charles, some who held the Arminian doctrines were advanced to the highest dignities of the Church, and formed the majority of the bench of bishops. They, in return for this countenance, inculcated the doctrines of passive obedience and unconditional submission to princes. Hence Arminianism was regarded by the patriots in the House of Commons with as much horror as popery, and the preacher of either doctrine was voted a capital enemy to the state.

The success of Charles I. in his struggle with the Commons depended very much upon the character of his ministers. The chief of these were Wentworth, earl of Strafford, a deserter from the popular party, and Laud, archbishop of Canterbury; they were both men of arbitrary principles, and Strafford, especially, was very unscrupulous in the use of means to gain a favourite end. Without any regard to the Petition of Right, which was directly opposed to such measures, tonnage, poundage, and other taxes were levied; the penal laws against Catholics were suspended on the payment of stipulated sums; and such extensive jurisdiction given to those arbitrary tribunals, the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, that the ordinary constitutional administration of justice almost entirely ceased.

While these innovations spread secret discontent throughout England, Laud's efforts to model the Scottish Church after the English form produced a dangerous outbreak in Scotland. The attempt to introduce a liturgy, similar to that used in the English Church, provoked a formidable riot; and finally, "The solemn League and Covenant," a bond of confederation for the preservation of the national religion, was signed by a vast number of the higher and lower classes (A.D. 1638). Cardinal Richelieu, fearing that the English government might oppose his designs on the Low Countries, and aware that he was disliked by the English queen, Henrietta, secretly encouraged the Scottish Covenanters, and supplied their leaders with money, which, in spite of their exaggerated pretensions to patriotism and sanctity, they did not scruple to accept. Armies were levied, but neither party wished to merit the imputation of commencing civil war. A treaty was concluded at Berwick (A.D. 1639), by which Charles displeased his friends, who thought that he made concessions unworthy of a prince, and did not conciliate his opponents, who were resolved to be satisfied with nothing less than his full acceptance of the covenant.

As might have been foreseen, the treaty of Berwick proved to be

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merely a suspension of arms. Strafford and Laud considered the rebellion of the Scots to be so manifest, that they deemed the people of England could not entertain a doubt on the subject, and that the king would be supported in its suppression by a parliament. Charles adopted the same opinions, and called a parliament, hoping to obtain a sufficient grant for carrying on the war (A.D. 1640); but the House of Commons, postponing all consideration of taxes, applied itself directly to the redress of grievances, and an examination of the recent measures of the government. Incensed by this conduct, Charles dissolved the parliament, and attempted to raise money by new and unconstitutional expedients. The Scotch, not waiting to be attacked, crossed the borders, defeated the earl of Northumberland at Newburn, and occupied Newcastle and Durham. The king was unable to cope with them in the field, and he therefore entered into a treaty by which he agreed to provide subsistence for the hostile army, until terms of pacification could be arranged. A new parliament was convoked, and, on the very first day of its meeting, the House of Commons manifested its uncomplying disposition, by choosing as its speaker a vehement opponent of the court. A more important and decisive step, was the impeachment of the earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud on a charge of high treason; after which, the armistice with the Scottish army was prolonged, and the Scots described not as enemies or rebels, but brethren! Strafford's trial soon engrossed public attention; he was condemned to death by an act of attainder, and Charles, after a long delay, was forced to consent to the public execution of his favourite minister. An attempt was next made to exclude the bishops from parliament; a bill for the purpose passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords; as, however, the public excitement continued, the bishops resolved to abstain from further attending their duty in parliament, and twelve of them published a protest, declaring everything null and void that should be determined during their absence. For this ill-advised proceeding they were accused of high treason, and committed to the Tower (A.D. 1641).

Charles, dismayed by the hostility of the English, resolved to seek a reconciliation with his Scottish subjects, and for this purpose undertook a journey to Edinburgh. His measures were not well suited to effect his object, and before anything satisfactory could be done, the insurrection of the Irish Catholics produced a change in the position of parties most fatal to the royal interests. Few events have been so much misrepresented as the Irish civil war, and in order to view it correctly, we must go back to an earlier period of history.

The Norman settlers in Ireland paid but a nominal allegiance to the English crown, the most powerful of them acted as independent princes, and adopted the customs of the native Irish. The Tudor monarchs were anxious to break the power of this aristocracy, which

national happiness, as it was opposed to the power; but unfortunately, they combined this object with the reform of religion, and with a system of confiscation equally impolitic and unjust. The Irish lords took up defence at once their religion and their power; they were defeated by Elizabeth's generals, and many of them were deprived of their estates, which were shared among English colonists. James I., under the pretence of a meditated rebellion, confiscated the greater part of the province of Ulster, and deprived all the innocent vassals of their property, for the unproved guilt of their chiefs. Property was rendered still more insecure by an inquisition into titles, on the legal pretence that the right to land belongs primarily to the king, and consequently, that every estate ought to be forfeited for which a royal grant could not be produced. The effect of this principle would be, not only to strip all the native Irish of their estates, but also to confiscate the lands belonging to the greater part of the lords descended from the companions of Strongbow and Henry II. When Strafford became lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he began to enforce the system of confiscation with a rigour which exceeded all former precedent. Every legal pretext was employed to expel the Irish from their possessions, and transfer them to strangers; judges were bribed, juries threatened, and witnesses suborned with the most shameless effrontery. The English nation was induced to countenance this injustice by the belief that it would be useful to substitute a more noble and civilized race of men for the barbarous Irish; though, in fact, the new settlers were for the most part rapacious adventurers, or indigent rabble. Religious intolerance was united to political wrongs; Catholics were excluded from all public offices and the acquisition of landed property; their churches and chapels were violently closed, their clergy expelled, and their children given to Protestant guardians. They applied to the king for protection, and gave a large sum for a charter of graces, which would secure their persons, property, and religion. Charles took the money, but refused the graces; instigated by Strafford, who had devised a plan for rendering his master absolutely despotic in Ireland, as a preparatory step to his becoming supreme in England.

The success of the Scots in securing their national religion, and placing restrictions on the royal power, induced many of the Irish lords to devise a plan for obtaining similar advantages. Accident precipitated an outbreak; the Ulster Irish, who had been expelled from their lands, hastened to attack the settlers that occupied them as intruders, and they sullied their cause by many acts of violence, which were easily exaggerated by persons who had derived much profit, and expected more, from the trade of confiscation. The English House of Commons regarded the Irish as a degraded and conquered people; they deemed their efforts acts of treason, not so much against royal

while the difference of religion embittered
and rendered a peaceful termination of

It was studiously reported that Charles himself revolt in order to obtain unlimited power by aid of the Catholics; to refute this suspicion, he entrusted the conduct of Irish affairs to the English-parliament; and that body, with inconceivable precipitation, resolved that the Catholic religion should no longer be tolerated in Ireland; that two millions and a half of acres should be confiscated to pay the expenses of the war; and that no quarter should be given to the insurgents or their adherents. These ordinances led to a civil war, whose history may be told in a few words: the Irish Catholics, after having gained possession of nearly the entire kingdom, were broken into parties more opposed to each other than to the common enemy: in the midst of this disunion, Cromwell, with a mere handful of men, conquered them in detail, and gave their estates to his victorious followers. The new settlers were confirmed in their possession after the restoration of Charles II., and the greater part of the ancient Irish landowners were reduced to beggary.

Charles gained little by sacrificing the Irish to the parliament; finding that his concessions only provoked fresh demands, he attempted to arrest five of the leading members for high treason, but the popular indignation compelled him to abandon the charge, and soon after to quit the capital. Negotiations were tried to avert the horrors of civil war, but the requisitions of the Commons, if granted, would have destroyed all royal authority, and Charles, on the 25th of August, 1642, caused the royal standard to be raised at Nottingham. War immediately commenced; it was conducted with spirit, and was at first favourable to the king. The English parliament, alarmed at the progress of Charles, entered into an alliance with the Scottish covenanters, and on the 15th of January, 1644, a Scotch auxiliary army, commanded by General Leslie, entered England. Fairfax, the parliamentary leader in the north, united his forces to those of Leslie, and both generals immediately laid siege to York. Prince Rupert, the son of the unfortunate elector-palatine, hastened to the relief of this important city, and effected a junction with the army of the marquis of Newcastle. Fairfax and Leslie retired to Marston Moor, whither they were followed by the royalists, who were urged to this rash proceeding by the fiery Rupert. Fifty thousand British combatants engaged on this occasion in mutual slaughter; the victory was long undecided; but, finally, the skill of Lieutenant-General Cromwell prevailed over the rash valour of Rupert, and the Royalists were signally defeated, with the loss of all their baggage and artillery. A second defeat, at Newbury, so weakened the royal cause, that the king must have been forced to immediate submission, but for the divisions that arose among his adversaries.

The Presbyterians and the Independents had combined against the Church of England as their common enemy; but when episcopacy was abolished, the latter saw with great indignation the Presbyterian efforts to establish a system of ecclesiastical tyranny, differing from the papal only in form, the power being lodged in the general assembly of the clergy instead of a single head. The Presbyterians had the majority in parliament, but the great bulk of the army favoured the views of the Independents, which were also supported by some of the most active members of the House of Commons. A law called the Self-denying Ordinance, prohibiting members of parliament from holding military commissions, gave the greater part of the army into the hands of the Independents, especially as an exception was made in favour of Oliver Cromwell, their principal leader. The battle of Naseby was decided in favour of the parliamentarians, principally by Cromwell's prudence and valour, an event which gave so much strength to his party, that the Presbyterian majority in the House of Commons feared to accept the king's proposals for an accommodation, contrary to their open professions and secret wishes. Meanwhile Charles being unable to keep the field, threw himself on the mercy of his Scottish subjects; and having opened negotiations with their leader, through the French ambassador, ventured on the faith of uncertain promises to present himself in their camp. He had the mortification to find himself treated as a prisoner, while all the towns and fortresses that had hitherto supported his cause fell into the hands of the parliament.

The war was at an end, but civil dissensions raged with more fury than ever. The Presbyterians and Independents were each anxious to gain the king over to their side; and the former, by a treaty with the Scots, gained possession of his person. Scarcely had they acquired this advantage, when the discontent of the army threatened them with unexpected danger; Cromwell encouraged the soldiers to resist the orders of the parliament, and by a bold measure gave fresh confidence to his party. Cornet Joyce, acting under his orders, removed the king from Holmby House, and brought him to the army. Cromwell and his friends made such a judicious use of the advantage thus obtained, that the Presbyterian party soon lost all their influence. The behaviour of Charles at this crisis was very injudicious; he negotiated with both parties, and, by his obvious insincerity, displeased all. Finally, he attempted to escape; but seeking shelter in the Isle of Wight, he was seized by its governor, Hammond, and from that moment Cromwell became the master of his fate. Another opportunity of escaping from the perils that surrounded him was offered to the king; the Scotch took up arms in his favour, but they were routed by Cromwell with great slaughter, and all hopes from their assistance destroyed. But the parliament having reason to dread

Cromwell's ambition, opened negotiations with the king on receiving the news of this victory, and the wisest of the royal counsellors entreated their master to seize this opportunity of concluding a treaty. Unfortunately he hesitated and delayed the arrangements for more than three months, until the army once more took possession of his person, and conveyed him to Hurst. The two Houses, indeed, voted that the royal concessions were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom; but two days afterwards the avenues to the House of Commons were beset with soldiers, and all the members supposed favourable to the king forcibly prevented from taking their seats. In this diminished house the resolutions leading to a reconciliation with the king were revoked, and proposals were made for bringing him to a public trial. The final resolution for impeaching the king of high treason before a court of justice constituted for the purpose, was adopted by the House of Commons (January 2, 1649): it was at once rejected by the Lords; but their opposition was disregarded, and the court regularly constituted. The form of trial was but a solemn mockery; Charles with great spirit refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, upon which some witnesses were called to prove what everybody knew, that he had appeared at the head of his army, which his judges declared to be treason against the people, and a crime worthy of death. Sentence was pronounced on the 27th of January; and, on the 30th of the same month, the misguided and unhappy Charles was beheaded in front of Whitehall, amid the unaffected sympathy of crowds of spectators.

The death of Charles was followed by the usurpation of Cromwell, and Great Britain was subjected to a despotism more galling and severe than that of any monarch who ever swayed its sceptre.

SECTION VIII.—*Formation of the States-system in the Northern Kingdoms of Europe.*

THE revolutions in the northern kingdoms during the progress of the Reformation were scarcely less important than those in central Europe. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, united by the treaty of Calmar, were never blended into a uniform government: the Swedish nobles kept their country in continued agitation; without severing the union, they chose administrators of the kingdom whose allegiance to the crown of Denmark was merely nominal. Christian II., a tyrannical prince, resolved to destroy the Swedish independence, he overthrew the administrator at the battle of Bagesund, and had the ceremony of his coronation performed at Stockholm (A.D. 1520). A few days after this solemnity, Christian perfidiously violated the amnesty he had published; and to gratify the vengeance of the arch-

bishop of Upsal, whom the Swedes had deposed, caused ninety-four of the principal nobles to be publicly executed. This massacre was the signal for a revolution; Gustavus Vasa, son of one of the murdered nobles, escaped to the mountains of Dalecarlia, and supported by the hardy peasants of that province, proclaimed the freedom of his country. Victory crowned his efforts, and he finally became king of Sweden (A.D. 1523). Christian II. was deposed by the Danes, and the crown conferred on his uncle Frederic; he wandered about for some years, vainly seeking support, but was finally seized by his subjects, and thrown into prison, where he ended his days. The Danish monarch, for nearly half a century, renewed their pretensions to the Swedish throne; but finding that their efforts only exhausted their own resources, they recognised the independence of Sweden by the treaty of Stettin (A.D. 1570).

Denmark thus lost the ascendancy which it had long maintained, and it was further injured by a disastrous change in its internal constitution. The aristocracy established a vicious supremacy over the prerogatives of the crown and the rights of the people. The senate, composed entirely of nobles, seized on all the authority of the state; the national assemblies ceased to be convoked; the elections of the kings were confined to the aristocratic order, and the royal power was restricted by capitulations, which the senate prescribed to the kings on their accession to the throne.

It was in the reign of Frederic I., the uncle and successor of the tyrannical Christian, that the principles of the Reformation were first established in Denmark. The king invited several of Luther's disciples to preach the new doctrines in his kingdom; he openly professed them himself, granted liberty of conscience to all his subjects, and sanctioned the marriages of priests throughout his dominions. Christian III. completed the religious revolution: in a general assembly of the states he procured the abrogation of episcopacy, and the suppression of the Romish worship (A.D. 1536). The castles, fortresses, and vast domains of the bishops were reunited to the crown; and the rest of their revenues applied to the maintenance of Protestant ministers, the purposes of general education, and the relief of the poor. From Denmark the revolution extended to Norway; and about the same time this kingdom, having supported the deposed Christian II., was deprived of its independence, and reduced to a Danish province.

Christian IV. was distinguished among the northern sovereigns by the superiority of his talents, and the zeal that he showed in reforming the different branches of the administration. In his reign the Danes first directed their attention to Asiatic trade, and founded an East India Company; a commercial establishment was formed at Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel, which was ceded to the company by the rajah of Tanjore. Several large manufactories were

established, and many cities founded by this wise monarch, who was also a judicious patron of science and literature. He was less successful in his wars against Austria and Sweden, but this was owing rather to the restrictions which the nobles had placed on his power, than to any want of talent.

Sweden, from having been subject to Denmark, rose to be its successful rival, and even menaced its total overthrow. It owed this preponderance to two of the greatest men of the period, Gustavus Vasa and Gustavus Adolphus. After Vasa had liberated his country, he was raised to the throne, and by his wise government justified the choice of the nation. He directed his attention both to the political and religious reformation of the country; instead of the aristocratic senate he introduced a Diet, composed of the different orders of the state, and by his influence with the Commons, introduced Lutheranism, though opposed by the bishops and nobles. He also established the hereditary succession of the crown, which was extended to females in the reign of his son Charles IX.

Gustavus Adolphus, the grandson of Vasa, raised Sweden to the summit of its greatness. Involved in wars at his accession (A.D. 1611), he gained signal advantages over the Russians and Poles, which so extended his fame, that he was chosen, as we have seen, to be the leader of the Protestant confederacy against the house of Austria. After a glorious career of two years and a-half, he fell in the battle of Lutzen: but the victory which the Swedes won after his death was chiefly owing to his skilful arrangements. The war was continued under the minority of Christina, and brought to a successful issue, as was also the war waged at the same time against Denmark. By the peace of Bromsebro (A.D. 1645), Sweden obtained the free navigation of the Sound, and the cession of several important islands in the Baltic.

Prussia, under the electors of Brandenburg, gradually increased in strength and power, especially during the administration of Frederic William, the true founder of the greatness of his house. His abilities were particularly conspicuous in the Protestant wars of Germany; and he obtained such an accession of territory by the treaty of Westphalia, that his son Frederic assumed the title of king of Prussia.

The dismemberment of Livonia led to a fierce struggle between the northern powers, each of which sought a portion of the spoil. Russia, which had slowly acquired consistency, obtained a considerable portion, which, however, it was forced to yield to Poland. After having long submitted to the degrading yoke of the Mongols, the grand-dukes of Moscow, strengthened by the union of several small principalities, began to aspire after independence, which was achieved by Iwan III. This able ruler, having refused to pay the customary tribute to the barbarians, was attacked by the khan of the Golden

Horde, as the leading sect of the Mongols was denominated. Instead of acting on the defensive, Iwan sent a body of troops into the very centre of the horde, and ruined all their establishments on the Volga. So great were the losses of the Mongols that the Golden Horde disappeared, and left no traces but a few feeble tribes. Iwan IV. laboured to civilize the empire acquired by the valour of his predecessors: he invited artisans from England and Germany, established a printing-press at Moscow, and raised the standing army of the Strelitzes to curb his turbulent nobles. It was in his reign that Siberia was discovered and annexed to the Russian dominions, but the complete reduction of that country belongs to the reign of his son Fédor (A.D. 1587), who founded the city of Tobolsk.

On the death of Fédor, without any issue (A.D. 1598), Russia was involved in a series of calamitous civil wars, which ended in the elevation of Michael Fedrowetsch to the crown. He found his dominions exhausted by the late commotions, and could only procure peace from Sweden and Poland by the cession of many valuable provinces (A.D. 1634).

During the reigns of the Jagellons, Poland was one of the most flourishing northern powers. The reformation was favoured by Sigismund Augustus II., the last of this dynasty; but the want of a middle order of society, which has ever been the cause of Polish misery, prevented evangelical principles from taking deep root in the country, and producing the benefits that had resulted from them in other states. When the male line of the Jagellons became extinct on the death of Sigismund (A.D. 1572), the throne of Poland became elective (without any restriction¹), and the right of voting was given to all the nobles, who met in arms to choose a sovereign. These elections were generally marked with violence and bloodshed; but though the nobles were divided among themselves, they readily united to restrict the royal authority; every sovereign, on his accession, was obliged to sign certain capitulations, which greatly limited his rule, and secured the chief powers of the state to the aristocracy. Under its new constitution, Poland was internally weak and miserable, though some of its monarchs still distinguished themselves by foreign conquests, especially Vladislaus IV., who wrested the duchy of Smolensko from Russia.

SECTION IX—*Progress of the Turkish Power in Europe.*

THE successors of Mohammed II. on the throne of Constantinople imitated the vigorous policy of that conqueror, and for nearly a century were the terror of Christendom. Bayezid II. subdued Bessarabia,

¹ See page 194.

and acquired some important provinces in Asia. He was forced to resign the throne by his son Selim (A.D. 1510), and was murdered in prison. Selim I., surnamed Gavúz, or the Savage, was obliged to maintain the throne he had so criminally gained, by a series of sanguinary wars with the other members of his family. Having triumphed over these competitors, he turned his arms against the Persians, and gained a complete victory over Ismael Sofí at Tabríz (A.D. 1514). In consequence of this and other successes, Diarbekr and several other provinces beyond the Tigris were annexed to the Turkish empire. The Mameluke Sultans of Egypt having assisted the Persians in this war, Selim led an army into Syria, and encountered Sultan Gaurí near Aleppo. After a sanguinary engagement, the Mamelukes were defeated and their leader slain, upon which Aleppo and Damascus submitted to the Turks. This success opened the way for invading Egypt; Tímán Bey, who had been elected sultan in place of Gaurí, assembled the remnants of the Mamelukes under the walls of Cairo, and having procured some auxiliary forces from the Arabs, prepared to meet the enemy. Selim advanced steadily, and attacked the hostile camp. The battle was obstinate and bloody, but the superior fire of the Turkish artillery, which was served principally by Christian gunners, decided the fate of the day, and Tímán Bey, after having done everything that could be expected from an able officer and a brave warrior, was driven into Cairo (A.D. 1517). Selim stormed the city; but Tímán, not yet disheartened, fled across the Nile, and by incredible exertions once more collected an army. The Turks pursued him closely, and forced him to a final engagement, in which the Mamelukes were utterly routed, and their gallant sultan taken prisoner. Selim was at first disposed to spare the captive, but his officers, who feared and envied Tímán, persuaded him that such clemency might inspire the Mamelukes with the hope of recovering their dominions, and the unfortunate sultan was hanged at the principal gate of Cairo.

Soleyman, usually surnamed the Magnificent, succeeded his father Selim, and emulous of the fame acquired by the conquest of Egypt, resolved to turn his arms against the princes of Christendom. Hungary, during the reign of Matthew Corvinus, had become a powerful and flourishing kingdom. Inspired by the example of his father, the renowned Hunniades, Corvinus wrested Bosnia from the Turks, and maintained his supremacy over Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia. But during the reigns of his indolent successors, Uladislaus II. and Louis, who were also kings of Bohemia, Hungary was distracted by factions and ravaged by the Turks. Soleyman took advantage of the minority of Louis, and the weakness of Hungary, to invade the kingdom. He captured, with little difficulty, the important fortress of Belgrade, justly deemed the bulwark of Christian Europe (A.D. 1521). Inspired by his first success, he returned to the attack; having traversed

the Danube and the Drave, without meeting any resistance, he encountered the Christians in the field of Mohatz, and gained over them one of the most signal victories that the Turks ever won (A.D. 1526). King Louis, and the principal part of the Hungarian nobility, fell in this fatal battle, the entire country was laid at the mercy of the invaders, but Soleyman, instead of securing a permanent conquest, laid waste the land with fire and sword, and carried myriads of the inhabitants as slaves to Constantinople.

A triumph of even greater importance was gained by the Turks during the Hungarian war. Rhodes, the seat of the heroic knights of St. John, was besieged by Soleyman's vizier. All the arts of assault and defence that had yet been devised by human ingenuity were used in this siege, which lasted more than five months. The assailants and the garrison fought with such fury that it seemed a contest rather for the empire of the world than the possession of a single city. The sultan himself came in person to superintend the operations of his army, while the knights were not only neglected by the Christian powers, but exposed to the open hostilities of the Venetians. They protracted their resistance until every wall and bulwark had crumbled beneath the overwhelming fire of the Turkish batteries, when they surrendered on honourable conditions; and on Christmas day (A.D. 1522), Soleyman made his triumphant entry into what had been a city, but was now a shapeless mass of ruins.

On the death of Louis, Ferdinand of Austria, who had married the sister of the unfortunate monarch, claimed the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. He received quiet possession of the latter kingdom; but the Hungarians chose for their sovereign John Zapolya, prince palatine of Transylvania. Zapolya finding himself unable to resist the power of Ferdinand claimed the protection of the Turks. Soleyman marched in person to his aid, and, not satisfied with expelling the Austrians from Hungary, pursued them into their own country and laid siege to Vienna (A.D. 1529). He failed in this enterprise, and was compelled to retreat, after having lost eighty thousand men.

The Emperor Charles V., alarmed at the progress of the Turks, tried to form a general confederation of the German princes against them, but found that the troubles occasioned by the progress of the Reformation would prevent any cordial union. He resolved, however, to check the growth of their naval power in the Mediterranean, where *Khair-ed-din*¹, or Barbarossa, a pirate whom Soleyman had taken into his service, captured Tunis and Algiers, and was collecting a formidable naval force. Charles took advantage of Soleyman's being engaged in conquering the pachalick of Bagdad from the Persians, to invade Africa,

¹ *Khair-ed-din* signifies "the goodness of the faith." This terror of the Christians was named Barbarossa, on account of his "red beard."

where he made himself master of Tunis. Soleyman, returning victorious from Asia, was so enraged at his losses in Africa, that he resolved to attempt the conquest of Italy. The imprudence of a Venetian captain turned the wrath of the sultan upon the republic of Venice; he attacked two Turkish galleys in the Adriatic, for some mistake about their signals, and satisfaction being refused, Soleyman proclaimed war.

But while thus engaged in the West, Soleyman did not neglect the enlargement of his eastern dominions. His generals conquered the whole of Arabia, and his admirals issuing from the Red Sea, attacked, but without success, the Portuguese dominions in India. In the mean time the Venetian senate entered into an alliance with the emperor, Charles V., and the pope, Paul III.; their united navies were placed under the command of the celebrated Doria, but his success was far from according with the expectations that the allies had formed. The war, however, led to no decisive result; it was suspended by occasional truces, during which Soleyman took the opportunity of enlarging his Asiatic dominions at the expense of Persia.

The knights of St. John, expelled from Rhodes, obtained a settlement in the island of Malta; they directed their attention to naval affairs, and inflicted severe damages on the Turks by sea. Soleyman, roused by the complaints of his subjects, resolved that Malta should share the fate of Rhodes, and collected all his forces for the siege (A.D. 1565). The knights maintained their character for obstinate valour with more success than on the former occasion; after a sanguinary contest for five months, the Turks were forced to retire, with the loss of twenty-four thousand men and all their artillery. Soleyman prepared to take revenge by completing the conquest of Hungary, but while besieging Sigeth, he fell a victim to disease, produced by old age and fatigue (A.D. 1566), after having raised the Turkish empire to the highest pitch of its greatness.

Selim II., soon after his accession, made peace with the Germans and Persians, but renewed war with the Venetians, from whom he took the important island of Cyprus (A.D. 1571). But while the Turkish army was thus engaged, their fleet was utterly destroyed in the battle of Lepanto, by the allied Venetian, imperial, and papal navy. The allies neglected to improve their victory, and Selim soon repaired his losses. But this sultan sank into the usual indolence of oriental sovereigns, his successors followed his example, and the Ottoman power began rapidly to decline. The Austrian rulers became convinced of the impolicy of harsh measures, and conceded to the Hungarians full security for their political and religious liberties, at the diet of Presburg; Hungary was thenceforth united to Austria, and the last war, directly resulting from the Reformation, happily terminated.

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SECTION X.—*History of the Jesuits.*

THE rapid progress of the Reformation convinced the rulers of the Romish Church, that their ecclesiastical power could not be maintained by the old machinery which had previously kept Christendom in subjection; they eagerly sought for some new engine of dominion, and found one of great promise in the order of the Jesuits, which had been founded by a half-crazed enthusiast, Ignatius Loyola. Few institutions have attracted more attention than this celebrated order, and yet there are few respecting the origin and history of which greater mistakes have been made. It will therefore be necessary to dwell at some length on the circumstances that led to the establishment of a body which has exercised so much influence over the history of Modern Europe.

Monachism originated in the East: it was disregarded in the western churches until St. Athanasius came to Rome (A.D. 340), to solicit the aid of the pope and other bishops of the West, in his struggle against the Arians. During his residence in Rome he published the life of St. Anthony, the most celebrated hermit that had yet appeared. The book produced an extraordinary sensation; it was a sort of Christian romance, the first which had appeared among the Latins; and Athanasius consequently deserves the credit of having founded a new school of literature, which has been most prolific and popular. It was from this book that St. Jerome, who afterwards laboured in the same cause, derived his history of St. Paul, the first hermit, the travels of St. Anthony to visit this hero of solitude, the story of the raven which daily supplied the hermit with food, and the edifying account of the two lions who dug his grave, and gave him honourable burial.

The description of such miracles, received with implicit credit, induced several of the weak and credulous to practise voluntary austerities, and to make private vows of celibacy: and St. Jerome wrote and preached in favour of this new system. St. Benedict, however, was the first who established regular monasteries: he published his celebrated rule (A.D. 515); and it must be confessed that his legislation was more sound, humane, and reasonable, than that of any of the preceding fathers. His great object was manifestly to prevent the indulgence of that indolent contemplation which had produced so much evil in the monasteries of Asia, and threatened to produce a similar abundance of fanatical speculations among the solitaries of Europe. He insisted that the monks should be labourers; and he established his monasteries, like colonies, in the midst of the dense forests by which Europe was then covered, and forced them to cultivate the soil. By these means Benedict secured the tranquillity of the first monks, and made the fortune of their successors. Monasteries multi-

plied and grew rich; monks began to interfere in the affairs of state; they sought to become masters of kings, and not unfrequently rivals of popes; the council of Lateran forbade the multiplication of monastic orders; Innocent III. complained of the monks of Clairvaux, in the words of Scripture, "Jehurun waxed fat, and kicked." At this crisis St. Francis proposed a new order of monastics, whose members should be distinguished by vows of absolute poverty, and whose life should be passed in begging and preaching. In spite of the decrees of the council, Innocent III. sanctioned an institution whose advantages he could easily appreciate: the popes, he saw, would be enabled to support a spiritual militia for the defence of the Church in every country in Europe, without expense or difficulty; and he could keep the discipline perfect, by insisting that the superiors of all the Mendicant orders should reside in Rome; and it is of importance to observe, that the superiors or heads of all the ancient monastic orders, the Benedictines, the Bernardines, the Clunists, &c., always avoided residing within the dominions of the pope; while every superior of the Mendicant orders invariably remained in Rome.

The artifices adopted to render the Mendicant orders popular, were equally criminal and ridiculous; the pious frauds of the Franciscans were so gross that they could only have succeeded in the darkest ages. A huge volume was published on *The Conformities between St. Francis and Jesus Christ*, in which the miracles, revelations, and torments inflicted at the crucifixion. Pretended miracles, revelations, and torments abounded: the bones of saints who never existed were produced; a blundering monk, mistaking *St. Alm.* (an abbreviation simply signifying "the holy almanac,") for a man's name, added *St. Almachius* to the calendar; and ere long a part of the saint's skull was added to the treasure of one church, and his leg and arm to another.

It is too commonly supposed that no opposition was made to those abuses before the days of Martin Luther; but the fact is, that the Mendicant orders were vigorously opposed by the secular clergy from the first moment of their institution. Matthew Paris assails them as fiercely as any modern historian of popery; Reuchlin waged war against them without truce or intermission; and the author of *Epistola Obscurorum Virorum* covered them with immortal ridicule. Chaucer, Boccaccio, and Erasmus, without resigning their claim to orthodoxy, exposed the ignorance, the presumption, and the mischievous interference of these meddling friars; who aimed at the mastery of all affairs, public and private, from the government of a kingdom to the management of a household. The Mendicant orders owed their strength and popularity to the ignorance of the people, which they were anxious to perpetuate. They were hostile to the diffusion of learning, which they knew would be fatal to their own influence, and in the few schools which they established, nothing was taught beyond the legends of the

and the elements of scholastic theology, a system in which the truths of religion were completely obscured by metaphysical disquisitions, or rather guesses on subjects beyond the grasp of human reason. They were particularly hostile to the study of the Scriptures in the original languages, and in opposing this valuable kind of learning they contrived to exhibit not less of ignorance than of bigotry. One of their preachers astonished his auditory by asserting that Greek was a new language invented by heretics, and that whoever studied Hebrew would infallibly become a Jew! But though such ignorance exposed them to the contempt of scholars, it did not prevent them from exercising great influence over an uneducated population; on the contrary, it increased their strength, by placing them near the level of those whom they were anxious to rule. During the earlier struggles against papal tyranny, the preaching friars were always found to be the most zealous supporters of the Romish see, and the most formidable enemies to the independence of National Churches.

Now it has always appeared to us a curious problem, why it is that the Jesuits have been the theme of almost universal reprobation, whilst the Mendicant orders, which history exhibits as more culpable, and common sense shows to be equally dangerous, have escaped almost without censure. Self-renouncement, implicit obedience, immediate allegiance to the Holy See, are common to the Cordeliers, the Carmelites, the Jacobins, and the Jesuits. They are all equally soldiers of the pope, with this difference, viz. that the Jesuits formed a discipline, ~~the none, with this difference, viz. that the Jesuits formed a discipline,~~ struggle made against the Jesuits, we find monks of these orders among their most bitter opponents; and even the Dominicans, with the abominations of the Inquisition on their consciences, and the casuistry of their Saint Thomas ever present to their memories, have been loud in condemning the unsocial principles and the equivocation of the Jesuits.

The time in which the order was instituted appears to solve the problem. The other orders arose in ages of darkness and ignorance; their privileges were ratified by silent prescription, and had, in the course of time, accommodated themselves, in some degree, to existing institutions. But Jesuitism appeared in an age of light and knowledge, when men were able and willing to criticize its nature and tendency; not only Protestants, but Roman Catholics saw the danger of establishing papal garrisons throughout Europe, and sanctioning an institution which must necessarily be the rival of civil government. Bishops and parliaments protested against the admission of the order into their dioceses and states;—true, the constitution of the other orders was equally adverse to the laws of the state and the church; but men will submit to an old abuse who will not endure a new one: and besides, the weapons of the preaching friars were antiquated and rusty—their tactics belonged to a former age; while the Jesuits possessed arms

of the newest pattern, and discipline superior to any yet practised. The Dominicans, Cordeliers, Augustinians, &c., had motives equally powerful to oppose the Jesuits: they saw with indignation, at the very moment when the gains of the monastic orders began to be restricted, a fresh host of claimants demanding to share in them; and they had the art to concentrate against these new rivals all the jealousy which Protestants and Roman Catholics generally and justly felt against all the bodies of the papal militia.

These preliminary observations seem necessary to show the nature of the connexion between the history of Jesuitism and that of the Church, and the origin of the prejudices existing against the society. We shall now turn to the life of its founder, and the circumstances which led to the establishment of the order.

Ignatius Loyola was a gentleman of Biscay; he entered the army, and had his leg broken by a stone at the siege of Pampeluna (A.D. 1521); the leg was set by an unskilful surgeon, and threatened to produce personal deformity, to prevent which, Loyola, who was rather vain of his person, had the courageous weakness to cause the leg to be broken and set a second time. The operation failed, and he continued lame for life. While confined to his bed, he wished to amuse himself with some of the romances of chivalry so popular in Spain before the publication of *Don Quixote*; none could be found in the house, but their place was supplied by a work called *The Flowers of Sanctity*, which contained the miraculous histories of St. Anthony, St. Francis, and St. Dominic. The perusal of this volume, which we may remark is still popular in Spain, inspired him with visions of spiritual chivalry quite as romantic as those that guided the hero of Cervantes, and, in some respects, of the same nature. He declared himself the knight of the Virgin Mary, and, to do all things in proper order, proceeded to keep his vigil of arms in the monastery of Montserrat. On his road he met a Moor, with whom he entered into a sharp controversy on the mystery of the Incarnation, but the Mussulman was a better logician than the enthusiast, and Ignatius, completely silenced, turned off the road to conceal his indignation. Immediately afterwards his conscience reproached him for having permitted a blasphemer to escape; he turned back, and coming to a place where two roads met, threw the reins on the neck of his mule, that Providence might determine whether he should slay the Mussulman or not. Luckily the mule turned into a different road from that which the Moor had taken, and this event is recorded among the miracles of St. Ignatius. Having performed his vigil, he consecrated his weapons to the Virgin, and covering himself with rags, undertook various pilgrimages, in the course of which he visited Jerusalem. Soon after his return he published a work entitled *Spiritual Exercises*, so full of absurdity, that one of the few blunders committed by the Jesuits was that they did not allow it

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sink quietly into oblivion, but recommended its perusal, and used every effort to give it general circulation. Since the revival of the order, the *Exercises of Loyola* have been withdrawn, and in their stead the Jesuits have generally recommended a work of far superior merit, the treatise of Thomas à Kempis on the *Imitation of Christ*. Though tinged with the spirit of monasticism, the treatise of Kempis is equally valued by Protestants and Catholics for the depth of its piety, and the purity of its devotion.

On his return to Spain, Loyola was seized with the ambition of becoming a celebrated preacher; his ignorance, however, was a formidable obstacle, and to overcome this, at the age of thirty-three, he went to school and began to learn the rudiments of Latin. But learning was a work of time, and Loyola could not wait; he began to teach while yet a scholar, and his singular sermons attracted crowds of auditors. The Inquisition took alarm at the novelty, and Ignatius, after having been frequently imprisoned by the followers of St. Dominic, thought it prudent to quit Spain, and he went to pursue his studies in the University of Paris.

In Paris, Loyola made converts, or rather disciples, of six of his fellow pupils:—Francis Xavier, subsequently canonized as a saint and designated the apostle to the Indies; Laines, the successor of Loyola in the presidency of the order; Salmeron, whose writings have been proscribed by the Inquisition as heretical; Bobadilla, Rodriguez, and Lefebvre, remarkable for nothing but their fanaticism and credulity. The first project of this infant society was sufficiently extravagant; it was forthwith to undertake the conversion of the Turks, and they plighted their faith to make the effort in a chapel at Montmartre, on the night of the 15th of August, 1554. It may be remarked as a curious coincidence, that this same scheme has been more than once propounded by excited enthusiasts in England. Indeed it is recorded that a female member of the Society of Friends actually went to Constantinople for the purpose of converting the sultan. The Turkish authorities, justly suspecting her sanity, treated her with kindness, and had her restored to her friends.

From Paris Loyola proceeded to Rome, preaching at every favourable opportunity on the road, making few converts and many enemies. He obtained an interview with the pope, and submitted to him his plans for the formation of a new religious society. Paul III. saw, at a glance, the advantages which the Holy See would derive from such an institution, and he legally established the society, by a bull dated the 27th of September, 1540. Loyola was nominally employed to prepare the rules of the order; but the task really devolved upon Laines and Salmeron, men of superior talents, who were able to arrange the materials, collected at hazard by fanaticism, into an orderly and permanent code.

The rest of the life of Ignatius is identified with the history of the order he founded; but our readers would derive neither pleasure nor profit from a recital of his pretended miracles and absurd visions. He died at the age of sixty-five, on the last day of July, 1556, and his memory has been ever since the theme of extravagant eulogy and equally extravagant satire. His disciples have made him a saint, which, of course, was easy enough; but they also wish to make him a great man, which is quite a different matter. He was merely a visionary enthusiast, whose zeal was wasted, until it was secretly directed by more powerful minds. The enemies of the Jesuits described Ignatius as a crafty politician; it appears to us that more able statesmen might be found in St. Luke's. The biography of Loyola has employed the pens of more than thirty different authors,—a greater miracle, by the way, than any one of them has recorded,—and no one of them has attributed to Loyola a sentiment or expression manifesting superior acuteness or intelligence. Absurd and ridiculous as the lives of Loyola are, it is scarcely possible to read them without perceiving that the unfortunate man was the dupe of some crafty and designing persons, who moulded and directed his enthusiasm to forward their own purposes. From the very outset Laines gave to the new order the form and consistency of a political association. The court of Rome secretly watched its growth, ready to disavow the experiment if it failed, and to adopt it if it succeeded. Nor was this cautious policy quite abandoned during the whole period of Jesuit history; the order bore the blame of every defeat, and the Papal See profited by every triumph. The Jesuits felt the disadvantage of such a position, and more than once assumed an attitude which made them virtual masters of the papacy. On such occasions the popes complained of the yoke imposed upon them in very angry terms, and Clement XI. is reported to have said, that the Jesuits were perilous servants and tyrannical masters.

We have already said, that the leading principles of the Jesuit constitution were the same as those which had been long before established in the orders founded by St. Francis and St. Dominic; but there were some points of difference, which it is material to notice. The superiors of the Mendicant orders possessed a very limited authority: the power of the general of the Jesuits was unlimited; he had not to consult chapter, preceptory, or congregation, and there was no one who could of right claim admission to his councils. He had, moreover, the power of dismissing from the order any members who were unfit to support its interests; and, finally, he could dispense with the long and fatiguing ritual, the repetitions of masses, rosaries, and legends, imposed upon the other monastic orders. The Jesuits were encouraged to undertake any employment for which their tastes and talents were suited; they were exhorted to cultivate the arts and sciences; and it is unnecessary to add, that their body contained some of the most

eminent men in literature and philosophy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But these advantages, great as they were, did not give the Jesuits so complete a superiority as they derived from their disinterested superintendence of the instruction of youth. Their schools, gratuitously open to all, afforded an education infinitely superior to any that could be obtained in the universities of France, Spain, or Catholic Germany; and the influence which they acquired by these means was honourably won, though it was sometimes unfairly exercised. Not less creditable to them was their rule prohibiting the acceptance of fees for the performance of religious offices. We find in the history of the council of Trent, that several bishops declaimed with great vigour on the scandal of making baptisms, marriages, masses, and burials, matters of traffic, and nearly all who were present lamented the abuse. But no remedy was devised.

The enemies of the Jesuits asserted that the gratuitous instruction of youth and performance of religious offices were not disinterested acts of benevolence, but were artful means for obtaining political influence. There was truth in the accusation, but the same means could have been equally employed by their adversaries; and the answer of the Spanish Jesuit to the bishop of Salamanca, "Go and do thou likewise," is a very conclusive defence. It must, however, be observed, that the administration of the Offices of the Church has been long a subject of contention between the regular and secular clergy in most Catholic countries. The parochial clergy in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Ireland, complain that their influence over their flocks is weakened by the interference of monks and friars, who acquire great power by the family secrets revealed to them in confession. The Jesuits knew that such secrets were more valuable than money, and it was to obtain the monopoly of such a formidable source of influence, that they tendered their gratuitous services on all occasions.

The last difference between the Jesuits and the other monastic orders, was the vow of implicit obedience to the pope. This secured them the protection of the Holy See, although the pontiffs sometimes found that there was a reservation in the promised allegiance, which greatly diminished its value.

From what we have said, it is manifest that the great object of the Jesuit institution was to maintain the temporal power of the papacy, and realize, if possible, Hildebrand's great scheme of a European Theocracy. Had such a society existed in the time of Gregory VII., it is possible that the project of that eminent pontiff might have succeeded; but the Jesuits came too late, and the history of their struggles is a powerful example of the inutility of all efforts to defend worn-out institutions against the steady progress of advancing intelligence.

Jesuitism, like the infant Hercules, had to contend with serpents in its cradle. The secular clergy of Italy, the monastic bodies, and

the universities, combined to strangle the rising society, and the first college which they established at Padua became the subject of a law-suit before the senate of Venice. Loyola appealed in vain to the zeal and justice of the Venetian senators; his coadjutor, Laines, showed more tact—he administered a bribe to the doge's mistress—in consequence of which the Jesuits retained their college, and a rich priory besides, to which their claim was more than questionable. Charles V. could not be persuaded either to encourage or to oppose the order, but, after his resignation, the Jesuits applied to Francis de Borgia, one of the illegitimate descendants of Pope Alexander VI., who had risen to the high dignity of Viceroy of Catalonia. This nobleman, equally ignorant and credulous, agreed to become a Jesuit himself, and he ranks as a saint, next to Ignatius Loyola. The Dominicans were furious; they stigmatized the Jesuits as the precursors of Antichrist, they declared that the Spiritual Exercises of Loyola were a mass of indecency and impiety; but they had the mortification to find the pope and the Spanish nation ranged on the side of their adversaries. The king of Portugal invited the Jesuits to his dominions, and he opened to them the career in which they merited and acquired most fame, by soliciting Loyola to nominate missionaries to all the heathen countries which had been opened to Europe by Portuguese enterprise.

The *History of St. Francis Xavier* has been written by John Dryden and John Wesley. Neither has fairly appreciated his character; in their admiration of his ardent zeal, they slur over his fanaticism, his founding the Inquisition at Goa, his preaching a crusade with all the energy of St. Bernard, and with the same evil fortune. The Jesuit historians gravely detail the miracles he wrought; they have omitted one—he visited Japan, hoping to convert the natives by preaching to them in Spanish, and was not shut up in a lunatic asylum. Examples of folly are valuable to institutions, because they show the errors that ought to be avoided. Perhaps it was on this principle that the Jesuits canonized St. Francis Xavier, for they took good care not to follow his track. Instead of speeding from country to country, preaching the deepest mysteries of Christianity in language unintelligible to their auditors, the Jesuit missionaries subsequently took up their abode among the people they designed to convert, studied their language and laws, and investigated the nature of the religion against which they were to preach, as well as that which they were to recommend. In Paraguay they adopted the policy of the Benedictines, and formed colonies to teach the Indians the arts of civilized life; and the influence which they acquired over these simple tribes was the most legitimate species of power, for it was founded on experienced benefits.

But the missionary exertions of the Jesuits in Asia and Africa were designed in no small degree to extend the influence of the order

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in Europe, and hence studied exaggerations of their success were circulated with great zeal and industry. When we sit down coolly to examine the account of their conversions, we find the statements of numbers vague and dubious, and in almost every certain case the amount of the change appears to be, that a few barbarians exchanged unmeaning ceremonies for an unintelligible ritual. This was demonstrated in North America.—“In the western hemisphere,” says a recent writer belonging to the order, “the Jesuits penetrated into the north. The Hurons were civilized, and Canada ceased to be the residence of barbarians only. Others civilized other tribes in the inclement California, and united them into Christian communities.”—The notorious barbarism of these tribes at the present hour may enable us to estimate the value of Jesuit conversion, civilization, and Christianity.

It was chiefly, however, owing to the celebrity of the Jesuit missions that the opposition made to them in Roman Catholic countries was relaxed; Laines, their second general, fostered the delusion, and persuaded many able men that missionaries of the order would be just as successful with Protestants as they had been with the heathen. “The Dominicans,” said one of his partisans, “are wolves who, with their Inquisition, destroy stragglers; the Jesuits are trained dogs who will lead them back to the fold.” In an evil hour for the order, the popes gave credence to the boast, and employed Jesuits almost exclusively as their emissaries, not only in Protestant countries, but in Catholic courts whose adhesion to the papacy was suspicious. We say that this was unfortunate for the order, because it had to bear exclusively the blame of all the plots and conspiracies devised by all the bigots of the Romish church,—popes, kings, and monks included.

The fear inspired by the intrigues of the Jesuits must be borne in mind, whenever the policy of the penal laws enacted against the Romanists in England and other Protestant countries, at the beginning of the last century, is examined. When even Portugal, Spain, and France showed signs of alarm at the new form assumed by popery, it would, assuredly, be strange if Protestant powers neglected to take measures of precaution, or refused to see the approach of danger. Doctrines subversive of civil liberty, of legitimate government, and even of social order, were promulgated systematically and pertinaciously; they were so blended and confounded with other doctrines universally received by the Romish church, that it was impossible to draw a line of separation; and Protestants were compelled, for their own security, to exclude Romanists from power altogether.

It would be impossible, in our limited space, to enter on a full history of the Jesuit missions, but there are three whose great importance merits our attention: these are Paraguay, Japan, and China. It was about the commencement of the seventeenth century that the

Jesuits first established themselves in Paraguay, one of the most fertile countries in South America. They found the inhabitants strangers to the arts of social life, deriving a precarious subsistence from hunting and fishing, and hardly acquainted with the first principles of government. The Jesuits instructed and civilized these savages. They taught them to cultivate the ground, domesticate animals, live in villages, and to appreciate the blessings of order and tranquillity. But this meritorious conduct was designed to establish the independent sway of the society: they instilled into the minds of the natives a jealous hatred of the Spanish and Portuguese settlers, which has not yet been effaced; and they prohibited private traders from entering the territories under their jurisdiction. They would not permit the Indians to learn the Spanish or Portuguese languages, but selected one of the South American dialects, which they laboured to make the universal language throughout their dominions. They even levied armies, taught their subjects the use of fire-arms, formed them into regiments of cavalry and infantry, provided a regular train of artillery, and magazines well stored with all the munitions of war.

It was long believed by some sentimental people that the Jesuits took all these precautions that they might protect the innocent Indians from the contagion of European vices, and it was the fashion to represent Paraguay as a paradise of Arcadian simplicity; indeed, this amiable delusion is not unfrequently repeated by writers of modern times; but the truth was manifested when the kings of Spain and Portugal resumed their authority over these districts.

The Indians were instructed up to the point when they became valuable slaves, and there their education terminated. They were held in a state of degrading thralldom, not the less oppressive because it was supported by moral influences rather than physical force; and all the profits of their toil, beyond what was necessary to support existence, went to swell the treasury of their task-masters.

When the Jesuits were expelled in 1760, the evil influence of their instructions was fatally manifested; the jealous hatred of the Europeans which they had seduously inculcated, led the Indians to refuse allegiance to the king of Portugal, and they were not reduced until a destructive war had swept away half of the population of the country. The exclusive principles of the Jesuits are still maintained in Paraguay, and all intercourse between that rich territory and the surrounding districts is strictly prohibited.

Before entering on the history of the Japanese missions, we must say a few words on that of India, where first the close connexion between the Jesuits and the Inquisition was established. Xavier, who has been sometimes called the Apostle of the Indies, established the Inquisition at Goa, in pursuance of the principle stated by Gernon, in his apology for his order: "Inasmuch as from the nature of their

Institute, and their fourth vow, it belongs to the Jesuits to exercise the office and function of inquisitors in countries where no Inquisition is established." The Jesuits had not long to wait for the organization of the tribunal at Goa; it soon became the scourge of the Portuguese dominions in the East, and its horrors have been established by incontrovertible testimony.

Christianity was first introduced into Japan by Xavier (A.D. 1549); we have already seen how carefully the Jesuits laboured to retain exclusive possession of this mission, for they hoped that it might become as profitable to them as Paraguay. Unfortunately they began their political intrigues before they had a sufficient number of converts, and manifested an intolerant spirit, which provoked the animosity of princes and people.

It is difficult to ascertain the true nature of the circumstances which suddenly induced the Japanese rulers to persecute the Christian converts, after they had given great encouragement to the missionaries; the Jesuits themselves attribute it to jealousy of European superiority, and a suspicious dread of Spanish ambition. Two fierce persecutions annihilated the infant Church. In the first (A.D. 1590), twenty thousand Christians were massacred, and in 1638, thirty-seven thousand more shared the same fate. Since that time the very name of Christianity is detested by the Japanese of all classes; and those who profess it are carefully excluded from their harbours, with the exception of a single port to which the Dutch alone are permitted to trade.

Many efforts were made to introduce Christianity into China before the task was undertaken by the Jesuits. The most celebrated among the early missionaries of that order were Ruggiero and Ricci; they entered the country in the disguise of Buddhist priests, and won the respect of the Chinese by their skill in various branches of science. After many disappointments Ricci penetrated to Peking (A.D. 1601), and made several converts, several of whom were persons of high distinction. Candida, the daughter of Leu, a cabinet minister, was a zealous adherent to the new doctrines; she built several churches, and educated in the Christian faith the helpless babes who had been exposed by their cruel parents.

After Ricci's death a fierce persecution was raised against the Christians (A.D. 1615); the missionaries were either banished to Canton, or forced to conceal themselves in the houses of their converts. But they recovered their lost favour by offering to support the Chinese government against the invasion of the Mantchoo Tartars, proposing to send auxiliaries and gunners from Macao, to direct the imperial artillery and instruct the Chinese in European tactics.

Adam Schaal, a German Jesuit, gained even greater influence over the first Tartar emperor than Ricci had enjoyed under the preceding dynasty. But after the accession of Kang-he, the fire of persecution,

nourished by jealousy and national antipathy, raged very furiously (A.D. 1664). The missionaries had to suffer cruel mockings and imprisonments; some sealed their faith with their blood; others were sent to Canton. Seven years afterwards the persecution so far abated, that the Jesuits were allowed to return to their churches.

Verbiest, the head of the mission, won the emperor's confidence by giving the Chinese instructions in the art of cannon-founding, and gained such an ascendancy, that he procured permission for the establishment of all the missions which might be required. But Verbiest gave the fatal example of mingling religion with political intrigues, and seeking to extend the faith by means of questionable purity. A greater error of the Jesuit missionaries was their resting satisfied with nominal conversions; of the thousands who were baptized, very few indeed were thoroughly instructed in Christian truth, and still fewer had learned to feel its influence over the heart and the affections. But worse remains to be told; Ricci had carried the principle of accommodation to a criminal length; in order to conciliate the Chinese, he joined in the praises of the Confucian system, and tolerated several of its idolatrous practices; he permitted his servants to worship their ancestors, and had no objection that the men of letters who became Christians should continue to perform the customary prostrations in honour of their patron sage Confucius.

Longobardi, the successor of Ricci, was less compliant: he strictly prohibited all idolatrous rites, and this produced such a schism that it was necessary to refer the decision of the matter to Rome. After long debates and inconsistent decisions, the papal court finally decided against permitting the use of the idolatrous rites; but the Jesuits refused to obey the bull, and they procured an edict from the emperor requiring every missionary who entered the empire to promise that he would preach the same doctrines which Ricci had taught, and that he would never leave China. But the power of the Jesuits had now become alarming to the Chinese authorities; they had acquired a complete mastery over the minds of their converts, and they frequently exercised this authority to control and direct civil affairs.

Edicts were frequently issued to restrain the promulgation of Christianity, and the princes in whom the Jesuits trusted for protection, abandoned them in the hour of trial. The Emperor Keen Lung proved a bitter persecutor, and under his direction the Chinese magistrates began to accuse and punish Christians with all the ferocity of inquisitors (A.D. 1746); the numbers of the Christians rapidly decreased; some were martyred, many apostatized, and even those who adhered to the faith, deemed it necessary to make a public profession of idolatry.

The abolition of the order of Jesuits was a fatal blow to the Romish church in China; they had served as painters, mathematicians, and mechanics, at court, and had won the respect and confidence

dees by their superior intelligence. They were removed ere of their labours just when their intrigues had excited us, without producing any advantage to their cause. Though there are still Romish missions in China, their churches continue to decline, and those who profess the faith continue to be objects of suspicion to the government.

In all their missionary establishments the Jesuits were remarkable for their hostility to episcopal authority; and in Europe they showed an earnest anxiety to withdraw their votaries from obedience to the constituted authorities of the Church. Jesuitism was in alliance with popery, but the amity of the parties was frequently interrupted, and before Clement XIV. issued his edict for the suppression of the order, several of the popes had regarded it with hostility. The edict of Pius, by which the Jesuits were restored, was far from meeting universal approbation in the Romish church; several cardinals and bishops vainly interfered to prevent its publication, and in general the continental clergy view the order with great jealousy.

The political intrigues in which the Jesuits were engaged in every European country, and their incessant efforts to wrest ecclesiastical power from the national hierarchies, eventually proved their ruin. It is not necessary to determine whether they were guilty of all or any of the crimes laid to their charge; it is sufficient to observe that they were accused either of suggesting or participating in every political crime which attracted attention during the two centuries of their existence. The most fatal intrigue in which they engaged was an attempt to overthrow the administration of the marquis of Pombal in Portugal. Their efforts were detected and defeated, but immediately after an attempt was made to murder the king of Portugal, and the Jesuits were universally accused of having instigated the assassins. Their complicity indeed was never fully proved, but it was generally believed, and such an outcry was raised against them in Portugal, Spain, and France, that nothing short of the abolition of the order could have prevented a dangerous schism in the Church. Indeed some preparations were made in Portugal to renounce all allegiance to the Holy See and place the national Church under the superintendence of a patriarch.

At this crisis Gangarelli, the most amiable and virtuous in the long list of Roman pontiffs, was elevated to the papacy (A.D. 1769): he took the title of Clement XIV., and was stigmatized by his adversaries as the Protestant pope. On the 21st of July, 1773, he issued a bull suppressing the order of the Jesuits, which was received with joy by nearly all the sovereigns of Europe. The papers found at the dissolution of the order were of little importance; but as the Jesuits had long foreseen their fate, it is probable that those which had any political tendency were destroyed, and the same cause will account for the disappearance of the vast wealth supposed to have been accumulated by the society.

Immediately after the overthrow of Napoleon in 1814, Pope Pius VII. published a bull reviving the order of Jesuits, which at first excited great alarm throughout Europe. But the alliance of the order seems to have been fatal to every cause with which it has been associated. Before their subversion by Clement XIV., the Jesuits had been, for the most part the rival of kings; on their restoration they directed their efforts to rendering ecclesiastical and royal authority absolute, or rather, despotic. They have signally failed; the papal supremacy over the continental churches is now less than it was at any former period; the elder branch of the Bourbons is exiled from France; Spain and Portugal have exchanged despotic for constitutional governments; and the delusive tranquillity of Italy is only maintained by Austrian bayonets. The order itself has greatly declined in popularity of late years; other confraternities have arisen with which the Jesuits have been unable to compete, and from their own publications it seems not unlikely that the period of their second and final extinction is not far distant.

SECTION XI.—*History of the Inquisition.*

IN the preceding sections of this work we have noticed the first establishment of the Inquisition, after the conquest of the Albigenses, and shown its connexion with the political system of popery; but in one part of Europe the Inquisition rose to such a formidable height of power, that it may be almost regarded as an independent institution, an ally rather than a servant of the papacy. It seems, therefore, necessary to make the history of the Spanish Inquisition the subject of a separate section, because in its origin, constitution, and management, it was peculiar to the peninsula.

It was not until the union of Ferdinand and Isabella had laid the foundation of the greatness of Spain, that the clergy of that country prepared to extend the ancient Inquisition, and establish on its basis an institution which should effectually exclude heresy from the peninsula. Isabella, whose comprehensive policy was fraught with the greatest benefits, not only to her own country but to civilized Europe, long resisted a proposition which she foresaw would not only be injurious in itself, but ruinous in its consequences; unfortunately she yielded to the inferior intellect of her husband, and was induced to give her sanction to an institution which soon proved one of the greatest scourges ever inflicted on a civilized country. It must, however, be remarked, that the germs of an Inquisitorial system had been introduced into Spain so early as the days of the Visigoths; the Arians persecuted the Catholics, and the latter when they acquired the ascendancy more than retaliated, while the Jews were the common victims of both parties. We have already mentioned that this system

tion had induced the Jews to support the Saracens when invaded Spain, a circumstance which greatly facilitated the conquest of that country by the Mohammedans. Numbers of the Albigenses after their expulsion from the south of France found shelter in the territories of the king of Arragon, where they were objects of suspicion to the ecclesiastical authorities, though there is no evidence that they made any attempt to propagate their opinions. It was studiously impressed on the mind of Ferdinand, that the descendants of these heretics had entered into a secret conspiracy with the forced converts from Judaism, and with the Moriscoes, to subvert orthodox Christianity. He was told that the altar and the throne were equally endangered by this coalition of anti-Christian parties, and that the evil was spread too far to be checked by the limited powers of the ancient Inquisition.

This ancient Inquisition, as it is termed, bore the same odious peculiarities in its leading features as the modern; the same impenetrable secrecy in its proceedings, the same insidious modes of accusation, a similar use of torture, and similar penalties for the offender. A sort of Manual drawn up by Eymerich, an Arragonese Inquisitor of the fourteenth century, for the instruction of the judges of the holy office, prescribes all those ambiguous forms of interrogation, by which the unwary, and perhaps innocent victim might be circumvented. The principles on which the ancient Inquisition was established, are no less repugnant to justice than those which regulated the modern; although the former, it is true, was much less extensive in its operation. The arm of persecution, however, fell with sufficient heaviness, especially during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, on the unfortunate Albigenses, who, from the proximity and political relations of Arragon and Provence, had become numerous in the former kingdom. The persecution appears, however, to have been chiefly confined to this unfortunate sect, and there is no evidence that the holy office, notwithstanding papal briefs to that effect, was fully organized in Castile, before the reign of Isabella. It cannot at any rate be charged to any lukewarmness in its sovereigns; since they, from the time of St. Ferdinand, who heaped the fagots on the blazing pile with his own hands, down to that of John II., Isabella's father, who hunted the unhappy heretics of Biscay like so many wild beasts among the mountains, had ever evinced a lively zeal for the orthodox faith.

By the middle of the fifteenth century, the Albigenian heresy had become nearly extirpated by the Inquisition of Arragon, so that this infernal engine might have been suffered to sleep undisturbed from want of sufficient fuel to keep it in motion, when new and ample materials were discovered in the unfortunate race of Israel, on whom the sins of their fathers have been so unsparingly visited by every nation in Christendom among whom they have sojourned, almost to the present

century. As this remarkable people, who seem to have preserved their character of unbroken unity amid the thousand fragments into which they have been scattered, attained perhaps to greater consideration in Spain than in any other part of Europe, and as the efforts of the Inquisition were directed principally against them during the present reign, it may be well to take a brief review of their preceding history in the Peninsula. Under the Visigothic empire the Jews multiplied exceedingly in the country, and were permitted to acquire considerable power and wealth. But no sooner had their Arian masters embraced the orthodox faith, than they began to testify their zeal by pouring on the Jews the most pitiless storm of persecution. One of their laws alone condemned the whole race to slavery; and Montesquieu remarks, without much exaggeration, that to the Gothic code may be traced all the maxims of the modern Inquisition, the monks of the fifteenth century only copying, in reference to the Israelites, the bishops of the seventh. After the Saracenic invasion, which the Jews, perhaps with reason, are accused of having facilitated, they resided in the conquered cities, and were permitted to mingle with the Arabs on nearly equal terms.

Their common Oriental origin produced a similarity of tastes, to an extent, not unfavourable to such a coalition. At any rate, the early Spanish Arabs were characterized by a spirit of toleration towards both Jews and Christians, "the people of the book," as they were called, which has scarcely been found among later Moslems. The Jews, accordingly, under these favourable auspices not only accumulated wealth with their usual diligence, but gradually rose to the highest civil dignities, and made great advances in various departments of letters. The schools of Cordova, Toledo, Barcelona, and Grenada, were crowded with numerous disciples, who emulated the Arabians in keeping alive the flame of learning during the deep darkness of the middle ages.

Whatever may be thought of their success in speculative philosophy, they cannot reasonably be denied to have contributed largely to practical and experimental science. They were diligent travellers in all parts of the known world, compiling itineraries, which have proved of extensive use in later times, and bringing home hordes of foreign specimens and Oriental drugs, that furnished important contributions to the domestic pharmacopœias. In the practice of medicine, indeed, they became so expert as in a manner to monopolize that profession; they made great proficiency in mathematics, and particularly in astronomy, while in the cultivation of elegant letters, they revived the ancient glories of the Hebrew muse.

This was indeed the golden age of modern Jewish literature, which under the Spanish Khaliphs experienced a protection so benign, although occasionally chequered by the caprices of despotism, that it was enabled to attain higher beauty and a more perfect develop-

the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, than it in any other part of Christendom. The ancient Castilians of the same period, very different from their Gothic ancestors, seem to have conceded to the Israelites somewhat of the feelings of respect which were extorted from them by the superior civilization of the Spanish Arabs. We find eminent Jews residing in the courts of the Christian princes, directing their studies, attending them as physicians, or more frequently administering their finances. For this last vocation they seem to have had a natural aptitude; and indeed the correspondence which they maintained with the different countries of Europe by means of their own countrymen, who acted as the brokers of almost every people among whom they were scattered during the middle ages, afforded them peculiar facilities both in commerce and politics. We meet with Jewish scholars and statesmen attached to the courts of Alphonso XI., Peter the Cruel, Henry II., and other princes. Their astronomical science recommended them in a special manner to Alphonso the Wise, who employed them in the construction of his celebrated tables; James I. of Arragon condescended to receive instruction from them in ethics, and in the fifteenth century we notice John II. of Castile, employing a Jewish secretary in the composition of a national Cancionero.

But all this royal patronage proved incompetent to protect the Jews, when their flourishing fortunes had risen to a sufficient height to excite popular envy, augmented as it was by their profuse ostentation of equipage and apparel, for which this singular people, notwithstanding their avarice, have usually shown a predilection. Stories were circulated of their contempt of the Catholic worship, their desecration of its most holy symbols, and of their crucifixion, or other sacrifice of Christian children, at the celebration of their own passover.

With these foolish calumnies, the more probable charge of usury and extortion was industriously preferred against them, till at length, towards the close of the fourteenth century, the fanatical populace, stimulated in many instances by the no less fanatical clergy, and perhaps encouraged by the numerous class of debtors to the Jews, who found this a convenient mode of settling their accounts, made a fresh assault on this unfortunate people in Castile and Arragon, breaking into their houses, violating their most private sanctuaries, scattering their costly collections and furniture, and consigning the wretched proprietors to indiscriminate massacre, without regard to age or sex. In this crisis, the only remedy left to the Jews was a real or feigned conversion to christianity. St. Vincent Ferrier, a Dominican of Valencia, performed such a quantity of miracles in furtherance of this purpose, as might have excited the envy of any saint in the calendar; and these, aided by his eloquence, are said to have changed the hearts of no less than 35,000 of the race of Israel, which, doubtless, must be

reckoned the greatest miracle of all. The legislative enactments of this period, and still more under John II., during the first half of the fifteenth century, were uncommonly severe upon the Jews: while they were prohibited from mingling with the Christians, and from exercising the professions for which they were best qualified, their residence was restricted within certain prescribed limits of the cities which they inhabited; and they were not only debarred from their usual luxury of ornament in dress, but were held up in public scorn, as it were, by some peculiar badge or emblem embroidered on their garments. Such was the condition of the Spanish Jews at the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella. The new Christians, or converts, as those who had renounced the faith of their fathers were denominated, were occasionally preferred to high ecclesiastical dignities, which they illustrated by their integrity and learning. They were intrusted with municipal offices in the various cities of Castile, and, as their wealth furnished an obvious resource for repairing, by way of marriage, the decayed fortunes of the nobility, there was scarcely a family of rank in the land whose blood had not been contaminated at some period or other by mixture with the *mala sangre*, as it came afterwards to be termed, of the house of Judah; an ignominious stain, which no time has been sufficient wholly to purge away. Notwithstanding the show of prosperity enjoyed by the converted Jews, their situation was far from secure. Their proselytism had been too sudden to be generally sincere; and, as the task of dissimulation was too irksome to be permanently endured, they gradually became less circumspect, and exhibited the scandalous spectacle of apostates returning to wallow in the ancient mire of Judaism. The clergy, especially the Dominicans, who seem to have inherited the quick scent for heresy which distinguished their frantic founder, were not slow in sounding the alarm; and the superstitious populace, easily roused to acts of violence in the name of religion, began to exhibit the most tumultuous movements, and actually massacred the constable of Castile in an attempt to suppress them at Jaen, the year preceding the accession of Isabella. After this period, the complaints against the Jewish heresy became still more clamorous, and the throne was repeatedly beset with petitions to devise some effectual means for its extirpation. A chapter of the chronicle of the curate of Los Palacios, who lived at this time in Andalusia, where the Jews seem to have most abounded, throws considerable light on the real, as well as pretended motives of the subsequent persecution. "This accursed race," he says, speaking of the Israelites, "were either unwilling to bring their children to be baptized, or if they did, they washed away the stain on returning home. They dressed their stews, and other dishes, with oil instead of lard; abstained from pork; kept the passover; ate meat in Lent; and sent oil to replenish the lamps of their synagogues, with many other abominable ceremonies of their religion. They

entertained no respect for monastic life, and frequently profaned the sanctity of religious houses by the violation or seduction of their inmates. They were an exceedingly politic and ambitious people, engrossing the most lucrative municipal offices, and preferred to gain their livelihood by traffic, in which they made exorbitant gains, rather than by manual labour or mechanical arts. They considered themselves in the hands of the Egyptians, whom it was a merit to deceive and pilfer. By their wicked contrivances they amassed great wealth, and thus were often able to ally themselves by marriage with noble Christian families." It is easy to discern in this medley of credulity and superstition, the secret envy entertained by the Castilians, of the superior skill and industry of their Hebrew brethren, and of the superior riches which these qualities secured to them, and it is impossible not to suspect that the zeal of the most orthodox was considerably sharpened by worldly motives.

Be that as it may, the cry against the Jewish abominations now became general. Among those most active in raising it, were Alphonso de Ojeda, a Dominican prior of the monastery of St. Paul in Seville, and Diego de Merlo, assistant of that city, who should not be defrauded of the meed of glory to which they are justly entitled, by their exertions for the establishment of the modern Inquisition. These persons, after urging on the sovereigns the alarming extent to which the Jewish leprosy prevailed in Andalusia, loudly called for the introduction of the holy office as the only effectual means of curing it. In this they were vigorously supported by Nicolo Franco, the papal nuncio then residing at the court of Castile. Ferdinand listened with complacency to a scheme which promised an ample source of revenue in the confiscations it involved. But it was not easy to vanquish Isabella's aversion to measures so repugnant to the natural benevolence and magnanimity of her character. Her scruples, indeed, were rather founded on sentiment than reason; the exercise of which was little countenanced in matters of faith in that day, when the dangerous maxim, that the end justifies the means, was universally received, and learned theologians seriously disputed whether it were permitted to make peace with the infidel, and even whether promises made to them were obligatory on Christians. The policy of the Roman church at that time was not only shown in its perversion of some of the most obvious principles of morality, but in the discouragement of all free inquiry in its disciples, whom it instructed to reply implicitly in matters of conscience on their spiritual advisers. The artful institution of the tribunal of confession, established with this view, brought, as it were, the whole Christian world at the feet of the clergy, who, far from being always animated by the meek spirit of the Gospel, almost justified the reproach of Voltaire, that confessors have been the source of most of the violent measures pursued by princes of the Catholic faith. Isabella's serious

temper, as well as her early education, naturally disposed her to religious influences. Notwithstanding the independence exhibited by her in all secular affairs, in her own spiritual concerns she uniformly testified the deepest humility, and deferred too implicitly, to what she deemed the superior sagacity or sanctity of her ghostly counsellors. An instance of this humility may be worth recording. When Fray Fernando de Talavera, afterwards archbishop of Grenada, who had been appointed confessor to the queen, attended her for the first time in that capacity, he continued seated after she had knelt down to make her confession, which drew from her the remark, "That it was usual for both parties to kneel." "No!" replied the priest, "this is God's tribunal; I act here as his minister, and it is fitting that I should keep my seat while your highness kneels before me." Isabella, far from taking umbrage at the ecclesiastic's arrogant demeanour, complied with humility, and was afterwards heard to say, "This is the confessor that I wanted." Well had it been for the land, if the queen's conscience had always been intrusted to the keeping of persons of such exemplary piety as Talavera. Unfortunately, in her early days, during the lifetime of her brother Henry, that charge was committed to a Dominican monk, Thomas de Torquemada, a native of Old Castile, subsequently raised to the rank of prior of Santa Cruz in Ligovia, and condemned to infamous immortality by the signal part which he performed in the tragedy of the Inquisition. This man, who concealed more pride under his monastic weeds than might have furnished forth a convent of his order, was one of that class with whom zeal passes for religion, and who testify their zeal by a fiery persecution of those whose creed differs from their own; who compensate for their abstinence from sensual indulgence by giving scope to those deadlier vices of the heart, pride, bigotry, and intolerance, which are no less opposed to virtue, and are far more extensively mischievous to society. This personage had earnestly laboured to infuse into Isabella's young mind, to which his situation as her confessor gave him such ready access, the same spirit of fanaticism that glowed in his own. Fortunately this was greatly counteracted by her sound understanding, and natural kindness of heart. Torquemada urged her, or indeed, as is stated by some, extorted a promise, that "should she ever come to the throne, she would devote herself to the extirpation of heresy, for the glory of God, and the exaltation of the Catholic faith." The time was now arrived when this fatal promise was to be discharged.

It is due to Isabella's fame to state thus much in palliation of the unfortunate error into which she was led by her misguided zeal: an error so grave, that like a vein in some noble piece of statuary, it gives a sinister expression to her otherwise unblemished character. It was not until the queen had endured the repeated importunities of the clergy, particularly of those reverend persons in whom she most

confided, seconded by the arguments of Ferdinand, that she consented to solicit from the pope a bull for the introduction of the Holy Office into Castile. Sixtus the Fourth, who at that time filled the pontifical chair, easily discerning the sources of wealth and influence which this measure opened to the court of Rome, readily complied with the petition of the sovereigns, and expedited a bull, bearing date November 1st, 1478, authorizing them to appoint two or three ecclesiastics inquisitors for the detection and suppression of heresy throughout their dominions.

The queen, however, still averse to violent measures, suspended the operation of the ordinance until a more lenient policy had first been tried. By her command, accordingly, the archbishop of Seville, Cardinal Mendoza, drew up a catechism exhibiting the different points of the Catholic faith, and instructed the clergy throughout his diocese to spare no pains in illuminating the benighted Israelites by means of friendly exhortation, and a candid exposition of the true principles of Christianity. How far the spirit of these injunctions was complied with, amid the excitement then prevailing, may be reasonably doubted. There could be little doubt, however, that a report made two years later, by a commission of ecclesiastics, with Alfonso de Ojeda at its head, respecting the progress of the Reformation, would be necessarily unfavourable to the Jew. In consequence of this report, the papal provisions were enforced by the nomination, on the 17th of September, 1480, of two Dominican monks as inquisitors, with two other ecclesiastics, the one as assessor, and the other as procurator fiscal, with instructions to proceed at once to Seville, and enter on the duties of their office. Orders were also issued to the authorities of the city to support the inquisitors by all the aid in their power. But the new institution, which has since become the miserable boast of the Castilians, proved so distasteful to them in its origin, that they refused any co-operation with its ministers, and, indeed, opposed such delays and embarrassments, that during the first years it can scarcely be said to have obtained a footing in any other places in Andalusia than those belonging to the crown.

On the 2nd of January, 1481, the court commenced operations by the publication of an edict, followed by several others, requiring all persons to aid in apprehending and accusing all such as they might know or suspect to be guilty of heresy, and holding out the illusory promise of absolution to such as should confess their errors within a limited period. As every mode of accusation, even anonymous, was invited, the number of victims multiplied so fast that the tribunal found it convenient to remove its sittings from the convent of Saint Paul, within the city, to the spacious fortress of Friana, in the suburbs.

The presumptive proofs by which the charge of Judaism was established against the accused are so curious, that a few of them may

deserve notice. It was considered good evidence of the fact, if the prisoner wore better clothes or cleaner linen on the Jewish sabbath than on the other days of the week; if he had no fire in his house the preceding evening; if he sat at table with Jews, or ate the meat of certain animals, or drank a certain beverage held much in estimation by them; if he washed a corpse in warm water, or, when dying, turned his face to the wall; or finally, if he gave Hebrew names to his children; a provision most whimsically cruel, since, by a law of Henry II., he was prevented under severe penalties from giving them Christian names. He must have found it difficult to extricate himself from the horns of the dilemma. Such are a few of the circumstances, some of them purely accidental in their nature, others, the result of early habit, which might well have continued after a sincere conversion to Christianity, and all of them trivial, on which capital accusations were to be alleged, and even satisfactorily established.

The inquisitors, adopting the wily and tortuous policy of the ancient tribunal, proceeded with a dispatch which shows that they could have paid little deference even to this affectation of legal forms. On the 8th of January, six convicts suffered at the stake. Seventeen more were executed in March, and by the 4th of November, in the same year, no less than two hundred and ninety-eight individuals had been sacrificed in the *autos da fe* of Seville. Besides these, the mouldering remains of many who had been tried and convicted after their death, were torn up from their graves with hyena-like ferocity, which has disgraced no other court, Christian or Pagan, and condemned to the common funeral pile. This was prepared on a spacious stone scaffold, erected in the suburbs of the city, with the statues of four prophets attached to the corners, to which the unhappy sufferers were bound for the sacrifice, and which the worthy curate of Los Palacios celebrates with much complacency as the spot "where heretics were burned, and ought to burn as long as any can be found."

Many of the convicts were persons estimable for learning and probity; and among these, three clergymen are named, together with other individuals filling judicial or high municipal stations. The sword of justice was observed, in particular, to strike at the wealthy, the least pardonable offenders in times of proscription.

The plague which desolated Seville this year, sweeping off fifteen thousand inhabitants, as if in token of the wrath of Heaven at these enormities, did not palsy for a moment the arm of the Inquisition, which, adjourning to Aracena, continued as indefatigable as before. A similar persecution went forward in other parts of the province of Andalusia, so that within the same year, 1481, the number of the sufferers was computed at two thousand burnt alive, a still greater number in effigy, and seventeen thousand *reconciled*: a term which must not be understood by the reader to signify anything like a pardon

or amnesty, but only the commutation of a capital sentence for inferior penalties, as fines, civil incapacity, very generally total confiscation of property, and, not unfrequently, imprisonment for life.

The Jews were astonished at the bolt which had fallen so unexpectedly upon them. Some succeeded in making their escape to Granada, others to France, Germany, or Italy, where they appealed from the decisions of the Holy Office to the sovereign pontiff. Sixtus the Fourth appears for a moment to have been touched with something like compunction; for he rebuked the intemperate zeal of the inquisitors, and even menaced them with deprivation. But these feelings, it would seem, were but transient; for in 1483, we find the same pontiff quelling the scruples of Isabella respecting the appropriation of the confiscated property, and encouraging both sovereigns to proceed in the great work of purification by an audacious reference to the example of Jesus Christ, who says he consolidated his kingdom on earth by the destruction of idolatry; and he concludes with imputing their successes in the Moorish war, upon which they had then entered, to their zeal for the faith, and promising them the like in future. In the course of the same year, he expedited two briefs appointing Thomas de Torquemada inquisitor-general of Castile and Arragon, and clothing him with full powers to frame a new constitution for the Holy Office (August 2nd, and October, 1483). This was the origin of that terrible tribunal, the Spanish, or modern Inquisition, familiar to most readers, whether of history or romance, which for three centuries has extended its iron sway over the dominions of Spain and Portugal.

Torquemada was appointed inquisitor-general of Spain, and he prepared a code of laws for the regulation of the tribunal, which has no parallel in the annals of barbarity; every encouragement was afforded to spies and informers, the use of secret torture was strictly enjoined, the accused were deprived of every chance of refuting the charges brought against them, and any act of humanity from the gaoler to a prisoner was declared a crime of the highest magnitude. The popes did not discourage a system which proved the source of immense profits from the numbers who sought bulls of absolution and protection at Rome; but the Spanish inquisitors, indignant at the escape of their victims, severely reprobated the facility with which these bulls were accorded by the successors of St. Peter.

Deza, who was chosen to succeed Torquemada as chief inquisitor, extended the persecution from the suspected Jews to the descendants of the Moors, who had continued in Granada after the great bulk of the nation had been expelled by Ferdinand. During his administration of eight years, we find in the records of Seville, that two thousand five hundred and ninety-two persons were burned alive, eight hundred and ninety-six who escaped were burned in effigy, and thirty-four thousand nine hundred and fifty-two condemned to different penances.

The celebrated Cardinal Ximenes was the successor of Deza; he endeavoured, in some degree, to mitigate the severity of the Inquisition, but he was unable to restrain the ferocious bigotry of his associates, and during the eleven years of his administration, more than fifty thousand persons were condemned to various punishments, of whom three thousand five hundred and sixty-four were burned alive.

Fresh activity was infused into the inquisitors by the preaching of the Reformation: Don Alphonso Manriquez, the fifth inquisitor-general, issued an edict prohibiting the introduction of the works of Luther into Spain, under very severe penalties. All books of heresy and sorcery were ordered to be burned; and such was the ignorance of the fanatics who presided over the execution of this edict, that they caused several Hebrew Bibles to be burned at Salamanca, as books which inculcated the tenets of Judaism! The writings of Erasmus very narrowly escaped from this prohibition; some of them, however, were wholly forbidden, and it was recommended that the rest should be read with great caution.

The rigid examination to which the accused were subjected, when the progress of the reformed doctrines began to alarm the papal zealots, may be estimated by the process-verbal of the torture of Salas, who had been accused of blasphemy. Salas denied the charge, and the inquisitor Moriz sentenced him to the torture. The following extract is taken from the official account of his examination:

"At Valladolid, on the 11th of June, 1527, the licentiate Moriz, inquisitor, caused the licentiate Salas to appear before him, and the sentence was read and notified to him. After the reading, the said licentiate Salas declared that *he had not said that of which he was accused*; and the said licentiate Moriz immediately caused him to be led to the chamber of torture, where, being stripped to his shirt, he was placed upon the rack, to which the executioner, Pedro Porras, fastened him by the arms and legs with cords of hemp, of which he made eleven turns round each limb; Salas, during the time that the said Pedro was thus binding him, was warned to speak the truth, but persevered in the former reply. The said Salas being still tied as before mentioned, a fine wet cloth was put over his face, and about a pint of water was poured into his mouth and nostrils, from an earthen vessel with a hole at the bottom, containing about two quarts; nevertheless, *he still persisted in denying the accusation*. Then Pedro tightened the cords on the right leg, and poured a second measure of water on the face; the cords were tightened a second time on the same leg, but *Salas still persevered in his denial*. Then the said licentiate Moriz, having declared that THE TORTURE WAS BEGUN, BUT NOT FINISHED, commanded that it should cease."

That the reader may fully understand this beginning of torture, it is necessary to know the instrument, or rack, called by the Spaniards

escalera, which was used on this occasion. It is formed like a groove, large enough to hold the body of a man, without a bottom, but it is crossed by a stick, over which the body falls in such a manner that the feet are much higher than the head; and the mere weight of the wretched sufferer produces such a pressure on the cords, even before they are tightened by mechanical means, that they often cut into the bone. In such a state respiration is very difficult, but it was rendered nearly impossible by the exquisite cruelty of the wet cloth, and the dripping of water into the mouth and nostrils. Finally, we may mention that Salas, in the end, was partially acquitted, and set at large, on the condition of performing public penance and paying a moderate fine.

Notwithstanding these severities, Lutheranism was secretly propagated in Spain; and it was even asserted that the emperor, Charles V., had swerved from orthodoxy after his abdication. Philip II., the most gloomy bigot that ever disgraced a throne, consulted the grand inquisitor Valdes, and on the application of both, a bull was obtained from Rome, consigning to destruction not only dogmatizing Lutherans, obstinate in error, but even those who had returned to the Church, if they had exhibited equivocal signs of repentance. Immense numbers were arrested, and an *auto da fe* celebrated at Valladolid, in which the more obstinate were burned, and the remainder admitted to reconciliation, on performing penance. This horrible scene was displayed in the grand square of Valladolid, May 21st, 1559, in the presence of the prince Don Carlos, the princess Juana, and the principal grandees of Spain. In the same year, also, an *auto da fe* was celebrated at Seville, in which twenty-one Lutherans were burned, some of whom were ladies of the highest rank.

In the following year an *auto da fe*, in which fourteen persons were burned, was also celebrated in Seville. Among the victims was an Englishman named Nicholas Burton, who had come to Spain as captain of a merchant vessel; the inquisitors confiscated the ship and cargo, and there is some reason to suspect that the sentence of condemnation was in some degree dictated by avarice. During the following ten years at least one *auto da fe* was annually celebrated in Spain; and there is no doubt that many of the victims were innocent persons, denounced merely from spite and malice.

During the Austrian dynasty in Spain, *auto da fes* were of frequent occurrence, but the Inquisition seems to have fallen in public estimation, having become an engine of state policy. When the Bourbon family acquired the throne in the person of Philip V., that monarch's accession was celebrated by an *auto da fe*, which he refused to witness. But his repugnance to the system was soon overcome; and during his reign of forty-six years, no less than seven hundred and eighty-two of these atrocious spectacles were exhibited in Spain, in which fourteen

thousand and sixty-six individuals underwent various degrees of punishment.

In the reign of Ferdinand VI. (from 1746 to 1759) there was no general *auto da fe*, but ten persons were burned who had relapsed into Judaism. During the reigns of Charles III. and IV., only ten persons were condemned, four of whom were burned, and fifty-six individuals subjected to penances. About this time freemasonry began to attract the notice of the inquisitors, and they denounced severe penalties against all members of secret societies; but though many were accused, the tribunals readily permitted the suspected to renounce the charge privately, or to compromise the accusation.

The Inquisition was abolished in 1813 by the Spanish Cortes, and restored in the following year by Ferdinand VII., but no *auto da fe* was celebrated during its renewed existence. It is now formally abolished; but Don Carlos, who claims the crown of Spain, is pledged to the restoration of this formidable tribunal, and it is on this account that he is so zealously supported by the monks and friars. The last victim of the Inquisition was a nun, who was burned on the charge of having made a compact with the devil. She suffered on the 7th of November, 1781.

Llorente, from whose *History of the Spanish Inquisition*, compiled out of its own records, we have derived most of the details we have recorded, gives the following table of the number of victims who were punished by the Holy Office, during the period of its power from 1481 to 1781:—

Burned alive	31,912
Burned in effigy	17,659
Condemned to severe penances	291,450
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Total number of victims	341,021
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Although the Inquisition was introduced into the Spanish colonies of South America by the laws of Philip II., the Holy Office was never so formidable there as in the mother-country. Though some of the ecclesiastics who accompanied the first adventurers stimulated them to slaughter the helpless natives as idolaters and enemies of God, the succeeding missionaries taught more humane doctrines, and zealously laboured to propagate the knowledge of Christianity by the simple arts of persuasion. Valverde, indeed, stimulated Pizarro to murder the innocent Peruvians, because the Inca Atahualpa threw down the Breviary, in utter ignorance of its meaning or contents; but this was a sudden burst of fanaticism, or rather of avarice, for the historians declare that long before Valverde gave the signal, the cupidity of the Spaniards was stimulated by the sight of the rich dresses of the Peruvians, and that they could with difficulty be restrained

from making an assault, until some pretext for perfidy could be devised by the artful priest. From the time of the conquest of Peru, the ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, became the protectors of the Indians, and were their only protection against the hardships and exactions to which they were exposed by the colonists.

Though the Inquisition has been formally abolished, its spirit is still preserved in countries where Romanism maintains extensive sway. The priests exercise the discretionary power of naming from the altar any person suspected of failing in reverence or attachment to the faith; and the person thus pointed out as a mark for popular odium is sure to endure manifold persecutions, and his life is not unfrequently endangered.

CHAPTER VII.

THE AUGUSTAN AGES OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

SECTION I.—*State of the Continental Kingdoms after the Peace of Westphalia.*

THOUGH the treaty of Westphalia restored tranquillity to northern Europe and Germany, France and Spain continued the war in which they had originally but a secondary share, with all the obstinacy of principals. At the same time, France was distracted by civil broils less fatal than those of England, but scarcely less sanguinary. The prime mover in these disturbances was the coadjutor-archbishop of Paris, afterwards known as the Cardinal de Retz; he wished to gain the post of prime minister from Cardinal Mazarine, and he induced several princes of the blood, with a large portion of the nobility, to espouse his quarrel. The parliaments of France resembled those of England only in name; they were colleges of justice, not legislative assemblies, and the members purchased their seats. This was the body with which Retz commenced his operations; instigated by the ambitious prelate, the parliament of Paris thwarted all the measures of the queen-regent and her minister, until Anne of Austria, irritated by such factious opposition, ordered the president and one of the most violent councillors to be arrested. Her orders were scarcely executed when the populace arose, barricadoed the streets, threatened the cardinal and the regent, and procured the release of the prisoners. Alarmed by the repetition of similar outrages, the queen, attended by her children and her minister, retired from Paris to St. Germain, where their distress was so great that they were obliged to pawn the crown jewels to procure the common necessities of life. These

intrigues led to a desultory civil war, which began to assume a serious aspect after the arrest of the ambitious duke of Condé, who had repeatedly insulted the queen and the cardinal; the factious took up arms in all the provinces, and the duke of Orleans, uncle to the young king, placed himself at the head of the malcontents (A.D. 1650). Mazarine was unable to resist the confederacy; he liberated Condé and his associates, in the vain hope of conciliating their favour, but was obliged to fly to Cologne, where he continued to govern the queen-regent as if he had never quitted Paris. By his intrigues, which were now seconded by de Retz, the duke of Bouillon, and his brother, Turenne, were detached from the confederates, and by their aid Mazarine was enabled to enter the kingdom at the head of an army, and resume his former authority. Condé, proclaimed a traitor by the parliament of Paris, threw himself upon the protection of Spain, and obtained from that power a body of troops, with which he pursued the court from province to province, and finally entered Paris. Turenne, who commanded the royal forces, brought the young king within sight of his capital; and Louis witnessed a fierce conflict in the suburb of St. Antoine, which terminated in the defeat of his army.

Encouraged by this success, the parliament of Paris proclaimed the duke of Orleans "lieutenant-general of the kingdom," and the prince of Condé, "commander-in-chief of the armies of France." But the danger with which these appointments threatened the monarchy, was averted equally by the rashness of Condé and the prudence of the king. Condé instigated a tumult, in which several citizens lost their lives; Louis conciliated his subjects by sending the cardinal into temporary exile, and was received into his capital with the loudest acclamations. No sooner was the royal authority re-established, than Mazarine was recalled and invested with more than his former power.

During these commotions, the Spaniards had recovered many of the places which they had previously lost to the French, and Louis de Haro, who governed Spain and Philip IV. as absolutely as Mazarine did France and its youthful sovereign, hoped by means of Condé's great military talents to bring the war to a triumphant issue. But the French found a general in Marshal Turenne, who was more than a rival for Condé; he compelled the Spaniards to raise the siege of Arras, and seized all their baggage, artillery, and ammunition (A.D. 1656). He was himself soon after compelled to raise the siege of Valenciennes, but he made a masterly retreat as honourable as a victory, and even took the town of Capelle in the presence of his enemies. Still the fortune of the war was doubtful, when Mazarine, by flattering the passions of the usurper Cromwell, engaged England to take a share in the contest. Dunkirk, the strongest town in Flanders, first engaged the attention of the allies; the English blockaded it by sea; Turenne, with an auxiliary British force united to the French army, besieged it

AUGUSTAN AGES OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

(A.D. 1656). The Spaniards sent an army to its relief; he did not decline an engagement; the obstinate valour of the king, combined with the impetuosity of the French troops, procured him a decided victory; Dunkirk surrendered in a few days, and was given to the English according to treaty, while France obtained possession of the strongest towns in Flanders.

Peace was now necessary to Spain, and it was also essential to the success of Mazarine's favourite policy; the procuring for the House of Bourbon the eventual succession to the Spanish monarchy, by uniting King Louis to the infanta, Maria Theresa. The preliminaries were adjusted by Mazarine and Louis de Haro, in person, at a conference in the Pyrennes, and France obtained an extent of territory and the prospect of an inheritance, which soon made it formidable to the rest of Europe. About a year after the conclusion of this treaty, Mazarine died (A.D. 1661); and Louis, who had borne the ministerial yoke with secret impatience, took the reins of government into his own hands.

Germany, exhausted by tedious wars, remained undisturbed after the peace of Westphalia until the death of Ferdinand III. (A.D. 1657), when the Diet was agitated by fierce debates respecting the choice of a successor. Recent events had shown how dangerous was the ambition of the House of Austria to the independence of the minor states, and several of the electors wished to have as their head some monarch whose hereditary dominions would not be of sufficient importance to raise him above the control of the Diet. But these considerations were forced to yield to more pressing circumstances; the presence of the Turks in Buda, of the French in Alsace, and of the Swedes in Pomerania, required a powerful sovereign to prevent further encroachments; and Leopold, the son of the late emperor, was unanimously chosen. His first measure was to form an alliance with Poland and Denmark against Sweden, a power which, ever since the victorious career of Gustavus Adolphus, menaced the independence of the neighbouring states.

We have already mentioned that the renowned Gustavus was succeeded by his daughter Christina. She was fondly attached to study, assembled in her court the most distinguished professors of science, literature, and the fine arts. Her favourite pursuits were, however, too deep and abstruse for practical life; she was pedantic rather than wise, and her great learning was never applied to a useful end. She consented to the peace of Westphalia, not from any regard for the tranquillity of Europe or her own kingdom, but simply to indulge her passion for study, with which the cares of state interfered. The Swedish Senate felt little sympathy in the learned pursuits of their sovereign; they pressed her to marry her cousin, Charles Gustav, for whom she had been designed in her infancy, but Christina

to give herself a master, and she only nominated this prince her successor. The states renewed their importunity, and Christina offered to resign the crown to her cousin; after some delay, occasioned by reasonable suspicions of her sincerity, she carried her design into execution, and abdicated in favour of Charles Gustavus, who ascended the throne under the title of Charles X. (A.D. 1655). The remainder of Christina's life was disgraceful to her character. Designing to fix her residence at Rome, she renounced Lutheranism, and embraced the Catholic faith at Innspruck, not because she deemed it the preferable religion, but because she thought it convenient to conform to the tenets of the people with whom she intended to reside. Her profligate life, her want of any valuable information, and her loss of power, soon rendered her contemptible in Italy; she made two journeys into France, where she was received with much respect, until her infamous conduct excited general abhorrence. In a fit of jealousy, she commanded one of her paramours to be assassinated in the great gallery of Fontainebleau, and almost in her very presence (A.D. 1657). This atrocious violation of the laws of nature and of nations, perpetrated in the midst of a civilized kingdom, and a court that piqued itself on refinement, was allowed to pass without judicial inquiry; but it excited such universal detestation, that Christina was forced to quit France and seek refuge in Italy. There the remainder of her life was spent in sensual indulgence and literary conversation, if such a term can be applied to the language of a capricious woman, admiring many things for which she had no taste, and talking about others which she did not understand.

While Christina was thus disgracing her sex and country, Charles X. indulged the martial spirit of his people by declaring war against Poland. After the death of Sigismund III. (A.D. 1632), his son Ladislaus was elected to the throne, and proved to be a prince of great courage and capacity. He gained several victories over the Russians and the Turks; he forced the Swedes to resign the places which Gustavus Adolphus had seized in Prussia; but unfortunately he combined with his nobles in oppressing the Cossacks, and thus drove those uncivilized tribes to a general revolt. In the midst of this war Ladislaus died (A.D. 1648); he was succeeded by his brother John Casimir, who would gladly have entered into terms with the injured Cossacks, but was forced to continue the war by his turbulent nobles. Alexis, czar of Russia, took advantage of these commotions to capture Smolensko and ravage Lithuania, while Poland itself was invaded by Charles X. The progress of the Swedes was rapid, they obtained two brilliant victories in the field, captured Cracow, and compelled the terrified Casimir to seek refuge in Silesia. But the insulting demeanour of the Swedes, and the cruel massacre perpetrated at the capture of Warsaw, confirmed the Poles in the determined spirit of resistance,

of which the burghers of Dantzic set them a noble example; while the chief powers of the North combined to check the dangerous ambition of Sweden. Attacked at once by the czar of Russia, the emperor of Germany, and the king of Denmark, Charles, though deserted by his ally the elector of Brandenburg, did not lose courage. He led an army over the ice to Funen, subdued that and several other Danish islands, and laid siege to Copenhagen. The city was saved by an insincere peace, which proved to be only a suspension of arms; but when Charles renewed his exertions, he was opposed by the republics of Holland and England. Negotiations for peace were commenced under the auspices of these great naval powers; but ere they were brought to a conclusion, Charles died of an epidemic fever (A.D. 1660). The Swedes, deprived of their active and ambitious monarch, were easily brought to resign their pretensions to Poland of the treaty of Oliva; and the general desire of preventing the minority of Charles XI. being disturbed by foreign wars, induced the regency to adjust a pacification with Denmark and other powers.

SECTION II.—*History of England under the Commonwealth.*

THE civil and religious constitution of England was dissolved by the execution of Charles I.; the great body of the nation was dissatisfied with the result of the civil war, but it was overawed by an army of fifty thousand men, entirely devoted to the service of Cromwell; and the Commonwealth Parliament, as the inconsiderable remnant of the House of Commons was called, found itself in possession of the supreme authority. The state of affairs in Ireland and Scotland soon engaged the attention of the new government, and they were especially interested to maintain the dominion that England claimed over the former country. The revolt of the Irish, like the revolt of the Americans in later days, was regarded as treason against the English people, rather than rebellion against their joint sovereign; the partial successes of the insurgents were viewed as national wrongs, and the use of the phrase "*our kingdom of Ireland*" made every Englishman imagine that he would be robbed of some portion of his hereditary rights, were that island to establish its independence. Cromwell, aware of the great celebrity which might be gained in a war so popular as that undertaken for the recovery of Ireland, successfully intrigued to have himself appointed lord-lieutenant and commander-in-chief of the army.

The state of Ireland could not be more favourable to the purposes of an invader. When Charles I. entered into a treaty with his revolted Irish subjects, he disgusted one party without conciliating the other; for he gave both reason to suspect his sincerity. He appointed the marquis of Ormond lord-lieutenant, a nobleman possessed of many

high qualities, but who had imbibed the principles of the unfortunate earl of Strafford, and was bigotedly attached to the support of the royal authority and the episcopal church. Ormond conciliated Inchiquin and some other Protestant leaders who had refused to acknowledge the cessation of arms which Charles had granted to the insurgents, but he protracted the negotiations with the Catholic confederates until their aid was useless to the royal cause. Alarmed at length by the progress of the Parliament, while the confederates were at the same time incensed by the intolerant ordinances of the English Commons, he concluded a treaty with the Catholic deputies at Kilkenny (A.D. 1646), on the basis of a general pardon and full toleration. The native Irish were dissatisfied with this pacification, which did not restore to them lands of which they deemed themselves unjustly deprived; the bigoted Catholics sought the supremacy, not the toleration of their religion, and many of the more moderate entertained suspicions of Ormond's good faith. Under such circumstances they were influenced by Rinuccini, the papal nuncio, to reject the treaty of Kilkenny, and Ormond at once was deprived of all authority. As the king was unable to assist him, he delivered up the fortified towns to an officer of the English parliament, a fatal measure, which rendered the restoration of the royal power impossible.

The Irish soon grew weary of Rinuccini's pride, bigotry, and incapacity; a powerful body of the Catholic nobles, headed by the earl of Clanricarde, expelled the nuncio, and invited Ormond to resume the government. The lord-lieutenant returned, and found the royal authority established every where except in the towns which he had himself surrendered to the parliament. His first care was to remedy this blunder; he subdued several important garrisons, but he allowed himself to be surprised near Dublin by an inferior force, and was routed with great loss. At this crisis Cromwell landed with an army of enthusiastic soldiers trained to arms, and flushed by recent victories. He besieged Drogheda, took it by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. The town of Wexford was next assailed, and its defenders similarly butchered; and this cruelty produced such an alarm, that thenceforth every town, before which Cromwell presented himself, surrendered at the first summons. The declining season, a failure of provisions, and epidemic disease, soon reduced the invaders to great distress; but they were relieved by a revolution as sudden as it was unexpected. The Protestant royalists in Munster, always jealous of their Irish allies, revolted to the parliament at the instigation of the Lords Broghill and Inchiquin, and the gates of all the important garrisons in the south of Ireland were opened to Cromwell's sickly troops. The Irish could no longer be brought to pay obedience to a Protestant governor, Ormond quitted the country in despair, and the confederates, having no longer any bond of union, were overpowered in detail.

Cromwell freed himself from all future opposition, by permitting the Irish officers and soldiers to engage in foreign service. About forty thousand Catholics went on this occasion into voluntary exile.

The young king, Charles II., had intended to place himself at the head of the Irish royalists; but when their cause was ruined, he entered into negotiations with the Scottish conveyancers, and submitted to terms the most ignominious that ever a people imposed upon its prince. He was forced to publish a proclamation, banishing all malignants, excommunicated persons from his court,—that is, the royalists who had perilled their lives and fortunes in the service of his family; to pledge his word that he would take the covenant and support the presbyterian form of government; and finally, to promise that in all civil affairs, he would conform to the direction of the parliament, and submit all ecclesiastical matters to the general assembly of the kirk. Charles did not consent to these disgraceful conditions, until the royal cause in Scotland was rendered desperate by the overthrow of its greatest supporter, the marquis of Montrose. This gallant nobleman, immediately after the execution of Charles I., renewed the war in Scotland, but was made prisoner by the covenanters, and ignominiously put to death as a traitor (A.D. 1650).

Soon after this tragical event, Charles landed in Scotland, and found himself a mere pageant of state in the hands of Argyle and the rigid covenanters, at whose mercy lay both his life and liberty. The intolerance of these bigots was not assuaged by the approach of an English army under the command of Cromwell, whom the parliament of England had recalled from the Irish war, so soon as the treaty between Charles and the covenanters was published. Cromwell entered Scotland, but found a formidable competitor in General Leslie, the head of the covenanters. The English were soon reduced to great distress, and their post, at Dunbar, was blockaded by a Scottish army on the heights that overlook that town. Cromwell was saved by the fanatical and ignorant preachers in the hostile camp; they pretended that a revelation had descended to them, promising a victory over the sectarian host of the English, and forced Leslie, in despite of his urgent remonstrances, to quit his advantageous position. Cromwell took advantage of their delusion; he attacked the Scotch, disordered by their descent from the hills, before they could form their lines, and in a brief space gained a decided victory. Edinburgh and Leith were abandoned to the conquerors, while the remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling.

This defeat was by no means disagreeable to Charles; it so far diminished the pride of the bigoted party, that he was permitted to accept the aid of the episcopal royalists, the hereditary friends of his family. Still the king felt very bitterly the bondage in which he was held, and when Cromwell crossed the Forth, he embraced a resolution

HISTORY OF ENGLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH.

worthy of his birth and cause, and disconcerting that general by a hasty march, he boldly entered England at the head of fourteen thousand men. But the result disappointed his expectations; the English royalists disliked the Scotch, and detested the covenant; the presbyterians were not prepared to join him, and both were overawed by the militia which the parliament raised in the several counties. At Worcester the king was overtaken by Cromwell with thirty thousand men (Sept. 3, 1651). The place was attacked on all sides: Charles, after giving many proofs of personal valour, saw his cause totally ruined, and sought safety in flight; the Scots were all either killed or taken, and the prisoners, eight thousand in number, were sold as slaves to the American plantations. Charles wandered about for forty-five days in various disguises and amidst the greatest dangers: more than fifty persons were entrusted with his secret, but they all preserved it faithfully, and he finally escaped to France. In Scotland the presbyterian clergy, formerly all-powerful, found themselves treated with scorn by the English army. Their assembly at Aberdeen was dispersed by a military force, their persons were paraded through the town in insulting mockery, and they were forbidden to assemble in greater numbers than three at a time.

In the mean time, the English republic was engaged in a foreign war. The increase of the naval and commercial power of the Dutch had been viewed with great jealousy by the English nation; but the common interests of religion, and afterwards the alliance between the Stuart family and the house of Orange, had prevented a rupture. After the death of William II., prince of Orange, the Dutch abolished the office of stadtholder; and this advance towards a purely republican constitution induced the English parliament to seek a closer alliance with Holland. Their ambassador, however, met but an indifferent reception at the Hague¹, and on his return to London it became obvious that the mutual jealousies of the two commonwealths would soon lead to open hostilities.

The English parliament passed the celebrated *Act of Navigation*, which enacted that no goods from Asia, Africa, or America should be imported into England, except in English vessels; and the prohibition was extended to European commodities not brought by ships belonging to the country of which the goods were the growth or manufacture. This, though apparently general, particularly affected the Dutch,

¹ Mr. St. John, the English plenipotentiary, was a stern republican, and a haughty man. He had the presumption to take precedence of the duke of York, who was then at the Hague, in a public walk. The prince-palatine, happening to be present, struck off the ambassador's hat, and bade him respect the

son and brother of his king. St. John put his hand to his sword, refusing to recognise either the king or the duke of York; but the populace, compassionating fallen royalty, took part with the prince, and forced the stern republican to seek refuge in his lodgings.

whose commerce consisted chiefly in the carrying trade, their own country producing but few commodities. The war commenced in a dispute on a point of naval etiquette: the English required that all foreign vessels in the British seas should strike their flags to English ships of war: Van Tromp, a Dutch admiral, with a fleet of forty sail, met Blake, the commander of the British fleet, in Dover road. Conscious of his superior force, he refused to conform to the degrading ceremony, and answered the demand by a broadside. Though Blake had only fifteen ships, he immediately commenced an engagement, and being reinforced during the battle by eight more, he gained a glorious, though not very valuable victory. A fierce naval war ensued between the two republics; it was on the whole, disadvantageous to the Dutch, though they were commanded by such excellent admirals as De Ruyter and Van Tromp. The death of the latter in an engagement that lasted three days (A.D. 1654), decided the contest, and the Hollanders were forced to beg peace from Oliver Cromwell, who had, in the mean time, dissolved the parliament and usurped the government of England.

When Scotland and Ireland were subdued the parliament became jealous of Cromwell's power, and resolved to diminish it by disbanding a portion of the army. But the parliament, if such a name could fairly be given to a minority in the House of Commons, had lost its sole strength, the confidence of the people, by its obstinacy in retaining the power with which it had been invested by circumstances: it would not dissolve itself, but seemed determined to perpetuate its sovereignty². An angry remonstrance from the army was rejected, and the soldiers reproved for interfering in public affairs. This brought affairs to a crisis; on the 19th of April, 1653, Cromwell turned out the members with military force, locked the doors, put the key in his pocket, and retired to his lodgings at Whitehall. The council of state was similarly dismissed, and so weary were the people of their late rulers, that addresses were sent to Cromwell from almost every part of England, thanking him for his boldness and courage.

It was necessary still to preserve the forms of the constitution, but Cromwell could not venture on an appeal to the people, and allow them their ancient liberty of election, much less a more extended franchise; he therefore adopted a middle course, and by the advice of his officers, nominated one hundred and sixty persons on his own authority, to form a new parliament. This extraordinary body was named the Barebones parliament, from one of its fanatic members, named Praise-God Barebones, who rendered himself conspicuous by

² Ludlow asserts, without a shadow of proof, that the parliament was about to dissolve itself, and give the nation a free general election on a reformed plan, when Cromwell interfered. Such a project, indeed, was discussed, but there appear no proofs of its being intended to put it into execution.

his affectation of superior sanctity. Cromwell, finding this convention not so pliant as had been expected, contrived, by his creatures, that a majority should vote for an immediate dissolution, and when about thirty members continued to meet, they were unceremoniously ejected by a file of musqueteers.

A new constitution was formed, by which the legislative power was granted to a Lord Protector and parliament, and the executive to the protector and a council of state. On the 16th of December 1653, Cromwell took the oath of fidelity to the new form of government, and was invested with the dignity of Lord Protector. On the 3rd of the following September, the new parliament assembled, but though the strictest regulations consistent with the forms of election had been devised to exclude all but partisans of the government, the protector's authority was menaced on the very first day of debate, and it was resolved by a majority of five, to refer the examination of the new constitution to a select committee. Cromwell first excluded half the members for refusing to take an oath of allegiance to the protector, and finding that the house, even after this mutilation, continued refractory, he dissolved the parliament before it had sat the five months required by the constitution, which he had himself framed and sworn to support.

A new parliament was summoned, but notwithstanding the interference of Cromwell, and the major-generals that ruled the twelve districts into which England was divided, so many opponents of the government were returned, that Cromwell posted soldiers at the door to exclude those members to whom he had not granted tickets of admission. The parliament, thus modified, proved sufficiently subservient, and on the 26th of March, 1656, it gratified Cromwell's secret ambition by offering him the title of king. But Fleetwood, the protector's son-in-law, and Desborough, his brother-in-law, disconcerted the entire plan by joining the republicans in the army, and procuring a petition from the officers against royalty, which it would have been dangerous to disregard³. Cromwell was forced to resign his darling object at the moment it seemed within his grasp, and to content himself with the protectorate for life, and the power of nominating his successor.

To divert the attention of the nation from its internal affairs, Cromwell resolved to engage in some foreign war, but was at first undecided whether he should attack France or Spain⁴. Mazarine's

³ "Certain persons," said the petition, "are endeavouring to reduce the nation to the old state of slavery, and urge the protector to assume the royal title, wishing by this means to ruin him. We, therefore, petition the parliament to oppose such intrigues, and to abide by the old cause, for which we are ready to

hazard our lives."

⁴ "In order to maintain himself, he, in common with Lambert, and some of the council, wishes for war, and is only revolving whether it were better for him to raise it against France or Spain."—*Report of the French Ambassador, April 20, 1654.*

cunning decided the question; he conciliated the protector by banishing the English princes from France, and thus obtained auxiliaries at a critical moment, whose support, as we have already seen, he paid by the cession of Dunkirk. Two formidable fleets were prepared in England; one under the command of Blake, was sent to cruise in the Mediterranean; the other, entrusted to Admirals Penn and Venables, proceeded to the West Indies. To justify hostilities, Cromwell demanded of the Spanish ambassador, that his master should abolish the Inquisition, and open the trade of South America to the English. The ambassador replied, that this was asking for his master's two eyes; indeed, neither demand, under the circumstances, was reasonable. The Spanish Inquisition certainly exercised an unjust tyranny towards Protestants, but Cromwell did not treat the Irish Catholics with greater mildness; and when England had just given an example of monopoly by passing the Navigation Act, it showed little regard for consistency to demand free trade from Spain. But both proposals were in accordance with the spirit of the times, and the knowledge of their having been made, brought back to Cromwell a considerable share of the popularity he had forfeited.

Admiral Blake first sailed to Leghorn, and having cast anchor before the town, demanded and obtained satisfaction for the injuries which the duke of Tuscany had done to English commerce. Repairing thence to Algiers, he compelled the dey to restrain his piratical subjects from further depredations on the English. Failing to obtain similar satisfaction at Tunis, he battered its fortifications with his artillery, and burned every ship in the harbour. His fame spread through the entire Mediterranean, and no power dared to provoke his vengeance. Penn and Venables attempted to take Hispaniola, then considered the most valuable island in the West Indies, but failing in this effort, they conquered Jamaica, which has ever since been annexed to the dominions of England. Cromwell, however, was so little satisfied with the conduct of the two admirals, that on their return, he committed them to the Tower. The English, through the entire war, maintained their supremacy by sea; several of the galleons, laden with the precious metals from South America, were taken or destroyed, and an entire fleet burned by the heroic Blake in the bay of Santa Cruz.

These conquests silenced many opponents for a time, but secret

⁵ April 21st. 1657.—“This was the last and greatest action of this gallant naval commander, who died in his way home. He was, by principle, an inflexible republican, and only his zeal for the interests of his country induced him to serve under the usurper. Though he was above forty-four years of age before he entered into the military service, and fifty-one before he acted in the navy, he raised the

maritime glory of England to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. Cromwell, fully sensible of his merits, ordered him a pompous funeral at the public expense; and people of all parties, by their tears, bore testimony to his valour, generosity, and public spirit.”—*Dr. Johnson's Life of Blake.*

dissatisfaction pervaded the nation, and pamphleteers bitterly assailed the protector, both in verse and prose⁶. Public attention was roused by the assembling of parliament on the 20th of January, 1658; the House of Commons showed its hostility to the government, by admitting the members who had been previously excluded by the privy council, and still more by severely scrutinizing the constitution of the upper house. After a vain effort to conciliate his opponents, Cromwell dissolved the parliament on the 4th of February, and resolved to hazard the perilous experiment of governing alone. But he encountered violent opposition, even in his own family; Elizabeth, his second daughter, keenly reproached him on her dying bed, and the father, who loved her fondly, felt his grief for her loss sharpened by the pangs of conscience. A pamphlet was published, and widely circulated, in which the assassination of the protector was recommended as an act of justice and patriotism; Cromwell read it, and never smiled again. He lived in continual fear, always wore a coat of mail, never slept two successive nights in the same chamber, had guards posted everywhere, and secret avenues contrived, by which he might escape on the least alarm. In such a condition, his death must be considered a happy release; it took place on the 3rd of September, 1658, the anniversary of his great victories at Worcester and Dunbar. He was interred with great pomp in Westminster Abbey, but the conduct of the populace evinced anything but sorrow for the loss of their ruler⁷.

Richard Cromwell had hitherto lived a thoughtless and rather extravagant life, but on his father's death he was acknowledged as protector, both at home and abroad, without opposition. He had, however, soon to contend against a powerful republican minority in parliament, while still greater dangers menaced him from the discontent of the army, which was equally dissatisfied with the protector and the parliament⁸. The officers urged Richard to dissolve the refractory commons, and when he had taken this imprudent step, seized the reins of government into their own hands. Having deli-

⁶ Satirical poems were published, in one of which is the following passage;—

"A protector! what's that? 'Tis a stately thing
That confesses himself but the ape of a king;
A tragical Cæsar, the actor a clown,
Or a brags farthing, stamped with a kind of
a crown."

⁷ Evelyn says, "This was the merriest funeral that I ever saw, for no one howled but the dogs, with which the soldiers made sport, amidst barbarous noise, parading through the streets, drinking and smoking;" Ludlow adds, "The folly and profusion (of the lying in

state) so far provoked the people, that they threw dirt in the night on his escutcheon, that was placed over the great gate of Somerset House."

⁸ Richard derided the fanatical pretensions of his father's officers; when a remonstrance was made against his granting commissions to "the ungodly," he replied, "Here is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before ye all." "These imprudent as well as irreligious words," says Ludlow, "so clearly discovering the frame and temper of his mind, were soon published in the army and city of London, to his great prejudice."

berated on several projects, the military junta came to the resolution of re-assembling the Long Parliament. About ninety members were hastily collected, but those who displeased the new rulers were excluded, and the deliberations of the rest were fettered by what was called "an humble petition and address from the officers to the parliament of the commonwealth of England." Richard, weary of his situation, resigned the protectorate, and the chief power of the state passed to the cabal of officers, at whose head were Lambert, Fleetwood, and Desborough. In the contests that followed between the parliament and the council of officers, the nation generally took no interest. It was a period of complete anarchy; principle was forgotten, every one was guided by his caprice, or by some prospect of private advantage. All true friends of their country were heartily tired of this confusion, and the illusion of the republicans had so completely vanished, that if we except those who wished for a protector, or expected the personal reign of Christ, not more than a few hundreds could be found anxious to restore the commonwealth. In this state of affairs, George Monk, afterwards duke of Albemarle, resolved to act a decided part. He had been entrusted by Cromwell with the government of Scotland, and the command of the army: though suspected of a secret attachment to the royal cause⁸, he continued to hold his place during the protectorates of Oliver and Richard. On the abdication of the latter, he professed the utmost anxiety for a reconciliation between the parliament and the English army; but if that could not be effected, he declared that he would support the former, because the establishment of a commonwealth was dear to his heart. This declaration gave so much confidence to the opponents of the officers, that Fleetwood found it necessary to permit the parliament to assemble; and the Rump Parliament, as the House of Commons so often mutilated was ignominiously termed, met amid the loudest acclamations of the soldiers, who only two months before had dispersed it by military violence. The house promptly made use of the power which it had regained; the members and officers of whom it did not approve were removed; Desborough, with some others, fled to Lambert. Fleetwood was overwhelmed with consternation.

On the 1st of January, 1660, Monk, at the head of six thousand men, commenced his march towards London; he was received everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm; in all the towns on his road the people rang the bells, lighted bonfires, and declared their ardent wish for a free parliament. Lambert's army melted away as he advanced; but Fleetwood's soldiers excited so much alarm, that the speaker wrote

⁸ Cromwell once wrote to him, "I have been informed that there is in Scotland, a certain cunning fellow, George Monk by name, who has a scheme for restoring Charles Stuart; endeavour to catch him, and send him hither."

to Monk to hasten his march. On the 6th of February he appeared in parliament, and first excited some suspicion of his real designs by refusing to take the oath of abjuration against the Stuarts. The parliament tried to embroil him with the citizens of London, by sending him to arrest some members of the common council for resolving that no taxes should be paid until the parliament was filled. Monk performed this disagreeable duty; but immediately after reconciled himself to the city, and sent a letter to the speaker, demanding a dissolution of parliament and a new election. While this letter was fiercely debated, Monk took the decisive step of introducing the old excluded members, by which he gained a triumphant majority.

On the 17th of March the Long Parliament concluded its sittings, to the great joy of the nation, and a new House of Commons met on the 25th of April. In the interval, Lambert made a desperate effort to place himself at the head of a new army, but by Monk's promptitude and vigour he was taken prisoner and sent to the Tower.

When the new parliament, consisting both of upper and lower house, met, it was manifest that the royalists had such a preponderance that the only question remaining to be decided was, whether Charles II. should be restored with or without conditions. The latter course was unfortunately chosen, perhaps because it would have been impossible to frame terms, the discussion of which would not have roused the slumbering feuds of hostile parties.

On the 29th of May, the day on which he completed his thirtieth year, Charles triumphantly entered London. He was accompanied by the members of parliament, the clergy, the civic authorities, and about twenty thousand persons on foot or horseback. The streets were strewed with flowers, the houses decorated with tapestry, the bells rung in every church, the air resounded with acclamations. The monarch, so recently a hopeless exile, might well ask, as he witnessed the tumult of universal joy, "Where then are my enemies?"

SECTION III.—*History of England, from the Restoration to the Revolution; and rise of the power of Louis XIV.*

FEW monarchs ever had such an opportunity of rendering himself popular, and his subjects happy, as Charles II.; there is scarcely one who failed more lamentably. His first measures promised well; a few of the regicides and their adherents were indeed excepted from the act of indemnity, and executed; but pardon was granted to the chief parliamentary leaders, and many of them received into favour. Ecclesiastical affairs, however, began to disturb the harmony of the nation, when a new parliament was assembled, in which the episcopal and royalist party had a triumphant majority. An act was passed, requiring that

every clergyman should possess episcopal ordination, declare his assent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the solemn league and covenant, and the right of taking up arms against the king under any pretence whatever. About two thousand of the clergy rejected these conditions, and resigned their benefices, rather than do violence to their religious opinions. The ejected clergymen were persecuted with unwise rigour; severe laws were enacted against conventicles,* and a non-conformist minister was prohibited from coming within five miles of a corporation.

The marriage of the king to Catherine of Portugal, when his subjects hoped that he would make a Protestant princess his queen, and the sale of Dunkirk to the French monarch, tended still further to diminish the royal popularity; and a war equally unjust and impolitic, undertaken against the Dutch, completed the public dissatisfaction. Hostilities were commenced without a formal declaration of war; the English seized several of the Dutch colonies in Africa and America, especially the province of Nova Belgia, which Charles in honour of his brother, named the state of New York. Holland was at this time ruled by the Louvestein or violent republican party; its head, the celebrated John De Witt, who, with the title of pensionary, enjoyed almost dictatorial power, feared that Charles might make some effort to restore William III., prince of Orange, to the office of stadtholder, which his ancestors had enjoyed; and to avert this danger, entered into close alliance with France. The pensionary found, however, that he must rely upon his own resources; he fitted out a powerful fleet; the English exerted themselves with equal diligence, and a furious engagement took place upon the coast of Holland (A.D. 1665). Victory declared in favour of the English; more than thirty of the enemy's ships were taken or destroyed, and the whole would probably have fallen had not the pursuit been stopped by the oversight or cowardice of the duke of York, who had been created lord high-admiral of England by his brother.*

The joy occasioned by this victory was diminished by the ravages of the great plague, which swept away seventy thousand citizens of London in the course of a year. De Witt, in the mean time, exerted himself to restore the naval power of the Dutch; he formed an alliance with the king of Denmark, procured aid from France, and soon sent out a more powerful fleet than that which had been defeated. But the English still maintained their wonted superiority; and the Dutch, disheartened by repeated defeats, began to murmur against the government of the grand pensionary. Scarcely had the plague ceased, when London was subjected to a second calamity; a dreadful fire, which raged for four days, destroyed four hundred streets and lanes, including thirteen thousand houses; but it is remarkable that not a single life was lost by the conflagration. Great discontents were excited by the

severity with which the nonconformists were treated in England and Scotland; about two thousand of the discontented, in the western counties of Scotland, had recourse to arms, and renewed the covenant, but they were overpowered by the royal forces, and their insurrection punished with remorseless cruelty. One of the first stipulations made with Charles on his accession was, that he should not disturb the grants which Cromwell had given to his followers in Ireland. But as many, if not most of these estates had been forfeited for the attachment of the proprietors to the royal cause, it was necessary that some compensation should be made to the sufferers. After a long struggle, the best arrangement that was perhaps possible, under the circumstances, was effected by the Act of Settlement; and though many of those who had been dispossessed complained of injustice, the island was restored to tranquillity. It was fast recovering its prosperity, when the unwise jealousy of the English parliament produced considerable distress, by prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle¹. While these circumstances embarrassed the British government, the pensionary, De Witt, sent out a new fleet, which destroyed several vessels at the mouth of the Thames, reduced Sheerness, insulted Portsmouth and Plymouth, and for several weeks rode triumphant in the Channel (A.D. 1667). The conclusion of a peace at Breda dissipated the alarm, but at the same time increased the discontent, of the English nation; it was felt that the prodigality of the king had exhausted the treasury and left the kingdom exposed to insult and disgrace.

The ambitious projects of Louis XIV. began now to excite general alarm; his personal qualities won him the affections of his people; the splendour of his court dazzled the nobility, and changed the factious lords of France into a body of the most subservient courtiers that had ever been seen in modern Europe. On the death of Philip IV. of Spain, Louis claimed the Spanish Netherlands in right of his wife, the daughter of Philip by his first marriage, asserting that females could inherit according to the custom of Brabant, and that his queen should have precedence of her infant brother, the offspring of a second marriage. Anna Maria of Austria, queen-regent of Spain, was a weak woman, entirely governed by her confessor, a German jesuit, named Nithard, who was more anxious to check the growth of heresy than to protect the monarchy². Louis entered Flanders at the head of a powerful

¹ The discussion of this act in the House of Lords, gave rise to some singular debates. It was secretly opposed by the king, who felt its obvious impolicy; it was urged forward by the eccentric duke of Buckingham, who hoped to force himself into power by means of the House of Commons. The Commons declared the importation of Irish cattle "a nuisance." The Lords rejected a term so revolting to com-

mon sense, and substituted "a grievance." The duke of Buckingham insisted on retaining the obnoxious phrase, another noble lord moved that the importation of Irish cattle should be deemed "a felony," or a "premunure;" a third, with more wit and as much reason, proposed that it should be accounted "adultery."

² His arrogance and ignorance were dis-

army, and found the Spaniards almost wholly unprepared for resistance. The principal towns surrendered immediately; Lisle, though a place of considerable strength, capitulated after a siege of nine days, and Louis secured his conquests by entrusting the repair of their fortifications to the celebrated Vauban, and garrisoning them with his best troops. The Dutch were alarmed at the prospect of having their frontiers exposed to such a powerful neighbour; they received succour from an unexpected quarter. Charles II., either jealous of Louis, or eager to acquire popularity, concluded a defensive alliance between England and Holland (A.D. 1668); and Sweden soon after concurred in the treaty. Louis found it necessary to stop short in his career; he made peace with Spain, retaining a great portion of his conquests, which, however, were not sufficient to console him for the brilliant prospects he was compelled to resign. He had to endure another mortification; the Turks once more became formidable, under the administration of the vizier Kuproeli, and compelled the German emperor to conclude peace on terms highly favourable to their interests; and they wrested the important island of Candia from the Venetians, in spite of the efforts made by the French monarch to save the place.

Louis saw that his designs on the Netherlands, and his revenge against Holland, could not be accomplished without the active participation of England. Knowing the prefligate habits of Charles, whose court was a scene of extravagance and dissipation, he concluded a secret treaty with that monarch, in which it was agreed that Charles should receive a large pension from Louis, in return for which he should co-operate in the conquest of the Netherlands, propagate the Catholic faith in his dominions, and publicly announce his conversion to that religion. France and England commenced the war by atrociously outraging the law of nations; Louis, without the shadow of a pretext, seized the duchy of Lorraine; Charles attempted the capture of a rich Dutch fleet, before he had announced his dissatisfaction with the recent treaty. The Dutch were wholly unable to resist this storm; at sea they maintained their equality, but the armies of France bore down all opposition; Louis crossed the Rhine, advanced to Utrecht, and had he not delayed there, might have conquered Amsterdam. The Dutch populace vented their rage on the unfortunate pensionary, to whom they unjustly attributed all their calamities. John de Witt and his brother Cornelius were arrested, but ere they could be brought to trial, a furious mob burst into their prison and tore them to pieces. William III., prince of Orange, was immediately chosen stadtholder; his exhortations revived the sinking spirits of the Dutch; they resolved,

played in his reply to a nobleman who had addressed him in a tone of disrespect. "You ought," said he, "to revere the man who has every day your God in his hands and your queen at his feet."

that rather than submit to disgraceful terms, they would abandon their country, seek their settlements in their East Indies, and re-establish their republic in southern Asia³. Louis soon found the results of this determined spirit; the emperor, thoroughly alarmed, sided with the Dutch, and many of the northern German states followed his example. Indecisive engagements were fought at sea; but the conquest of Cologne by the Dutch and Germans, intercepted the communication between France and the United Provinces, in consequence of which Louis was compelled to withdraw his forces and abandon his conquests. A more important change was the secession of England; Charles, distressed for want of money, loaded with debt, and rendered anxious by the progress of public discontent, concluded peace with Holland on very equitable conditions (A.D. 1674). He then offered his mediation to the contending powers.

Louis surprised all Europe by the magnitude of his efforts, but they did not produce any corresponding result; and the desolation of the Palatinate by Marshal Turenne excited such general indignation, that Louis bribed Charles to dissolve the parliament, lest it should force its sovereign to declare war against France. The war was maintained with great fury during the ensuing campaigns; it was on the whole favourable to the French, but the rapid progress of Louis, in the year 1677, excited so much alarm, that the English parliament addressed the king to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with Holland. Charles, however, had sold his neutrality, and would not abandon his pension to promote either the honour or advantage of his kingdom; but he tried to conciliate the nation by giving his niece, the daughter of the duke of York, in marriage to the prince of Orange. Louis continued his victorious career uninterrupted by England, until the Dutch sought peace on any terms, and a treaty was concluded at Nimeguen (A.D. 1678), by which France acquired an increase of power dangerous to all the neighbouring states.

The jealousy of the English nation at the exaltation of a rival, long regarded as their natural enemy, the feeling that the national honour had been sacrificed, and the fear of the design of the court to establish the Romish religion and arbitrary power, spread a deep gloom over England, and disposed the people to suspicions that led them to become the dupes of the vilest impostors. Just as the account of the cruelties practised on the covenanters in Scotland excited most alarm and indignation, the three kingdoms were roused to sudden frenzy by the announcement of a popish plot. A wicked impostor, named Titus Oates, framed a tale of a conspiracy by the Jesuits for the subversion

³ Several efforts were made to corrupt the prince of Orange, but he sternly rejected them. When told that the ruin of his country was inevitable, he replied, "There is one way by

which I can be certain not to see the ruin of my country, and that is, to die, disputing the last ditch."

of the Protestant religion and the murder of the king; his narrative was improbable, confused, and contradictory, but it suited the temper of the nation, and it was favourable to the ambition of some designing men, anxious to obtain power at any hazard. Before censuring too severely the credulity of the nation, we must remember that a plot for the re-establishment of the Romish religion really existed, but it was formed by the king, not against him; many Catholics, aware of the king's secret attachment to their religion, and encouraged by the duke of York's open profession of it, indulged hopes of the speedy reconciliation of the British kingdoms to the Holy See, and several enthusiastic phrases in their letters were capable of being distorted into confirmation of a plan formed to accelerate such a consummation⁴. The inexplicable murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, an active magistrate who had taken Oates's depositions, completed the delusion; to deny the reality of the plot was now to be reputed an accomplice; even to doubt of it was criminal. Several Catholics were brought to trial, the evidence against them was a tissue of palpable falsehoods, but, in the frenzy of the moment, every absurdity received credence; they were condemned and executed. The parliament at the same time passed a law excluding from both houses all who would not swear that "the sacrifice of the mass was damnable and idolatrous," and it was with great difficulty that an exception was made in favour of the king's brother, the duke of York. The covenanters in Scotland were driven to such desperation by the severities of the royal government, that they murdered Archbishop Sharpe, and broke out into open rebellion. Their revolt was suppressed, and those who had shared in it, or who were suspected of favouring the views of the covenanters, were punished with remorseless cruelty. It deserves to be remarked that, during this turbulent period, Ireland, to the great discredit of the popish plot, continued perfectly tranquil. Still its name was dragged into the controversy, and it lent a title to party. The supporters of the court were named Tories, from the Irish robbers, who, under that name, harassed the Cromwellian settlers; the leaders of the opposition were denominated Whigs, the appellation of the fiercest of the Scottish covenanters (A.D. 1681). A bill to exclude the duke of York from the succession passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords; Charles seized the moment when the violence of his adversaries disgusted the sound part of the nation, to dissolve the parliament, and to summon a new one to assemble at Oxford. This second parliament proving refractory, it was suddenly dissolved, and a declaration vindicating the king's proceedings was ordered to be read in all churches and chapels.

⁴ This is especially the case with the letters of the first victim to the national delusion, Edward Coleman, secretary to the duke of York. Dryden has well described the plot in a single line.

"Some truth there was, but dashed and brewed with lies."

Charles won the support of the clergy, by vigorously enforcing the Act of Uniformity and persecuting sectaries, and at the same time chose some of the most pliant lawyers to be judges. By these means the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance were revived, and the bench and the pulpit seemed to contend with each other which should show most zeal for the unlimited power of the crown. He next assailed his opponents with their own weapons; the spies, the informers, and false witnesses, who had been employed by the popular party to establish the reality of the popish plot, were now enlisted against their former patrons, and gave their perjured support to one party as freely as they had done to another. The spirit of independence still reigned in the hearts of the citizens of London, but, on the most flimsy legal pretexts, the capital was deprived of its charter, and the power of the corporation virtually transferred to the king. The popular leaders, not disheartened, formed a plan of insurrection; they were betrayed by one of their party: Lord Howard, who had been a leader, became a witness against his associates; several of them were tried, condemned, and executed; but the victims whose fate excited most sympathy were the popular Lord Russell and the virtuous Algernon Sidney. The duke of York was now placed at the head of the royal councils, but Charles soon became weary of his brother's violence and bigotry; he is even said to have meditated a change in the government, and the adoption of popular measures, when he died suddenly (A.D. 1685), not without strong suspicions of poison. It was supposed that some of the violent Catholics attached to the duke of York perpetrated that crime without that prince's knowledge or participation.

While England was thus convulsed at home, its foreign interests were wholly neglected by its profligate sovereign, who continued to be the pensioner of the French king. Louis XIV. thus had full scope to gratify his ambition; he continually enlarged his frontiers on the most frivolous pretences, while Spain and Holland were too weak, and the Germanic empire too much harassed by other enemies, to check his progress. The Emperor Leopold, by flagrantly violating the privileges of his Hungarian subjects, provoked a formidable revolt; it was headed by Count Tekeli, a leader possessing great courage and resolution, and he called the Turks to the assistance of his countrymen. While these allies were ravaging Silesia, the Sultan Mohammed IV. was preparing one of the most formidable armies that the Ottoman empire had ever sent against Christendom. Leopold, convinced that his own resources were not equal to the crisis, entered into close alliance with the celebrated John Sobieski, who, in the year 1674, had been raised to the throne of Poland.

Before the Polish levies could be completed, the Turkish army, commanded by the grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, entered Austria; the duke of Lorraine, who commanded the imperialists, was unable to

resist the progress of the invaders; they advanced rapidly, and at length laid siege to Vienna. During several weeks the city was vigorously defended, but, at length, its fortifications crumbled under the heavy fire of the Turkish artillery; the suburbs were destroyed, and the final assault was expected every moment (A.D. 1683). The garrison, reduced to despair, was about to resign all thoughts of resistance, when the banners of John Sobieski, approaching to their relief, were seen on the hill of Schellenberg. Kara Mustapha led the main body of his forces to meet the Poles, while a body of twenty thousand men attempted to storm the city. But the courage of the garrison was now revived, and the confidence of their enemies abated: the assailants were repelled; a panic seized the Turks; they broke at the first charge of the Polish cavalry, and fled in such confusion, that they abandoned their artillery, baggage, and treasures. Even the consecrated banner of Mohammed became the prize of the victors, and was sent as a trophy to the pope. Leopold, in consequence of this decided triumph, recovered possession of Hungary, but his ingratitude to his deliverers was as signal as their merits.

Louis XIV. had raised the siege of Luxemburg when he heard of the advance of the Turks, declaring that he would not attack a Christian prince while Christendom itself was endangered by the invasion of the infidels. No sooner, however, had Sobieski's valour crushed the Mohammedans, than he renewed his aggressions. Spain was thus provoked into a war which it had not strength to support, and a hasty peace confirmed Louis in his conquests. His naval power was steadily increased at the same time; he humbled the Algerines, compelled the republic of Genoa to submit to the most degrading humiliations, and did not even spare the pope. But while his ambition was provoking the resentment of Europe, he weakened his kingdom by a display of ferocious bigotry, at the moment when all its strength was required to resist justly-provoked hostility. The religious toleration of the Huguenots had been secured by the edict of Nantes, which was designed to be perpetual; Louis, after the death of his wisest minister, the virtuous Colbert, revoked this edict, and attempted to impose his religion on his subjects by the sword. He began by issuing an edict, authorizing Huguenot children, above seven years of age, to change their religion without the consent of their parents; this pernicious law introduced dissension into the bosom of families; children were enticed to ingratitude and disobedience by the arts of clerical kidnappers who overspread the country. The parents were next persecuted; they were excluded from all public employments and the incorporations of the trades. Bribes were offered on the one hand, punishments were menaced on the other; apostacy was assured of reward, and the payment of conversions became a heavy charge on the state. Finally, a brutal and licentious soldiery was let loose on the hapless Protestants;

dragoons were sent as missionaries among them, and the edict of Nantes, their last security, was formally revoked. Exposed to all the cruelties and horrors that bigotry could dictate, or brutality execute, nearly four hundred thousand of the Huguenots abandoned their country, and carried into lands hostile to France their wealth, their commercial intelligence, their manufacturing industry, and their desire of vengeance. The accounts of their sufferings published by the exiled Huguenots in England, Holland, and Germany, aggravated the hatred of France, which was spreading through these countries, and accelerated a general war. A league was formed by all the princes of Germany to restrain the encroachments of Louis; Spain and Holland joined it as principals; Sweden, Denmark, and Savoy, were afterwards gained: and a sudden revolution in England placed that country at the head of the confederacy.

James II. succeeded to the English crown on the death of his brother Charles; he commenced his reign by liberal promises, which procured him general popularity, notwithstanding his open adhesion to the Romish church, and his going to mass with all the ensigns of regal dignity. But there were many discontented spirits who lamented his accession, and these secretly instigated the duke of Monmouth, the natural son of Charles II., to assert his mother's marriage, and his own consequent claim to the throne. Monmouth was a weak, vain man: he readily adopted the scheme, and in concert with the earl of Argyle, prepared for the simultaneous invasion of Scotland and England. Argyle, who was the first, readily effected a landing in Scotland, but soon found that the country was not so ripe for revolt as he had believed. Surrounded by superior forces, he attempted to force his way into the disaffected part of the western counties, but his followers gradually abandoned him; he was taken prisoner and sent to Edinburgh, where he expiated his imprudence on the scaffold. In the mean time, Monmouth had landed in the west of England, where he was received with great enthusiasm. Encouraged by the proofs of attachment he received, he ventured to attack the royal army encamped at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater. But the cowardice of Lord Grey, who commanded the horse, and the incapacity of Monmouth himself, proved fatal to the insurgents; they were routed with great slaughter, and their unfortunate leader, after wandering about several days in great distress, was taken prisoner.

James II. induced the unhappy Monmouth to degrade himself by a mean supplication for life⁵, and then informed him that his offence

⁵ Monmouth displayed great firmness and intrepidity on the scaffold. The executioner, touched with pity, or respect for the victim's noble bearing, struck him three times without effect, and then threw aside the axe, declaring

he was unable to perform his office. The sheriff compelled him to renew his efforts, and the head of the unhappy duke was at length severed from his body.

was too great to be pardoned. The cruelties exercised on all suspected of having shared in the insurrection, by the inhuman Colonel Kirke, and the still more infamous Judge Jefferies, were shocking to human nature; they spread general consternation through the western counties, but at the same time they excited a spirit of secret hostility to the tyrannical king. Encouraged by his success, James resolved to dispense with the Test Acts, by which Catholics were excluded from the public service, and, finding the parliament opposed to his views, he dissolved that body. Eleven out of the twelve judges asserted that the dispensing power was an essential part of the royal prerogative; and the king, fortified by their opinion, gave several places of trust to Catholic lords and gentlemen. The lord-lieutenancy of Ireland was entrusted to the earl of Tyrconnell, a zealous adherent of the Romish church; many of the Catholics, who felt that their religion was the cause of their being deprived of their estates, began to look forward to the repeal of the Act of Land Settlement, and several of the more timorous Protestants sought refuge in England. Their representations, and the tales of horror related by the exiled Huguenots, filled the nation with a general hatred of popery; the king, however, unconscious of his increasing unpopularity, unwisely deprived himself of his chief security by quarrelling with the Church. He commenced by endeavouring to open the doors of the universities to Catholics: more opposition was offered than had been anticipated, but the king persevered, and a Catholic, named Parker, was installed into the presidency of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Although there was much discontent in England, no project had as yet been formed against the king; it was believed that Mary of Modena, James's queen, would never have any children, and the nation was disposed to wait quietly for the accession of one of his daughters by his former marriage, both of whom were known to be strongly attached to the church of England. Mary, the eldest daughter of James by Anne Hyde, was married to the prince of Orange, who was engaged in supporting the liberties of Europe, and the Protestant religion against the ambition and bigotry of Louis XIV.; she was less popular in England than her husband, to whom she was known to be fondly attached, and it was generally believed that she would relax the laws against Protestant dissenters, if ever she came to the throne, in order to gratify the attachment of her husband to Presbyterian principles. She was, however, childless, and the national hope of a Protestant successor to the throne centred in her sister.

The Princess Anne, afterwards queen, had been educated in the strictest principles of the Anglican church by her maternal grandfather, the celebrated earl of Clarendon. She was married to Prince George of Denmark, by whom she had several children, all of whom, except the duke of Gloucester, either died in their infancy, or were

still-born. She was the favourite child of her father, and nothing had ever occurred to interrupt their affection, until nearly at the same time James's queen appeared likely to give an heir to the throne, and he himself became involved in a contest with the Church of England.

Anxious to relieve the Catholics from the civil disabilities under which they laboured, as a monarch of the same religion as themselves must naturally have been, and at the same time desirous to obtain the support of so powerful a body as the Protestant dissenters, in the new course of policy which he meditated, James published a new declaration of indulgence, suspending all the penal laws against every species of dissent, and soon after issued a proclamation commanding it to be read in churches. The legality of such a command was questioned by the prelates, for though royal declarations had been read in churches with their sanction during the preceding reign, considerable doubts were entertained of the king's power to suspend the penal laws, and in fact, such an exercise of the royal authority had been pronounced unconstitutional by the best lawyers of the kingdom. Had the declaration related to a less obnoxious matter than the virtual abrogation of the laws against non-conformity, which had been only procured by the most vigorous exertions of the hierarchy, it is probable that the king's orders might have been obeyed; but it was unwise to call upon the English prelates to undo their own work, and to proclaim in the churches that they had hitherto pursued an erroneous course of policy. It was also known that the great majority of the English dissenters, far from being grateful for the king's favour, viewed his edict of toleration with suspicion, believing, that it was not intended to serve them, but to advance the cause of popery.

Under these circumstances six bishops, in concert with Sancroft the primate, prepared a remonstrance in the form of a petition to the king, which stated, in firm but respectful language, their reasons for refusing to comply with his injunctions. When this document was presented to James, he was so violently enraged, that he ordered the prelates to be arrested on the charge of having uttered a seditious libel, and as they all refused to find bail, they were committed to the Tower.

At this crisis the queen gave birth to a prince of Wales, and the absence of the archbishop, imprisoned in the Tower, who ought in virtue of his office to have been present on the occasion, gave rise to a report that he had been purposely removed out of the way, lest he should detect the king and queen in their attempt to impose a spurious child on the nation. This monstrous tale was studiously circulated; and though the queen's delivery had been as public as decency would permit, the story that the prince of Wales was supposititious was received with equal credulity in England and Holland. James at first paid no regard to the reports which were in circulation, but when he

learned that the prayers for the young prince were discontinued in his daughter's chapel at the Hague, he remonstrated very strongly on the subject, but was forced to rest satisfied with excuses so disengenuous that their fallaciousness was transparent.

As the king, according to the constitution as settled at the Reformation, was the head of the English church, it was impossible to avoid some collision when the monarch professed a religion at variance with that of the establishment; and though such an evil might be endured for a season, the members of a Protestant establishment naturally shrunk from the prospect of being governed by a continued succession of Romish sovereigns. The birth of a prince of Wales forced men to take into serious consideration the position of the Church and the country, especially as it took place at a time when seven prelates of the Church were persecuted by its head for defending what they believed to be the proper privileges of the established religion. Such an anomaly was too glaring to escape notice, and James exhibited extraordinary weakness in forcing it on the consideration of the country. There never, perhaps, was a trial which excited such interest as that of the seven bishops for the pretended libel contained in their petition to the king. The best lawyers in England were engaged on each side, and the question between prerogative and privilege was never more ably debated. The trial lasted during the whole of the day. In the evening the jury were desired to retire and consider their verdict. They remained together in close consultation all night, without fire or candle; great difference of opinion appears to have prevailed amongst them, for it was not until ten o'clock on the following morning that they pronounced the acquittal of the prelates.

"The moment the verdict was pronounced," says the earl of Clarendon, who was present, "there was a wonderful shout, that one would have thought the hall had cracked." "The loud shouts and joyful acclamations were," as sir John Reresby expresses, "a rebellion in noise, though not in intention." From London the tumultuous sounds of joy extended rapidly into the country, and a well-known expression of James is preserved, on hearing acclamations, even among the soldiers in his camp at Hounslow. He was told by his general, Lord Faversham, of whom he had inquired the cause of the noise, that it was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops. "Do you call that nothing?" he replied, "but so much the worse for them." Bonfires were made, and the bells of the churches rung not only in London, but in the greater part of the country towns, as soon as the news of the acquittal reached them, although the strictest orders were given to prevent such proceedings. So strong was the general feeling, that though several persons were indicted at the next sessions for Middlesex for riotous behaviour, yet the grand jury would not find bills against them,

though they were sent out no less than three times. It is stated further that the churches of London were crowded on that forenoon with multitudes, eager to pour forth their gratitude to God for this great deliverance. "O what a sight was that," says Nichols, "to behold the people crowding into the churches to return thanks to God for so great a blessing, with the greatest earnestness and ecstasy of joy, lifting up their hands to heaven; to see illuminations in every window and bonfires at every door, and to hear the bells throughout all the city, ringing out peals of joy for the wonderful deliverance."

It was in the midst of this popular excitement, and most probably in consequence of it, that the project of a revolution was first formed. In order to form a right estimate of this great event, which for nearly half a century became the great turning-point of European policy, it will be necessary to take a brief retrospect in order to explain the position of parties in England. From the time of the Restoration, a party consisting of a few nobles and a very large body of country gentlemen, laboured to introduce so much of the principles of the old Commonwealth as consisted in restraining the power of the crown, and the ecclesiastical privileges of the establishment. They were at first called the puritanical, and afterwards the whig party; they were animated by a perfect horror of popery, or of anything which seemed approaching to it, but they were more favourable to the Protestant non-conformists than to the episcopal clergy, and their main strength rested on the support of the Protestant dissenters. Except in hatred of popery, the English people of that day had little community of feeling with the whig leaders; the rigid rule of the presbyteries in the time of the Commonwealth and Cromwell, when the most innocent amusements were strictly prohibited, had alienated the lower orders, and though they were rallied round the whigs for a time when the perjuries of Titus Oates and his associates had filled the nation with senseless terror, the re-action against this delusion had reduced the party to more than its former weakness, and it had found little support out of doors when an attempt was made to exclude James from succeeding to the throne on account of his obnoxious religion. Another reason for the small amount of popular favour enjoyed by the whig party was the notorious fact that many of the leaders in spite of their loud professions of patriotism, accepted bribes from foreign powers. Some took money from Holland, others from France, and not a few from both governments, excusing such conduct to themselves by the necessity of obtaining foreign support to resist the prerogatives of the crown and the many advantages of position enjoyed by the court party. The more ardent whigs had raised a rebellion against James to give the crown to the duke of Monmouth, and the ease with which that rebellion was crushed seemed to prove the extinction of their power as a party. James certainly undervalued them, and had he not taken

measures which constrained a coalition between them and their rivals, he might have continued to despise the English whigs with impunity. Matters were very different in Scotland; presbyterianism was there the favoured religion of the nation, and prelacy was scarcely less hated than popery. So far as the important question of church government was concerned, the Scotch were whigs and something more, but James and his court made little account of Scotland; they had taken no warning from the fate of Charles I., which had been decided by a Scottish army.

A far more powerful party was known by the names of prelatists, cavaliers, or tories; it included the great majority of the nobility, the entire body of the clergy, a large proportion of the country gentlemen, and in general the masses of the agricultural and labouring population, so far as the latter were capable of forming any opinion or selecting a party. Their great principle of union was to support the exclusive supremacy of the Church of England, and to extend the influence of that sovereign in his capacity of head of that church; their rallying cry was "church and king," in which church came first not only in name but in reality. From the very moment of James's accession the tories found themselves in an awkward and false position. They had long taught the doctrine of the divine right of kings and passive obedience to the will of the sovereign, denouncing all resistance as sinful; but when the monarch began to exercise his prerogatives as head of the church, in a spirit of direct hostility to the principles on which the church had been established, they found themselves involved in difficulties which every day became more embarrassing. The trial of the bishops was the crisis of their loyalty; it was not unjustly regarded as a kind of declaration of war by the monarch against the national establishment, and all the friends of that establishment felt themselves coerced to take measures for its defence and protection. It is true that the adoption of such measures was a virtual abandonment of the doctrine of non-resistance, and so far a concession to the principles of their old adversaries, the whigs; hence the first movements of the tories to join in inviting the prince of Orange to England were slow and unsteady, and the most for which they looked was that the prince might act as mediator between the king, the church, and the nation.

We have next to examine the connection between the position of the king of England in relation to the general politics of Europe. At this period the arbitrary designs of Louis XIV. had excited universal distrust, and alliances were secretly formed to resist his designs, whether covert or avowed, to the different districts and territories over which he sought to extend his sway. England was prevented from joining in this coalition only by the strict alliance between its monarch and Louis, and hence the reign of James was odious to the princes of

Germany, the houses of Spain and Austria, and even to the pope himself who had been harshly treated by the French monarch, stripped of his territory of Avignon, and menaced with further injuries. Holland was still more deeply interested in detaching England from the French alliance; Louis had openly avowed his intentions to destroy its independence, and if he had procured the promised support of the naval power of England, the Dutch would in all probability have become subjects of France. The combination of parties by which the prince of Orange was invited into England, had little unity in itself, and might have been dissolved in a moment if James had shown a disposition to adopt conciliatory measures and regain the friendship of the Tories and churchmen. William was well aware of these circumstances, and made the most vigorous exertions to take immediate advantage of the crisis. Whilst he was thus engaged, the invasion of western Germany by Louis XIV. without the formality of a declaration of war, and the fearful ravages perpetrated by the French in the Palatinate, excited universal alarm and indignation throughout Europe; the states of Holland immediately placed their fleets and armies at the disposal of William; he set sail with a powerful armament, and on the 5th of November, 1688, landed safely at Torbay.

The perplexity into which all parties were thrown by the landing of William was almost ludicrous; at first he was joined by so few partisans that he began to think of returning; then on a sudden the nobles and leading men of England flocked to him from all quarters; the favourite officers of James, those who were solely indebted to him for rank and fortune, even his favourite daughter Anne, joined in the general defection, while he sinking at once into despondency abandoned his army, and after a brief delay in London fled to France. It is unfortunately true that the prince of Orange made use of many dishonourable artifices to terrify the unfortunate monarch and induce him to seek safety in flight; but James seems to have adopted the fatal resolution of abandoning his kingdom, in the belief that the complicated embarrassments of parties would lead to his recall, and that returning at the head of a French army he might yet triumph over all his enemies. Confidence in the power of Louis XIV. had been his bane from the beginning, and his connection with that detested monarch was the principal cause of his dying an exile.

William assumed so much of royal power as to summon a convention to regulate the affairs of the nation. Three proposals were made to this body: first that terms should be made with James, and the chief administration entrusted to the prince of Orange as lieutenant-general of the kingdom; secondly, that the flight of James should be taken as an abdication, and a regency proclaimed with the prince of Orange at its head; and thirdly, that the throne should be declared vacant, and William and Mary elected king and queen of England. The first

proposal was the most acceptable to the consistent tories, including the primate, Sancroft, and several of the bishops whom James had so recently prosecuted, but the great majority felt the absurdity of turning a king out for the mere purpose of calling him back, and it had already passed into a proverb that "the worst of all revolutions was a restoration."

In the consideration of the second proposition was involved the question of the legitimacy of the prince of Wales, which nobody really doubted, but almost everybody affected to deny. There were however great practical difficulties in recognising the infant prince as heir to the crown; it was tolerably certain that James would not consent to reside in France, and send his son to be educated as a protestant in England; the princesses Mary and Anne were naturally opposed to a plan which would have deprived them of their fondly cherished hopes of wearing a crown, and William had taken pains to make it known that if a regency should be determined upon, somebody else must be sought to exercise the functions of regent.

In fact the circumstances of the time rendered the third plan the only one possible to be adopted; but the majority of those who voted for conferring the crown on William and Mary did so with undisguised reluctance, as men submitting to a painful necessity. The subsequent efforts of James to recover his dominions by the aid of French armaments completed the alienation of the English people from his cause, while the cowardice and incapacity he displayed in Ireland, particularly at the battle of the Boyne, led to the utter ruin of his unfortunate partisans in that country. Louis was himself injured by his efforts in favour of the dethroned king; his futile attempts to invade England, his intrigues to provoke insurrections, and his continued menaces of conquest, provoked and kept alive against him the flame of popular indignation in this country, and induced the people to bear the brunt of expensive continental wars, in which England was very remotely and indirectly concerned, for the mere purpose of restraining his ambition. It was in the same way at a later period that Napoleon's menace of invading England, excited a spirit among the people which led them similarly to fight the battle of continental Europe, and pay its sovereigns for maintaining their own independence.

SECTION IV.—*General History of Europe, from the League of Augsburg to the formation of the Grand Alliance.*

THE domestic history of England, during the reign of William III., is so remotely connected with the progress of the war to restrain the ambition of Louis XIV., that it will be convenient to limit our attention to the former before commencing the narrative of the latter.

Several parties, as we have seen, joined in effecting the revolution; scarcely had they succeeded, when their old jealousies were renewed with aggravated fury. The Scottish convention made the establishment of Presbyterianism an essential part of the settlement of the crown; the Protestant sectarians in England were thus encouraged to hope for some modifications in the discipline of the English church; they did obtain a general toleration, to the great disgust of the tory or high-church party. Ireland remained faithful to James, though William not only offered wealth and dignity to the lord-lieutenant, Tyrconnell, but promised to secure the Catholics in their civil rights, and give them one-third of the churches.

But the Protestants, who had so recently been secured in their lands by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, conscious that the justice of their titles would not bear a very rigid scrutiny, and dreading that, under a Catholic monarch and a Catholic parliament, these acts might be repealed, boldly took up arms, and atoned for their deficiency of number by martial vigour and a daring spirit. They felt that under Cromwell they had won their possessions by the sword, and by the sword they were resolved to retain them. Some of them formed guerilla bands, and scoured the country; others threw themselves into Londonderry, Enniskillen, and other garrison towns, resolved to hold out until aid could arrive from England. James, with a small French force, proceeded to Ireland, and convened a parliament in Dublin. The Act of Settlement was repealed, and all the Protestants who favoured or were supposed to favour, the prince of Orange, were declared guilty of high treason. But in the mean time, the adherents of the abdicated monarch had been ruined in Scotland by the loss of their leader, the brave Viscount Dundee, who fell in the arms of victory. The Highlanders who followed his standard dispersed, and the Jacobite party had no person of sufficient influence to collect another army. James began his operations in Ireland by the siege of Londonderry; it was nobly defended by the inhabitants, whose religious enthusiasm more than supplied their deficiency in martial discipline. They were, however, on the point of sinking under the joint sufferings of fatigue and famine, when a reinforcement arrived from England, with provision and ammunition, upon which the besiegers abandoned their undertaking.

Ere James could recover from this disaster, the duke of Schomberg landed at Carrickfergus with ten thousand men; but as the operations of this general were too slow for the impatience of the people of England, William followed with a considerable reinforcement, and hastened to meet his father-in-law. The hostile armies met on the 1st of July, 1690, on the banks of the river Boyne; the skill of William procured him a victory, which the cowardice of James rendered decisive; he fled from the field of battle, and scarcely halting in

Dublin, hasted to take shipping at Waterford for France, abandoning his faithful subjects to their fate. The Irish, though forsaken, did not despair; they threw themselves into Limerick, which William immediately invested, but was finally forced to raise the siege. This failure was, however, compensated by the success of the earl of Marlborough, in Munster, who with five thousand men reduced Cork, Kinsale, and some other places of less importance. But Ireland was not yet subdued, and William entrusted the completion of the task to Baron Ginckle, who took Athlone almost in the presence of the Irish army, chiefly through the negligence of St. Ruth, whom Louis had sent over at the request of James. Stung with remorse, St. Ruth hazarded a battle at Aughrim, but he was defeated and slain. The Irish a second time sought shelter in Limerick, which Ginckle once more besieged. All parties were now weary of the war, and a treaty was concluded at Limerick, by which it was stipulated that the Catholics should enjoy the same toleration as in the reign of Charles II.; that they should be restored to the privileges of subjects, on taking the oath of allegiance; and that as many as chose to follow the fortunes of the late monarch should be transported to the continent at the expense of the government. About ten thousand men took advantage of the last article, and, under the name of the Irish brigades, were taken into the service of the king of France.

William had, in the mean time, become disgusted with the constitutional jealousy of the whigs, and had sought the friendship of the tories, who were remarkable for their zealous support of the royal prerogative. But a sanguinary act of vengeance, the massacre of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, under circumstances of great treachery, brought so much odium on the new government, that James began to entertain some hopes of a restoration. The Macdonalds had recognised the new government a day later than that named in the act of parliament, but as their allegiance was formally accepted by the authorities, they believed themselves in perfect security. A military force was received into their glens without distrust or suspicion. But in the dead hour of the night, the soldiers, pursuant to previous orders, rose upon their hosts, set fire to the houses, and shot down the wretched inhabitants as they attempted to escape from the flames.

This atrocity excited universal indignation throughout Europe; the French king hoped that it would enable him to replace James on the throne; and had he been able immediately to transport his forces across the channel, the liberties of England and the crown of William would have been exposed to serious danger. A camp was formed between Cherbourg and La Hogue; twenty thousand Irish and French soldiers were prepared to invade England, and a powerful navy was equipped to support the expedition. The whole was frustrated by the valour of the British seamen; Admiral Russell having formed a

junction with a Dutch squadron, attacked the French fleet off La Hogue, burned several of their men-of-war and transports, and drove the rest into their harbours. James beheld from the shore this annihilation of his hopes, but could not forbear expressing his admiration of the valour of his former subjects¹.

The death of Queen Mary revived the hopes of the jacobites, as the partisans of the Stuarts were called; but instead of open rebellion, they resolved to remove the king by assassination. The plot was discovered, and the nation was so disgusted with the intended treachery, that William was restored to all his former popularity. From this time to the accession of Queen Anne, there is little worthy of note in the domestic history of England. On the death of the duke of Gloucester, the last Protestant heir to the crown, an act was passed by which the eventual succession was settled on Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover, and her heirs, being Protestants (A.D. 1701). She was the grand-daughter of James I., by the Princess Elizabeth, married to the unfortunate elector-palatine. Party animosities between the whigs and tories were occasionally violent, and William III. was not always on the best of terms with his parliament.

The Emperor Leopold, the head of the league of Augsburg, was a prince of great abilities, sullied, however, too often, by cruelty and bigotry. Though the chief of a confederacy for maintaining the liberties of Europe, he trampled on the privileges of his Hungarian subjects, and persecuted the Protestants. But the overthrow of the Turks at Vienna, and the subsequent capture of Belgrade, left the discontented without an ally, and they were forced to submit in silence. Louis was not daunted by the power of the league; he assembled two armies in Flanders, sent a third to check the Spaniards in Catalonia, and, to form a barrier on the side of Germany, ravaged the Palatinate with fire and sword (A.D. 1688). This barbarous policy filled Europe with horror; men, women, and children, driven from their habitations, in the inclement month of February, wandered by the light of their own burning houses over the frozen fields, and fell victims by thousands to cold and hunger. Nor did this detestable expedient produce the desired effect; the German armies, in the ensuing campaign, gained several important triumphs. Louis sought to recover his former superiority by nobler means; he entrusted his armies to new generals of approved talent, and the fortune of the war instantly changed. Savoy was overrun by the French marshal, Catinat; Marshal Luxemburg gained a brilliant victory over the allies in Flanders; the united Dutch and English fleets were defeated off Beachy Head, and the Spaniards were scarcely able to defend Catalonia (A.D. 1690). Little was done

¹ When he saw the French fleet set on fire, he exclaimed, "Ah! none but my brave English tars could have performed so gallant an action!"

on the side of Germany, for the emperor was once more assailed by Tekeli and the Turks, whose progress threatened the ruin of his hereditary dominions. Had this course of fortune continued, Louis must have become the master of Europe, but in the following campaigns, the Turks, deprived of all their advantages, left the emperor at leisure to watch his western frontiers, and Catinat was driven from Italy by the duke of Savoy. But in Flanders the French continued to be eminently successful. Mons and Namur were taken in spite of all the efforts which the united forces of the English and Dutch could make for their relief, and the allies were defeated in two great general engagements by the duke of Luxembourg. But William III. was never daunted by ill success, and he adopted such prudent measures, that Luxembourg was unable to derive any important advantages from his victories. Similar success attended the armies of Louis in Savoy, Spain, and Germany; but the triumphs were equally unproductive. Even at sea, notwithstanding the recent loss at La Hogue, the French navy rode triumphant, and gained a decided superiority over the English and Dutch fleets. But France was exhausted by these efforts; a dreadful famine ravaged the country, arising partly from an unfavourable season, and partly from the want of hands to till the ground; and the finances of the state were fast falling into confusion. The allies, aware of these circumstances, made vigorous efforts to recover their losses, but they were generally unsuccessful, except on the side of Flanders, where William re-captured Namur, and thus, in some degree, retrieved his military reputation. All parties became weary of a war in which much blood was shed, much treasure expended, and no permanent acquisitions made. Negotiations were commenced under the mediation of Charles XI., of Sweden, at Ryswick (A. D. 1697), and a treaty concluded, in which Louis made many important concessions, to purchase an interval of tranquillity for his future projects. The French king's renunciation of the Spanish succession, which it had been the main object of the war to enforce, was not even mentioned in the articles of pacification, and several other omissions left abundant grounds for a renewal of the war at no distant period.

The emperor, though severely harassed by the Turks, consented to the peace with great reluctance, and complained bitterly of the desertion of his allies. But no one of the confederates derived more advantage from the treaty; he was enabled to direct his whole force against the Ottomans, who, under their new sultan, Mustapha II., became, for a brief space, formidable to Europe. The danger was averted by the celebrated Prince Eugene, of Savoy, who now began to attract admiration. After the peace of Ryswick, he took the command of the imperialists, and encountered Mustapha at Zenta, a small village on the banks of the river Theysse, in the kingdom of Hungary. The battle was brief, but, for its duration, one of the most sanguinary on

record; fifteen thousand Turks were slain, and eight thousand more drowned in their flight across the river; their artillery, baggage, and ammunition, the sultan's magnificent pavilion, countless standards, and the great seal of the Ottoman empire, remained the prize of the victors; the grand vizier, the aga of the janissaries, and twenty-seven paçhas, were among the victims of this fatal field. Mustapha, having vainly attempted to retrieve his losses in a new campaign, was forced to consent to the peace of Carlowitz, by which several provinces were resigned to the Austrians, Azof ceded to the Russians, now fast rising into importance under the administration of the Czar Peter, and the Venetians gratified by the cession of the Morea, anciently called the Peloponnesus.

The declining health of the king of Spain, Charles II., engaged the general attention of Europe after the peace of Ryswick: three princes were candidates for the succession, Louis XIV., the Emperor Leopold, and the elector of Bavaria. It is unnecessary to canvass their several claims, but it is manifest that the general interests of Europe pointed to the electoral prince as the most eligible of the competitors. A secret treaty of partition was concluded between William and Louis, but Charles II. received information of the transaction, and enraged that his dominions should be shared during his life, proclaimed the electoral prince of Bavaria sole heir. Scarcely, however, had this arrangement been made, when that prince died suddenly, not without strong suspicions of poison (A.D. 1699). A new treaty of partition was arranged by Holland, France, and England, but the Emperor Leopold refused his concurrence, expecting to obtain for his family the inheritance of the whole Spanish monarchy. During these negotiations, the affections of the Scotch were alienated from William, by his sacrificing the settlement which they had established at a great expense, on the isthmus of Darien, to quiet the fears of the Spaniards, and the commercial jealousy of the English. Could they have found leaders, they would probably have had recourse to arms, but fortunately they were contented to vent their rage in violent language and furious invective. Charles II. was long disposed to favour the Austrian claimant to his crown, but the arrogance of his queen and her German favourites, alienated the nation from the court of Vienna, while the Spanish nobility and clergy urged the dying monarch to bestow the sovereignty on the house of Bourbon. Charles applied to the pope for advice; Innocent XII., who then filled the pontifical chair, was very jealous of the progress of the Austrian power in Italy; he therefore strenuously recommended the choice of a French prince; a new will was made, and Philip, duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, was nominated heir to the crown of Spain. Not long after Charles died (A.D. 1701), and Louis, after some hesitation between the will and the partition treaty, proclaimed his grandson king of Spain and the Indies, under the title of Philip V.

Though England and Holland were equally alarmed at this proceeding, both powers were obliged to acquiesce for a season. William found his parliament reluctant to engage in a new war, and Louis, by an unexpected movement against the barrier towns, had secured a great portion of the Dutch army. The emperor, however, commenced a war, claiming the duchy of Milan as a fief of the imperial crown, and his army, under the command of Prince Eugene, gained several advantages over Marshal Catinat, in Italy. During this campaign, the States-general and William, having failed to obtain any satisfactory explanations of his designs from the French king, concluded a treaty, called the Grand Alliance, with the emperor. Its avowed objects were "to procure satisfaction to his imperial majesty in the case of the Spanish succession; obtain security to the English and Dutch for their dominions and commerce; prevent the union of the monarchies of France and Spain, and hinder the French from possessing the Spanish dominions in America." But this treaty would probably have been frustrated by the English parliament, but for the imprudence with which Louis hazarded an insult to the British nation (A.D. 1701). On the death of James II., he caused his son, commonly called the Old Pretender, to be recognised king of Great Britain and Ireland, under the title of James III. The parliament at once entered heartily into the war, which they had hitherto disapproved, and their martial ardour was not abated by the death of William, who fell a victim to a fall from his horse, and the unskilfulness of an inexperienced surgeon (A.D. 1702). The intelligence of this event filled the allies with consternation; but their fears were of short duration, for Queen Anne, who next ascended the throne, declared her resolution to adhere steadily to the policy of her predecessor.

SECTION V.—*The War of the Spanish Succession.*

THE accession of Queen Anne gave great satisfaction to the English people; William was disliked as a foreigner, who was more strongly attached to Holland than to his adopted country, and his coldness of manner had greatly tended to increase his unpopularity. He was suspected by the tories of secret designs against the Church, on account of his attachment to presbyterianism, and the whigs had ceased to respect him, because he had not shown himself sufficiently grateful for their services in raising him to the throne. Though his military talents were great, he had not been a very successful general, and it was studiously circulated, that he endeavoured as much as possible to keep back the earl (afterwards duke) of Marlborough, through envy of his superior abilities. He had, at first, recognised the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain, and therefore, when he joined the

grand alliance formed to prevent what he had previously sanctioned, he was exposed to suspicions of insincerity, and it was generally believed that if Louis made any large sacrifices to conciliate the Dutch, the English monarch would not persevere in his resistance. It is scarcely necessary to say, that it was of very little importance to England, whether an Austrian or a French prince became monarch of Spain; the war of the Succession, in which this country bore the principal share, was that in which its interests were the least involved; and this country lavishly poured forth its blood and treasure to accomplish objects which had no connection with its real position. It was the indignation excited by the attempt of Louis to impose upon the English people a sovereign of his choice, which induced the queen and her people to enter on a bloody and expensive war, for no other purpose than humiliating the insolence of a despot. They subsequently found out that they had to pay too dear a price for the luxuries of war and vengeance.

Queen Anne infused vigour into the grand alliance, not only by the prompt declaration of her adhesion, but by a judicious choice of ministers; Lord Godolphin was placed at the head of the treasury, and the earl of Marlborough, who was connected with the premier by marriage, was appointed commander-in-chief of the English army in Flanders, and ambassador extraordinary to the States-General. War was declared against France on the same day, at London, the Hague, and Vienna; and the campaign was simultaneously opened in Italy, Germany, and Flanders (A.D. 1702). The earl of Marlborough, who commanded in Flanders, was the only one of the allied generals who obtained success; he captured several important towns, and would probably have defeated the French in the open field, had not his motions been fettered by the presence of the Dutch field-deputies, who were too cautious or too timorous to allow of his hazarding an engagement. At sea the ancient renown of the English navy was re-established; Sir George Rooke sailed against Cadiz with a fleet of fifty sail, having with him the duke of Ormond and an army of twelve thousand men. Cadiz was too strong to be taken, and Rooke sailed to Vigo, where the galleons, laden with the treasures of Spanish America, lay protected by a French fleet and a formidable castle and batteries. The English admiral broke the boom that protected the narrow entrance into the inner harbour, Ormond stormed the castle, and the French losing all hope, set fire to their ships. But the English and Dutch were at hand to extinguish the flames; six ships of the line and nine galleons became the trophies of the conquerors.

These losses, and the defection of the duke of Savoy, did not abate the courage of Louis; and the confederates, though joined by the king of Portugal, did not improve their advantages (A.D. 1703). The elector of Bavaria, the firm ally of France, being joined by Marshal

Villars, gained a great victory over the imperialists at Höchstet, which a road was opened to Vienna. The armies of Louis retained their superiority in Italy; even at sea the French disconcerted the plans of the confederates, and these disasters were poorly compensated by the acquisition of a few fortified towns in Flanders, which were captured by Marlborough. Even these slight successes gave courage to the allies; the English parliament voted liberal supplies for continuing the war, and the emperor, though menaced on one side by the Hungarian insurgents, and on the other by the French and Bavarians, ordered his second son, Charles, to assume the title of king of Spain, and to proceed to Portugal, for the purpose of invading that country.

Marlborough had hitherto been greatly impeded by the timid caution of his Dutch colleagues; he concerted the plan of his next campaign with a more congenial spirit, Prince Eugene. As his Flemish conquests, in the preceding campaigns, had secured a good barrier for the United Provinces, Marlborough, now advanced to the title of duke, leaving the defence of the fortresses to the Dutch garrisons, concentrated his forces, with the professed design of invading France, and then suddenly marched into Germany. A junction was effected with the imperialists, the elector of Bavaria's lines at Donawert were forced, and the allies advanced to the Danube. The Bavarian prince having been reinforced by thirty thousand French under the command of Marshal Tallard, resolved to hazard a battle, and the duke having been joined by Prince Eugene, with an equal number, eagerly sought for an engagement (August 13, A.D. 1704). The French and Bavarians were advantageously posted on a hill between the Danube and the village of Blenheim; but their line was weakened by detachments, and Marlborough, taking advantage of their error, charged through, and won a decisive victory. Thirty thousand French and Bavarians were killed, wounded, or taken; their camp-equipage, baggage, artillery, and standards, became the prize of the conquerors; Tallard was taken prisoner, and the Bavarian prince narrowly escaped the same fate. The allies, however, suffered very severely; their loss amounted to no less than five thousand killed, and seven thousand wounded.

The consequences of this brilliant but bloody victory were, the immediate liberation of the emperor from all danger; the Hungarian insurgents were terrified into submission, Bavaria was abandoned by its sovereign to the ravages of the imperialists, and the shattered relics of the French army were driven to seek shelter within their own frontiers. The moral influence of the victory were even of more importance than the immediate results; it not only compensated for the ill success of the allies in Italy and Spain, but changed the whole complexion of the war. At sea the English navy began to retrieve its fame; though Sir George Rooke failed in an attack on Barcelona, he stormed Gibraltar, a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable, and

gained a glorious but unprofitable victory over the French fleet off Malaga.

Had all the allies exhibited the same vigour as the English, Louis must have been speedily ruined; but the Germans were sluggish; the death of the Emperor Leopold, and the accession of his more enterprising son Joseph, made no change in their policy (A.D. 1705): the prince of Baden, the general of the imperialists, obstinately refused to join Marlborough on the Moselle, and the allies could attempt no conquest of importance in Flanders. In Italy the French obtained so many advantages that the duke of Savoy was forced to shut himself up in his capital, where he was besieged, with but little prospect of relief; but on the side of Spain the allied arms were crowned with brilliant success. Sir John Leake defeated a French fleet off Gibraltar, and thus forced the marshal de Tessè to raise the siege of that fortress; the confederates entering Spain on the Portuguese side, captured several places in Estremadura, while the earl of Peterborough, having been convoyed by Sir Cloudesly Shovel to the coast of Catalonia, took the important city of Barcelona, and established the authority of Charles III. in the whole province of Catalonia, and the greater part of the kingdom of Valencia.

These variations of success inflamed the courage and obstinacy of the belligerent powers. Louis was so elated that he ordered Marshal Villeroy to act on the offensive in Flanders, while his Italian army besieged Turin, and the forces he sent into Germany drove the prince of Baden and the imperialists before them (A.D. 1706). The English parliament, now composed principally of whigs, showed the greatest eagerness for the prosecution of the war, and voted liberal supplies for the ensuing campaign. Marlborough joined the united army of Holland and England in May, and soon after received a subsidiary Danish force. Villeroy, relying on his superior strength, advanced to attack the allies, and the two armies met near the village of Ramillies. The French marshal posted his left wing behind a morass, where it could not be attacked, but where it was equally incapable of advancing against the enemy. Marlborough took immediate advantage of this error; amusing the French left wing by a feigned attack, he poured his infantry in masses on the centre; they encountered a brave resistance, but the duke, bringing up the cavalry just as the French lines began to waver, broke through them with a headstrong charge, and in an instant Villeroy's army was a helpless mass of confusion. Seven thousand of the French were slain, six thousand taken prisoners, and a vast quantity of artillery and ammunition abandoned to the victors. The loss of the allies, in killed and wounded, did not exceed three thousand five hundred men.

The results of this brilliant victory were the immediate conquest of Brabant, and almost all the Spanish Netherlands; but its consequences

were felt even in Italy. Marshal Vendome having been recalled to remedy, if possible, Villeroy's disaster, Prince Eugene resolved to raise the siege of Turin, and baffled the efforts of the duke of Orleans to obstruct his march. Orleans therefore joined the besieging army, and as a battle was manifestly inevitable, the French marshals anxiously deliberated whether they should wait for the enemy in their intrenchments. The majority voted against the measure, but Marshal Marsin produced an order, signed by the king, immediately after receiving the account of his defeat at Ramillies, commanding his generals not to offer, but to wait for battle. This order hurt the pride and confused the measures of the duke of Orleans. While the French generals were angrily debating what arrangements should be made, Prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy fell upon their lines; the French got entangled in their extensive entrenchments, the river Doria running through their camp prevented one part of their army from coming to the assistance of the other; they were speedily routed, and fled with precipitation, not halting until they had passed their own frontiers. In men, the loss of the French army was not great, but they abandoned all their cannon, baggage, ammunition, and military chest. By this single blow the house of Bourbon lost the duchies of Milan and Mantua, the principality of Piedmont, and eventually the kingdom of Naples.

That the success of the allies was not equally decisive in Spain, must be attributed to the want of energy and Austrian sluggishness of the Archduke Charles. Philip besieged his rival in Barcelona, but was forced to retire by the appearance of Sir John Leake, with an English squadron, before the town. The retreat was made in great disorder, partly occasioned by an eclipse of the sun, which the superstitious Spaniards regarded as an omen of their ruin. Forty thousand English and Portuguese, under the command of the earl of Galway and the marquis de las Minas, advanced through Estremadura towards Madrid, and Philip was forced to abandon his capital; at the same time, the count de Santa Cruz surrendered Carthage and the galleys to the allied powers. Had the archduke gone immediately to Madrid, and closely pressed his rival, the crown of Spain would probably have been lost to the house of Bourbon; but he lingered unaccountably in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, until Philip and the duke of Berwick¹, having collected a superior army, compelled the English and Portuguese to abandon Madrid. Carthage was soon after recovered, but this was more than compensated by the loss of the islands of Majorca and Ivice, which surrendered to the English fleet under Sir John Leake. Louis was so disheartened by his losses, that he sought for peace on very humble conditions, but the allies, intoxicated with success,

¹ The duke of Berwick was the natural son of James II., and one of the ablest generals in the service of France.

demanded such humiliating terms, that he resolved to try the hazards of another campaign.

While the English ministers were lavishing blood and treasure to support foreign wars, they did not neglect the internal affairs of the nation. A treaty for uniting England and Scotland under one legislature, was ratified by the parliaments of both countries; but the Scottish nation generally was opposed to a union that galled their national pride, and the advantages of which time alone could develop (A.D. 1707). Louis derived one advantage from his recent misfortunes; the expulsion of his force from Italy enabled him to send powerful succours into Spain, where the allies were acting with the greatest negligence and misconduct. The earl of Galway and the marquis de las Minas, having exhausted all their provisions in Valencia, attempted to pass into New Castile; the duke of Berwick, having received large reinforcements, and aware that the allies had been weakened by the departure of the archduke, did not hesitate to attack them at Almanza, and won a victory as complete as any that had been obtained during the war. This great triumph restored the cause of the Bourbons in Spain, and similar success attended the French army in Germany, where the Marshal Villars penetrated to the Danube, and laid the duchy of Wirtemberg under contribution. Nothing of importance occurred in Flanders, and the only naval enterprise was the siege of Toulon. Prince Eugene, and the duke of Savoy, marched through France to besiege this great port, while Sir Cloudesly Shovel appeared off the coast to second their operations. But unfortunately, the garrison of Toulon had been reinforced two hours before the appearance of the allies; they retreated through Provence, wasting the country as they passed, and diffusing consternation almost to the gates of Paris. Nor was this the only evil that Louis suffered from the invasion; the detachments withdrawn from the army of Marshal Villars so weakened that general, that he was forced to relinquish his high projects in Germany, and repass the Rhine, instead of advancing beyond the Danube.

Great expectations had been formed in England, which the results of the campaign miserably disappointed; Godolphin and Marlborough lost a considerable share of their popularity; they were opposed even by the members of the cabinet, and though they persuaded the queen to dismiss Mr. Secretary Harley and Mr. St. John, they saw that their influence with her majesty, and their power in parliament, had been considerably diminished (A.D. 1708). Marlborough felt that a vigorous campaign was essential to his future interests, especially as the duke de Vendome had, by treachery, gained possession of Ghent and Bruges; he, therefore, resolved to risk a general battle, and crossing the Scheldt, came up with the French army strongly posted at Oudenarde. The British cavalry broke their opponents at the first charge, the French

lines fell into confusion, and though the approach of darkness prevented the allies from completing their victory, the enemy fled in such disorder, that nine thousand were taken prisoners, and nearly six thousand deserted. Marlborough, being reinforced by Prince Eugene, undertook the siege of Lisle, the principal city in French Flanders, and though it was vigorously defended by Marshal Boufflers, it was forced to surrender after a siege of two months, while Ghent and Bruges were recovered ere the close of the campaign. Nothing of importance occurred in Italy, Germany, or Spain; but the English fleet conquered the island of Sardinia, and terrified the pope into the acknowledgment of the Archduke Charles as lawful king of Spain.

The confidence of the allies now rose to the highest pitch; Godolphin and Marlborough found the English parliament ready to grant additional supplies; the Dutch agreed to augment their troops, and the imperialists promised to lay aside their inactivity. Louis, on the contrary, disheartened by defeat, his treasury exhausted, his councils distracted, and his kingdom suffering from famine, offered to purchase peace by every concession that could reasonably be demanded (A.D. 1709). Once more his proffers were rejected, except upon conditions inconsistent with his personal honour and the safety of his kingdom, and once more he appealed to the hazards of war. The confederates in Flanders, finding that Marshal Villars had taken a position from which he could not be dislodged, laid siege to Tournay, and on the surrender of that place invested Mons. Villars, unable to relieve the place, took possession of a strong camp at Malplaquet, whence he trusted that he could harass the besiegers. The confederates, elated with past success, resolved to attack the French in their intrenchments. Few battles, since the invention of gunpowder, have been more obstinate and bloody; victory finally declared in favour of the allies, but it was dearly purchased by the loss of fifteen thousand men; while the French, who had fought under cover, lost only ten thousand. Mons was now closely invested, and the surrender of that important place closed the campaign. Nothing of importance occurred in Germany, Italy, or Spain; but Louis, finding his resources exhausted, once again made an unsuccessful effort to obtain peace.

Conferences were opened at Gertruydenberg (A.D. 1710), but the allies, influenced by Marlborough and Prince Eugene, rejected the propositions of the French king; he was, however, unwilling to break off the negotiations, and the conferences were continued even after the hostile armies had actually taken the field. The duke of Marlborough took several fortified places in Flanders; but nothing of importance was done in Germany or Piedmont; and the misfortunes of the allies in Spain more than counterbalanced their other successes. The Archduke Charles, aided by the English general, Stanhope, twice defeated his rival, and a second time gained possession of Madrid; instead of

improving these advantages, he loitered in the capital until forced to retire by the united forces of the French and Spaniards, under the duke of Vendome. The allies retired towards Catalonia, and marched, for the sake of subsistence, in two bodies. Stanhope, who commanded the rear division, allowed himself to be surrounded at Brihuega, and was forced to surrender at discretion. Staremberg, who led the principal division, was soon after forced to engage at a disadvantage, but he made such able dispositions, that Vendome was compelled to retreat. and the imperialists continued their march in safety. They were, however, so weakened and dispirited by Stanhope's misfortune, that they could not check the victorious progress of Philip.

A revolution in the English cabinet proved of more consequence to Louis than even the success of his arms in Spain. The queen, a woman of feeble mind, had long been under the influence of the duchess of Marlborough, who did not always use her power with discretion. A new favourite, Mrs. Masham, supplanted the duchess, and was gained over by Harley and St. John, to induce the queen to make a total change in the administration. This would have been impossible if the whigs had continued to enjoy the confidence of the nation; but many circumstances contributed to diminish their popularity. The weight of taxes, occasioned by the expenses of the war, began to be felt as a burden, when victories, from their very frequency, ceased to excite joy; the conduct of the allies, who contrived that "England should fight for all and pay for all," gave just dissatisfaction; and the rejection of the French king's offers at Gertruydenberg was justly regarded as the triumph of private ambition over public policy. In addition to these grounds of discontent, the tories raised the cry that the "church was in danger," on account of the favour shown to the dissenters; and the whigs, instead of allowing the imputation to refute itself, unwisely attempted to silence the clamour by force. Dr. Henry Sacheverell preached a sermon before the lord mayor, in which he bitterly attacked the dissenters, and advocated the exploded doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. Though it was but a poor contemptible production, such is the violence of party, that it was printed, and forty thousand copies are said to have been sold in a week. In another week, it would probably have been forgotten, had not Godolphin, who was personally attacked in the Commons, persuaded his friends to make it the subject of a parliamentary impeachment. Common sense revolted from such an absurdity; the generous feelings of the nation were enlisted on the side of the preacher, and this sympathy was soon transferred to his cause. During his trial, the populace showed the liveliest zeal in his behalf; and when he was found guilty, the House of Lords, dreading popular tumults, passed a sentence so lenient, that it was hailed by the tories as a triumph.

The persecution of Sacheverell was the ruin of the whigs; the

queen, aware of their unpopularity, dismissed all her ministers except the duke of Marlborough; and a new cabinet was formed under the auspices of Mr. Harley, who was soon after created earl of Oxford. A new parliament was summonsed, in which the tories had an overwhelming majority (A.D. 1711), but the ministers did not abandon the foreign policy of their predecessors; and copious supplies were voted for the maintenance of the war.

At this crisis an unexpected event changed the situations and views of all parties. The Emperor Joseph died without issue; his brother Charles, the claimant of the Spanish crown, succeeded to the empire, and the liberties of Europe were thus exposed to as much danger from the aggrandizement of the house of Austria, as from that of the Bourbon family. The campaign was languidly conducted in every quarter, and ere its conclusion, the English ministers were secretly negotiating with France.

After many disgraceful intrigues, in which all the actors sacrificed the interests of the nation to party purposes, the duke of Marlborough was stripped of all his employments, and conferences for a general peace commenced at Utrecht. The successive deaths of the dauphin of France, his son the duke of Burgundy, and his grandson the duke of Bretagne, left only the sickly duke of Anjou between Philip and the throne of France. The union of the French and Spanish monarchies filled the confederates with no unreasonable apprehensions, and the English ministers were obliged to threaten that they would renew the war, unless Philip renounced his right of succession to the throne of France (A.D. 1712). When this important point was obtained, the English and French agreed upon a cessation of arms; the Dutch and the imperialists continued the campaign, but with such ill-success that they were induced to renew the conferences for peace. On the 31st of March, 1713, the treaties between the different powers were signed at Utrecht by the plenipotentiaries of France, England, Prussia, recently exalted into a kingdom, Savoy, and the United Provinces. The emperor held out until the following year, when he signed a treaty at Rastadt, less favourable than that which had been offered at Utrecht; and the king of Spain, with more reluctance, gave his adhesion to the general arrangements.

Few subjects have been more fiercely contested than the conduct of the English ministers in relation to the treaty of Utrecht; the reason is perfectly obvious; both the political parties that divided the nation had acted wrong; the whigs continued the war after all its reasonable objects had been gained; the tories concluded a peace in which the advantages that England might have claimed, from the success of her arms, were wantonly sacrificed. The people of England generally disliked the peace, and the commercial treaty with France was rejected by a majority of nine votes, in the House of Commons.

The whigs now began to pretend that the Protestant succession was in danger, and the alarm spreading rapidly, brought back to their party a large share of its former popularity. Nor were these apprehensions groundless; through the influence of the jacobites, the earl of Oxford was removed from his office, and a new administration, more favourable to the house of Stuart, formed under the auspices of St. John, lord Bolingbroke. But before the court of St. Germain's could derive any advantage from this change, the queen, harassed by the intrigues and quarrels of her servants, sank into a lethargy, and her death disappointed the hopes of the Pretender and his adherents (August 1, 1714). Several whig lords, without being summoned, attended the council, which was of course held at the demise of the crown, and the tories, overawed, concurred in issuing an order for the proclamation of the elector of Hanover, as George I., king of Great Britain and Ireland.

SECTION VI.—*Peter the Great of Russia. Charles XII. of Sweden.*

IN the two last sections, we have confined our attention to the wars which the ambition of Louis XIV. excited in the south and west of Europe; during this period, the northern and eastern divisions of Christendom were occupied by the rivalry of two of the most extraordinary men that ever appeared on the stage of human life, Peter the Great of Russia, and Charles XII. of Sweden. Before entering on their history we must take a brief retrospect of the affairs of the North, after the accession of the Czar Alexis and the resignation of Queen Christina.

Under the administration of Alexis, Russia began rapidly to emerge from the barbarism into which it had been plunged by the Mongolian invasion and subsequent civil wars. He reformed the laws, encouraged commerce, and patronized the arts; he recovered Smolensko from the Poles, and prevented the Turks from establishing their dominion over the Cossack tribes. His son Theodore, though of a weak constitution, steadily pursued the same course of vigorous policy. "He lived," says a native Russian historian, "the joy and delight of his people, and died amidst their sighs and tears. On the day of his decease, Moscow was in the same state of distress which Rome felt at the death of Titus." John, the brother and successor of Theodore, was a prince of weak intellects; his ambitious sister, Sophia, seized for a time on the sovereignty, excluding her young brother Peter, to whom Theodore had bequeathed the crown. During seven years of boyhood Peter endured Sophia's galling yoke, but when he reached his seventeenth year, he took advantage of the general indignation excited by the misconduct of the government, to shut that princess up in a nunnery and banish her favourite into a distant part of the empire.

Denmark was the scene of an extraordinary revolution (A.D. 1661): the tyranny of the aristocracy arose to such a height, that the clergy and commons voted for the surrender of their liberties to the king, and Ferdinand III., almost without any effort of his own, was thus invested with absolute power. On his death (A.D. 1670), his successor, Christian V., commenced war against Charles XI., king of Sweden, who, though assailed by a powerful league, defended himself with great ability and success. Charles XI., after the restoration of peace, tried to make himself as absolute as the kings of Denmark, but he died prematurely (A.D. 1697), leaving his crown to his son Charles XII., who has been deservedly styled the Alexander of the North.

Peter the Great commenced his reign by defeating the Turks, from whom he wrested the advantageous port of Azof, which opened to his subjects the commerce of the Black Sea. This acquisition enlarged his views; he resolved to make Russia the centre of trade between Europe and Asia, to connect the Dwina, the Volga, and the Don, by canals, thus opening a water communication between the northern seas and the Black and the Caspian Seas. To complete this magnificent plan, he determined to build a city on the Baltic Sea, which should be the emporium of northern commerce and the capital of his dominions. A still greater proof of his wisdom, and of his anxiety to secure the prosperity of his subjects, was his undertaking a tour through Europe, for the purpose of acquiring instruction and bringing back to his subjects the improvements of more civilized nations. In 1698, having established a regency to direct the government during his absence, he departed from his dominions as a private gentleman, in the train of the ambassadors that he had sent to the principal courts of Europe. Amsterdam, at that time one of the most flourishing commercial cities in Europe, was the first place that arrested his attention; he entered himself as a common carpenter in one of the principal dock-yards, labouring and living exactly like the other workmen. Thence he came to England, where he examined and studied the principal naval arsenals. King William presented the czar with an elegant yacht, and permitted him to engage several ingenious artificers in his service. After a year's absence, Peter returned home, greatly improved himself, and accompanied by a train of men well qualified to instruct his subjects.

Anxious to extend his dominions on the eastern side of the Baltic, he entered into an alliance against Sweden with Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, who had succeeded John Sobieski on the throne of Poland, and Frederic IV., king of Denmark (A.D. 1700). The Danes commenced the war by invading the territories of the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, brother-in-law and ally of the king of Sweden. Their progress was slower than they expected, and, in the midst of their career, they were arrested by intelligence of the dangers that menaced their own

capital. Charles XII., undaunted by the power of the league, resolved to carry the war into the dominions of Denmark; whilst his fleet, strengthened by an English squadron, blockaded Copenhagen, he suddenly embarked his troops at Carlserona, and having easily effected a passage, laid siege to the city, by land. Frederick, cut off from his dominions by the Swedish cruisers, and alarmed by the imminent danger of his fleet and capital, concluded a peace highly honourable to the Swedes, leaving his Russian and Polish allies to continue the contest.

No sooner had Charles concluded the treaty, than he resolved to turn his arms against the Russians, who were besieging Narva with a force of eighty thousand men; though his own army did not exceed ten thousand, the heroic king of Sweden boldly resolved to attack his enemies in their intrenchments. As soon as his artillery had opened a small breach, he commanded his men to advance to the charge with fixed bayonets. A storm of snow, that blew full in their faces, added to the confusion into which the undisciplined Russians were thrown by this daring assault; the very superiority of their numbers added to their confusion; after a contest of three hours' duration they were totally routed; eighteen thousand of the besiegers fell in the battle or flight, thirty thousand remained prisoners, all their artillery, baggage, and ammunition, became the prey of the conquerors. The czar was not disheartened by this defeat, which he attributed to the right cause, the ignorance and barbarism of his subjects; "I knew," he said, "that the Swedes would beat us, but they will teach us to become conquerors in our turn." Though at the head of forty thousand men, he did not venture to encounter his rival, but evacuated the provinces that he had invaded.

Having wintered at Narva, Charles marched against the Poles and Saxons, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of Riga; he forced a passage across the Duna, and gained a complete victory. Thence he entered as a conqueror into Courland and Lithuania, scarcely encountering any opposition. Encouraged by this success, he formed the project of dethroning King Augustus, who had lost the affection of the Poles by the undisguised preference which he showed for his Saxon subjects. With this design he entered into a secret correspondence with Radzewiski, the cardinal primate, by whose means such a spirit of opposition was raised in the diet and senate, that Augustus sought peace as his only means of safety. Charles refused to treat unless the Poles elected a new king; and Augustus, convinced that he could only protect his crown by the sword, led his army to meet the Swedes, in a spacious plain near Clissau (A.D. 1702). The Polish monarch had with him about twenty-four thousand men, the forces of Charles did not exceed half that number; but the Swedes, flushed by recent conquests, gained a complete victory; and Augustus, after having made in

vain the most heroic efforts to rally his troops, was forced to fly, leaving the enemy in possession of all his artillery and baggage. A second triumph at Pultusk, in the following campaign, gave such encouragement to the enemies of Augustus, that he was formally deposed by the diet (A.D. 1704), and the vacant crown given to Stanislaus Leczinski, who had been nominated by the king of Sweden.

Peter had not been in the mean time inactive; though he had not given much assistance to his ally Augustus, he had made a powerful diversion by invading Ingria, and taking Narva, so recently the scene of his misfortunes, by storm. At the same time he founded his projected capital in the heart of his new conquests, and by his judicious measures protected the rising city from the attacks of the Swedish generals. St. Petersburg, founded on a marshy island in the river Neva, during a destructive war, and surrounded by countries recently subdued or still hostile, rose rapidly into importance, and remained in perfect security whilst all around was in confusion. Augustus had not yet resigned all hopes of recovering his crown; he concerted a scheme of operations with Peter, and sixty thousand Russians entered Poland to drive the Swedes from their recent acquisitions. Charles was not daunted by the numbers of his enemies; he routed the Russian divisions successively, and inspired such terror by the rapidity of his movements, which seemed almost miraculous, that the Russians retreated to their own country (A.D. 1706). In the meantime a victory obtained by a division of the Swedish army over the Saxons, opened to Charles a passage into the hereditary dominions of his rival, and crossing the Oder, he appeared in Saxony at the head of twenty-four thousand men. Augustus was forced to conclude peace on the most humiliating conditions. Charles wintered in Germany, where his presence created considerable alarm. He demanded from the emperor toleration for the Protestants of Silesia, and the relinquishment of the quota which Sweden was bound to furnish for its German provinces. Involved in the war of the succession, Joseph submitted¹, and the fears with which the presence of Charles filled the allied powers were soon dispersed by his departure in quest of new adventures².

¹ The pope was greatly displeased by the emperor's restoring the Silesian churches to the Protestants; Joseph facetiously replied to his remonstrances, "Had the king of Sweden demanded that I should become a Lutheran myself, I do not know what might have been the consequence."

² The duke of Marlborough went into Saxony to dissuade the Swedish monarch from accepting the offers of Louis XIV. Marlborough was too cautious a politician to enter immediately on the object of his mission. He complimented Charles on his victories, and even expressed his anxiety to derive instruc-

tion in the art of war from so eminent a commander. In the course of the conversation Marlborough perceived that Charles had a rooted aversion to, and was not, therefore, likely to form an alliance with Louis. A map of Russia lying open before the king, and the anger with which Charles spoke of Peter, revealed to the duke the real intentions of the Swedish monarch. He, therefore, took his leave without making any proposals, convinced that the disputes of Charles with the emperor might easily be accommodated, as all his demands would be granted.

From Saxony, Charles marched back into Poland, where Peter was making some ineffectual efforts to revive the party of Augustus. Peter retired before his rival, who had, however, the satisfaction of defeating an army of twenty thousand Russians, strongly intrenched. Intoxicated by success, he rejected the czar's offers of peace, declaring that he would treat at Moscow³; and without forming any systematic plan of operations, he crossed the frontiers, resolved on the destruction of that ancient city. Peter prevented the advance of the Swedes, on the direct line, by destroying the roads and desolating the country; Charles, after having endured great privations, turned off towards the Ukraine, whither he had been invited by Mazeppa, the chief of the Cossacks, who, disgusted by the conduct of the czar, had resolved to throw off his allegiance. In spite of all the obstacles that nature and the enemy could throw in his way, Charles reached the place of rendezvous; but he had the mortification to find Mazeppa appear in his camp as a fugitive rather than an ally, for the czar had discovered his treason, and disconcerted his schemes by the punishment of his associates.

A still greater misfortune to the Swedes was the loss of the convoy and the ruin of the reinforcement they had expected from Livonia. General Lewenhaupt, to whose care it was entrusted, had been forced into three general engagements by the Russians; and though he had eminently distinguished himself by his courage and conduct, he was forced to set fire to his wagons to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. Undaunted by these misfortunes, Charles continued the campaign even in the depth of a winter⁴ so severe that two thousand men were at once frozen to death almost in his presence. At length he laid siege to Pultowa, a fortified city on the frontiers of the Ukraine, which contained one of the czar's principal magazines. The garrison was numerous and the resistance obstinate; Charles himself was dangerously wounded in the heel whilst viewing the works; and while he was still confined to his tent he learned that Peter was advancing with a numerous army to raise the siege. Leaving seven thousand men to guard the works, Charles ordered his soldiers to march and meet the enemy, while he accompanied them in a litter (July 8,

³ When Peter was informed of this haughty answer, he coolly replied, "My brother Charles affects to play the part of Alexander, but I hope he will not find in me a Darius."

⁴ This catastrophe is powerfully described by Campbell:—

Oh! learn the fate that bleeding thousands bore,
Led by their Charles to Dnieper's sandy shore.—
Faint from his wounds, and shivering in the blast,

The Swedish soldier sank and groaned his last;

File after file the stormy showers benumb,
Freeze every standard sheet and hush the drum;
Horseman and horse confessed the bitter pang,
And arms and warrior fell with hollow clang.
Yet, ere he sank in Nature's last repose,
Ere life's warm current to the fountain froze,
The dying man to Sweden turned his eye,
Thought of his home, and closed it with a sigh.
Imperial pride looked sullen on his plight,
And Charles beheld, nor shuddered at the sight.

1709). The desperate charge of the Swedes broke the Russian cavalry, but the infantry stood firm, and gave the horse an opportunity of rallying in the rear. In the mean time the czar's artillery made dreadful havoc in the Swedish line; and Charles, who had been forced to abandon his cannon in his forced marches, in vain contended against this formidable disadvantage. After a dreadful combat of more than two hours' duration, the Swedish army was irretrievably ruined; eight thousand of their best troops were left dead on the field, six thousand were taken prisoners, and about twelve thousand of the fugitives were soon after forced to surrender on the banks of the Dnieper, from want of boats to cross the river. Charles, accompanied by about three hundred of his guards, escaped to Bender, a Turkish town in Bessarabia, abandoning all his treasures to his rival, including the rich spoils of Poland and Saxony.

Few victories have ever had such important consequences as that which the czar won at Pultowa; in one fatal day Charles lost the fruits of nine years' victories; the veteran army that had been the terror of Europe was completely ruined; those who escaped from the fatal field were taken prisoners, but they found a fate scarcely better than death, for they were transported by the czar to colonize the wilds of Siberia; the elector of Saxony re-entered Poland, and drove Stanislaus from the throne; the kings of Denmark⁵ and Prussia revived old claims on the Swedish provinces, while the victorious Peter invaded not only Livonia and Ingria, but a great part of Finland. Indeed, but for the interference of the German emperor and the maritime powers, the Swedish monarchy would have been rent in pieces.

Charles, in his exile, formed a new plan for the destruction of his hated rival; he instigated the Turks to attempt the conquest of Russia, and flattered himself that he might yet enter Moscow at the head of a Mohammedan army. The bribes which Peter lavishly bestowed on the counsellors of the sultan, for a time frustrated these intrigues; but Charles, through his friend Poniatowski, informed the sultan of his vizier's corruption, and procured the deposition of that minister. Pupruli, who succeeded to the office of vizier, was averse to a Russian war, but he was removed at the end of two months, and the seals of office given to the pacha of Syria, who commenced his administration by sending the Russian ambassador to the prison of the Seven Towers.

The czar made the most vigorous preparations for the new war by which he was menaced (A.D. 1711). The Turkish vizier, on the

⁵ The Danish monarch invaded Schonen, but his troops were defeated by the Swedish militia, and a few regiments of the line, commanded by General Steenbeck. When intel-

ligence of this victory was conveyed to Charles, he exclaimed, "My brave Swedes! should God permit me to join you once more we will beat them all."

other hand, assembled all the forces of the Ottoman empire in the plains of Adrianople. Demetrius Cantemir, the hospodar of Moldavia, believing that a favorable opportunity presented itself for delivering his country from the Mahommedan yoke, invited the czar to his aid; and the Russians, rapidly advancing, reached the northern banks of the Pruth, near Yassi, the Moldavian capital. Here the Russians found that the promises of Prince Cantemir were illusory; the Moldavians, happy under the Turkish sway, treated the invaders as enemies, and refused to supply them with provisions; in the mean time, the vizier arriving, formed a fortified camp in their front, while his vast host of light cavalry swept round their lines and cut off all foraging parties. The Russians defeated three successive attempts to storm their intrenchments; but they must have yielded to the effects of fatigue and famine, had not the Empress Catherine⁶, who accompanied her husband during the campaign, sent a private message to the vizier, which induced him to open negotiations. A treaty was concluded on terms which, though severe, were more favourable than Peter, under the circumstances, could reasonably have hoped; the Russians retired in safety, and Charles reached the Turkish camp, only to learn the downfall of all his expectations.

A new series of intrigues in the court of Constantinople led to the appointment of a new vizier; but this minister was little inclined to gratify the king of Sweden; on the contrary, warned by the fate of his predecessors, he resolved to remove him from the Ottoman empire (A.D. 1713). Charles continued to linger; even after he had received a letter of dismissal from the sultan's own hand, he resolved to remain, and when a resolution was taken to send him away by force, he determined, with his few attendants, to dare the whole strength of the Turkish empire. After a fierce resistance, he was captured and conveyed a prisoner to Adrianople; on his road he learned that Stanislaus, whom he had raised to the throne of Poland, was likewise a Turkish captive but buoyed up by ardent hopes, he sent a message to his fellow-sufferer, never to make peace with Augustus. Another revolution in the divan revived the hopes of Charles, and induced him to remain in Turkey, when his return to the North would probably have restored him to his former eminence. The Swedes, under General Steenbock, gained one of the most brilliant victories that had been obtained during the war, over the united forces of the Danes and Saxons, at Gadebusch, in the duchy of Mecklenberg; but the conqueror sullied his fame by burning the defenceless town of Altona, an outrage which excited the indignation of all Europe. This, however, was the

⁶ Catherine was a Livonian captive, of low condition, whom the emperor first saw waiting at table. Her abilities and modesty won his heart, he raised her to his throne, and never had reason to repent of his choice.

last service that Steenbock could perform to his absent master; unable to prevent the junction of the Russians with the Danes and Saxons, he retreated before superior numbers, and by the artifices of Baron Goertz, obtained a temporary refuge in a fortress belonging to the duke of Holstein. The allies, however, pursued their advantages so vigorously that Steenbock and his followers were forced to yield themselves prisoners of war. Goertz, however, in some degree averted the consequences of this calamity by a series of political intrigues, which excited various jealousies and discordant interests between the several enemies of Sweden.

The czar in the mean time pushed forward his conquests on the side of Finland; and the glory of his reign appeared to be consummated by a naval victory obtained over the Swedes near the island of Oeland (A.D. 1714). This unusual success was celebrated by a triumphal entry into St. Petersburg, at which Peter addressed his subjects on the magnitude of the advantages they had derived from his government. Charles heard of his rival's progress unmoved; but when he learned that the Swedish senate intended to make his sister regent and to make peace with Russia and Denmark, he announced his intention of returning home. He was honourably escorted to the Turkish frontiers; but though orders had been given that he should be received with all due honour in the imperial dominions, he traversed Germany incognito, and towards the close of the year reached Stralsund, the capital of Swedish Pomerania.

Charles, at the opening of the next campaign, found himself surrounded with enemies (A.D. 1715). Stralsund itself was besieged by the united armies of the Prussians, Danes, and Saxons, while the Russian fleet, which now rode triumphant in the Baltic, threatened a descent upon Sweden. After an obstinate defence, in which the Swedish monarch displayed all his accustomed bravery, Stralsund was forced to capitulate, Charles having previously escaped in a small vessel to his native shores. All Europe believed the Swedish monarch undone; it was supposed that he could no longer defend his own dominions, when to the inexpressible astonishment of every one, it was announced that he had invaded Norway. His attention, however, was less engaged by the war than by the gigantic intrigues of his new favourite, Goertz, who taking advantage of a coolness between the Russians and the other enemies of Sweden, proposed that Peter and Charles should unite in strict amity, and dictate the law to Europe. A part of this daring plan was the removal of the elector of Hanover from the English throne, and the restoration of the exiled Stuarts. But while the negotiations were yet in progress, Charles invaded Norway a second time, and invested the castle of Frederickshall in the very depth of winter. But while engaged in viewing the works, he was struck by a cannon-ball, and was dead before any of his attendants came to his

assistance (A.D. 1718)⁷. The Swedish senate showed little grief for the loss of the warlike king; on the first news of his death, his favourite, Baron Goertz, was arrested, brought to trial, and put to death on a ridiculous charge of treason. The crown was conferred upon the late king's sister, but she soon resigned it to her husband, the prince of Hesse, both being compelled to swear that they never would attempt the re-establishment of arbitrary power. Negotiations for peace were commenced with all the hostile powers, and treaties concluded with all but Russia (A.D. 1720). The appearance of an English fleet in the Baltic, coming to aid the Swedish squadron, however, finally disposed the czar to pacific measures; and he consented to grant peace, on condition of being permitted to retain Ingria, Livonia, and part of Finland (A.D. 1721). Thus the great northern war terminated, just as it was about to be connected with the politics of southern Europe.

⁷ Dr. Johnson's character of Charles XII. is the best comment on the life of that adventurous warrior,--

On what foundation stands the warrior's pride,
How just his hopes, let Swedish Charles
decide:

A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
No dangers fright him, and no labours tire;
O'er love, o'er fear, extends his wide domain,
Unconquered lord of pleasure and of pain;
No joys to him pacific sceptres yield,
War sounds the trumpet, he rushes to the field,
Behold surrounding kings their powers combine,

And one capitulate, and one resign;
Peace courts his hand, but spreads her charms
in vain;

"Think nothing gained," he cries, "till nought
remain;

On Moscow's walls, till Gothic standards fly,
And all be mine beneath the polar sky.'

The march begins in military state,
And nations on his eye suspended wait;
Stern famine guards the solitary coast,
And winter barricades the realms of frost;
He comes, nor want, nor cold, his course delay;
Hide, blushing Glory, hide Pultowa's day:
The vanquished hero leaves his broken bands,
And shows his miseries in distant lands;
Condemned a needy suppliant to wait
While ladies interpose, and slaves debate.
But did not Chance at length her error mend?
Did no subverted empire mark his end?
Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound?
Or hostile millions press him to the ground?
His fall was destined to a barren strand,
A petty fortress, and a dubious hand;
He left the name, at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale.

CHAPTER VIII.

GROWTH OF THE MERCANTILE AND COLONIAL SYSTEM.

SECTION I.—*Establishment of the Hanoverian Succession in England.*

URING the wars that had been waged against Louis XIV., the funding system was established in England; it commenced by the founding of a National Bank (A.D. 1694), which lent its capital to the government at a lower rate of interest than was then usual. Further loans were contracted to support the exigencies of the wars; parliament guaranteed the payment of the interest, without entering into any obligation to restore the capital, which was transferable to any one. The gradual extension of the wealth of the nation facilitated the growth of this system, which soon gave England commanding influence on the Continent. The facilities of raising money possessed by the English government enabled it to conclude subsidiary treaties, and set the armies of allied states in motion. Internally the funding system wrought a still greater change; a great portion of the political influence previously possessed by the landed aristocracy was transferred to large capitalists and manufacturers; the banking and funding systems afforded great facilities for accumulating the profits of industry, and thus fostered the growth of an intelligent and opulent middle class, whose strength was soon displayed in the increasing importance of the House of Commons. Even at the treaty of Utrecht, the mercantile system began to manifest itself in all its strength. Grants of commercial privileges were made the conditions of peace with the maritime powers, and territorial concessions were made with a regard to the interests of trade rather than power. Justly as the British negotiators at Utrecht may be blamed for not taking sufficient advantage of the position in which their country was placed by the victories of Marlborough, it is undeniable that the treaty they concluded laid the foundation of the commercial superiority of England; it also contained the germs of two future wars, but these consequences were slowly developed; and at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the republic of Holland was still the first commercial state in Europe.

The accession of George I. produced a complete change in the English administration; the tories were dismissed with harshness, the whigs were the sole possessors of office, and on the new election consequent on the demise of the crown, they obtained a decided majority in parliament. Unfortunately they used their power to crush their

political adversaries; the chiefs of the late ministry were impeached for high treason, and their prosecution was hurried forward so vindictively, that Lords Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to the continent. This seemed a favourable moment to make an effort in favour of the exiled Stuarts, but Louis XIV., broken down by age, infirmities, and misfortune, was unwilling to hazard a new war, which might disturb the minority of his great-grandson, for in consequence of the mortality in the royal family, this remote descendant was destined to be his successor. The death of Louis (Sept. 1, 1715) further disconcerted the projects of the Pretender and his adherents; the duke of Orleans, who was chosen regent by the parliament of Paris during the minority of Louis XV., adopted every suggestion of the English ambassador, the earl of Stair, for counteracting the designs of the Jacobites; and he did them irreparable injury by seizing some ships laden with arms and ammunition, at a time when it was impossible for them to purchase any fresh supply. The jacobites, however, persevered, and a plan was formed for a general insurrection; but this was defeated by the Pretender's imprudence, who prematurely gave the earl of Mar a commission to raise his standard in Scotland. The earl of Mar possessed considerable influence in the highland counties; no sooner had he proclaimed the Pretender, under the title of James III., than the clans crowded to his standard, and he was soon at the head of nine thousand men, including several noblemen and persons of distinction. Thus supported, he made himself master of Perth, and established his authority in almost all that part of Scotland which lies north of the Frith of Forth. In the mean time the government was alarmed; the jacobite leaders who had agreed to raise the west of England were taken into custody, and the duke of Argyle was sent against Mar with all the forces of North Britain. An ill-contrived and worse executed insurrection of the Jacobites exploded in the north of England; its leaders, the earl of Derwentwater, Lord Widdrington, and Mr. Foster, a Northumbrian gentleman of great influence, were joined by several Scottish lords and a body of Highland infantry. But being unable to agree upon any rational plan of operations, they were surrounded by the royal forces in the town of Preston, and forced to surrender at discretion. It would have been better for the character of the government had lenity been shown to these unhappy men, but unfortunately most of the leaders were doomed to suffer the penalties of high treason.

In the mean time the earl of Mar had fought an indecisive battle with the duke of Argyle, which proved nevertheless ruinous to the Pretender's cause. Many who had been previously in doubt, declared for the royal cause, and several of the insurgent leaders returned to their allegiance. In this desperate state of his affairs, the Pretender landed with a small train in Scotland; but finding his cause hopeless,

he returned to France with such of the leaders as did not expect pardon, and the whole country quietly submitted to the duke of Argyle.

Before entering on the singular changes wrought by the policy of the duke of Orleans in Europe, it will be convenient to cast a brief glance at the affairs of Russia and Turkey. No sooner had Peter the Great concluded peace with Sweden than he assumed the title of emperor, with the consent of all the European powers. By sending an auxiliary force to aid the lawful sovereign of Persia against an Afghan usurper, he obtained the cession of the provinces on the south and west of the Caspian Sea; and, while he thus extended his dominions, he did not neglect their internal improvement, but constructed canals, planned roads, and established manufactories. But Peter's own character retained many traces of barbarism, and his treatment of his eldest son, Alexis, excited general horror. This unfortunate prince is said to have been induced by some of the Russian priests and boyars to promise, that in the event of his accession, he would restore the old state of things, and abolish the new institutions of his father. He was arrested, and forced to sign an abdication of the crown; soon after this, he died in prison, but whether violent means were used to accelerate his end, has never been satisfactorily ascertained. The second son of the Russian emperor died in infancy, and Peter chose his empress as his successor. He assisted at her coronation after his return from the Persian war; and on his death (A.D. 1725) she became empress of all the Russias, and by the excellence of her administration justified the choice of her illustrious husband.

The Turks were enraged at the diminution of their national glory in the war that was terminated by the treaty of Carlowitz, and eagerly longed for an opportunity of retrieving their lost honour. Ahmed III., the most warlike sultan that had recently filled the throne, was far from being displeased by their martial zeal, and he took the earliest opportunity of declaring war against the Venetians, whom he expelled from the Morea in a single campaign (A.D. 1715). The emperor, Charles VI., was solicited by the pope to check the progress of the Mohammedans; he therefore interfered, as protector of the treaty of Carlowitz; but finding his remonstrances disregarded, he assembled a powerful army, and published a declaration of war (A.D. 1716). Prince Eugene, at the head of the imperialists, crossed the Danube, and attacked the forces of the grand vizier, near Peterwaradin. He gained a complete victory, twenty-five thousand of the Turks were either killed or drowned, while the loss of the Austrians did not exceed one-fifth of that number. In the ensuing campaign, the prince laid siege to Belgrade, and having defeated with great slaughter the vast Turkish army that marched to its relief, became master of that important fortress. The consequence of these victories was the peace of Passarowitz (A.D. 1718), by which Austria and Russia gained

considerable acquisitions; but the republic of Venice, for whose sake the war was ostensibly undertaken, did not recover its possessions in Greece, and found its interests neglected by its more potent allies.

These wars were very remotely connected with the political condition of southern Europe, which now depended entirely on the maintenance of the terms of the peace of Utrecht. Several powers were interested in their preservation; England's flourishing commerce depended in many essential particulars on the articles of the treaty; they were the best security to Austria, for the provinces lately ceded in Italy; and the Dutch, unable or unwilling to garrison the barrier towns, felt that peace was necessary to their security. But above all, the regent of France believed that this treaty was the sole support of his power, since it involved the Spanish king's renunciation of his claims to the French crown. Altogether opposed to these views were the designs of the court of Spain; the marriage of Philip to Elizabeth Farnese, heiress to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, inspired him with the hope of recovering the provinces that had been severed from the Spanish monarchy; his prime minister, Cardinal Alberoni, flattered him with hopes of success, and at the same time diligently laboured to improve the financial condition of the country. Alberoni's projects included an entire change in the political system of Europe: he designed to re-conquer Sardinia and Sicily for Spain; to place James III. on the throne of England by the aid of the Russian emperor and the king of Sweden; to prevent the interference of the emperor, by engaging the Turks to assail his dominions. Pope Clement XI., a weak and stupid pontiff, could not comprehend the merits of Alberoni's schemes; he refused to pay the ecclesiastical subsidies to Philip V., and before the ambitious cardinal could further develop his schemes, the Quadruple Alliance was formed by the alarmed potentates of Europe, and Philip V. was forced to dismiss his intriguing minister. The pope had the mortification to find that his interests were totally disregarded in the new arrangements made for preserving the tranquillity of Europe; his superiorities in Parma and Placentia formed part of the bribe tendered to the court of Spain by the rulers of France and Germany; he remonstrated loudly, but, in spite of his efforts, they were accepted and retained.

On the death of Clement XI., Alberoni became a candidate for the papacy, and was very near being elected. Fortunately for the permanency of Romish power, this violent prelate was excluded from the chair of St. Peter, and Innocent XIII. was chosen. During his pontificate the society of Freemasons began to be regarded with suspicion by the heads of the Church, especially as several other secret associations were formed in Germany and Italy for the propagation of what were called philosophical tenets; but these doctrines were, in reality, not only hostile to popery, but subversive of all religion and

morality. Though Austria, France, England, and Holland, united against the dangerous schemes of Alberoni, and formed the Quadruple Alliance (A.D. 1716), yet the cardinal steadily pursued his course, and war was proclaimed against Spain by France and England.

The strength of Spain, exhausted by the war of the succession, could not resist this powerful combination; the English fleet rode triumphant in the Mediterranean; a German army expelled the Spaniards from Sicily; the French, under the command of the duke of Berwick, invaded Spain, and captured several important fortresses: the duke of Ormond failed in his attempt to land a Spanish army in Great Britain; and Philip, completely subdued, dismissed Alberoni (A.D. 1720), and acceded to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance.

During this war, France and England were involved in great financial difficulties, by the Mississippi scheme in one country, and the South Sea speculation in the other. A Scotch adventurer, named Law, proposed a plan to the regent of France for speedily paying off the vast national debt, and delivering the revenue from the enormous interest by which it was overwhelmed. He effected this by an extraordinary issue of paper, on the security of the Mississippi company, from whose commercial speculations the most extravagant results were expected. So rapid was his success, that in 1719, the nominal value of the funds was eighty times greater than the real value of all the current coin of the realm. This immense disproportion soon excited alarm; when the holders of the notes tried to convert them into money, there was no specie to meet the demands, and the result was a general bankruptcy. Some efforts were made by the government to remedy this calamity, but the evil admitted only of slight palliation, and thousands were completely ruined.

The South Sea scheme, projected by Sir John Blount, in England, was a close imitation of Law's plan. He proposed that the South Sea company, to which great commercial advantages had been secured by the treaty of Utrecht, should become the sole creditor of the nation; and facilities were offered to the owners of stock to exchange the security of the crown for that of the South Sea company. Never did so wild a scheme meet such sudden success; South Sea stock in a short time rose to ten times its original value; new speculations were started, and for a time had similar popularity; but when suspicion was excited, and some cautious holders of stock began to sell, a universal panic succeeded to the general delusion. By the prompt interference of parliament a general bankruptcy was averted, and the chief contrivers of the fraud, including many individuals of rank and station, were punished, and their estates sequestrated for the benefit of the sufferers.

The confusion occasioned by the South Sea scheme encouraged the jacobites to make another effort in favour of the Stuarts (A.D. 1722).

But their plans were discovered, a gentleman named Lacy was capitally punished for enlisting men in the service of the Pretender, and Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, the soul of his party, was exiled.

Fortunately for the repose of Europe, the prime ministers of France and England, Cardinal Fleury, who succeeded to power soon after the death of the duke of Orleans, and Sir Robert Walpole, were both bent on the preservation of peace, and for nearly twenty years they prevented any active hostilities. Walpole's administration, however, began to lose its popularity, on account of his not gratifying the national hatred against Spain. A powerful opposition was formed against him, composed of the old Tories, and some disappointed courtiers, which he contended against by unbounded parliamentary corruption. The death of George I. (A.D. 1727) made no change in the position of parties, for George II. entrusted Walpole with the same power he had enjoyed under his father.

The Emperor Charles, having no prospect of male issue, was naturally anxious to secure the peaceful succession of his daughter, Maria Theresa, to his hereditary dominions; and for this purpose he prepared a solemn law, called the Pragmatic Sanction, and procured its confirmation by the principal states of Europe. The guarantee of France was not obtained without war. Stanislaus Leczinski, father-in-law to the French monarch, was elected king of Poland, but was dethroned by the influence of the German powers (A.D. 1733). To avenge this insult, the French king formed a league with the courts of Spain and Sardinia against the emperor; and, after a brief struggle, the court of Vienna was forced to purchase peace by considerable sacrifices. The success of the Russians under the reign of the Empress Anne, niece to Peter the Great, against the Turks, induced the German emperor to commence a second unfortunate war. Scarcely was it concluded, when the death of Charles (A.D. 1740) involved Europe in the contentions of a new disputed succession.

Sir Robert Walpole had long preserved England at peace; but the interested clamours of some merchants engaged in a contraband trade with the Spanish colonies, compelled him to commence hostilities (A.D. 1739). Admiral Vernon, with a small force, captured the important city of Porto Bello, on the American isthmus. This success induced the minister to send out large armaments against the Spanish colonies. Vernon with a fleet, and Lord Cathcart with a numerous army, undertook to assail Spanish America on the side of the Atlantic, while Commodore Anson sailed round Cape Horn to ravage the coasts of Chili and Peru. The death of Lord Cathcart frustrated these arrangements; he was succeeded by General Wentworth, an officer of little experience, and very jealous of Vernon's popularity. An attack was made on Carthagena, but it failed lamentably, owing to the disputes between the naval and military commanders. Both were reinforced

from England, but they effected nothing of any importance, and returned home after more than fifteen thousand of their men had fallen victims to the climate. Anson, in the mean time, encountered such a severe storm in rounding Cape Horn, that two of his ships were forced to return, and one was lost. His diminished squadron, however, took several prizes off the coast of Chili, and plundered the town of Païta, in Peru. His force was finally reduced to one ship, but with this he captured the Spanish galeon, laden with treasure, that sailed annually from Acapulco to Manilla. He then returned to England triumphant; but the loss at Carthagena was so severely felt, that the English would not venture to renew their enterprises against Spanish America.

Scarcely had Maria Theresa succeeded her father, the Emperor Charles, when she found herself surrounded by a host of enemies. The elector of Bavaria laid claim to Bohemia; the king of Sardinia revived some obsolete pretensions to the duchy of Milan; while the kings of Poland, Spain, and France, exhibited claims to the whole Austrian Succession. An unexpected claimant gave the first signal for war, Frederic III., who had just ascended the Prussian throne, inherited from his father a rich treasury and a well-appointed army. Relying on the goodness of his troops rather than the goodness of his cause, he entered Silesia, and soon conquered that fine province (A.D. 1741). At the same time he offered to support Maria Theresa against all competitors, on the condition of being permitted to retain his acquisition. The princess steadily refused, though she knew that France was arming against her, and that her enemies had resolved to elevate Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, to the empire. The forces of the king of France entered Germany, and being joined by the Bavarian army, made several important conquests, and even threatened Vienna; but Maria Theresa, repairing to Presburg, convened the states of Hungary, and appearing before them with her infant son in her arms, made such an eloquent appeal, that the nobles with one accord exclaimed, "We will die for our King, Maria Theresa." Nor was this a momentary burst of passion; they raised a powerful army for the defence of their young and beautiful princess, and a subsidy was at the same time voted to her by the British parliament. So great was the attachment of the English people to her cause, that the pacific Sir Robert Walpole was forced to resign, and a new administration was formed by his political rivals.

The new ministers had been raised to power by a sudden burst of popular enthusiasm, but they soon showed themselves unworthy of the nation's confidence. They took the lead in suppressing the measures which they had themselves declared necessary to the security of the constitution, and they far outstripped their predecessors in supporting German subsidies, standing armies, and continental connexions, which

had been so long the theme of their severest censure. They augmented the army, sent a large body of troops into the Netherlands under the command of the earl of Stair, and granted subsidies to the Danes, the Hessians, and the Austrians. The French had some hopes of gaining the support of the Russians, who were now ruled by the Empress Elizabeth. On the death of the Empress Anne, her niece, the princess of Mecklenburg, assumed the government, as guardian of her son John. But the partiality that the regent showed for her German countrymen displeased the Russian nobles; their discontents were artfully increased by a French physician, named Lestocq, a bloodless insurrection led to the deposition of the Mecklenburg princess, and Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, was raised to the throne. She found the country involved in a war with Sweden, which she brought to a successful issue, and secured the inheritance to the Swedish crown for her favourite, Adolphus, bishop of Lubeck. Though the czarina owed her elevation in a great degree to French intrigue, she was inclined to support the Austrian cause; but she did not interfere in the contest until she had completed all her arrangements.

The republic of Holland showed still more reluctance to engage in the war; and the English army in the Netherlands, deprived of the expected Dutch aid, remained inactive. In Germany, the Bavarian elector was driven not only from his conquests, but from his hereditary dominions¹, while the king of Prussia took advantage of a brilliant victory to conclude a treaty with Maria Theresa, by which he was secured in the possession of Silesia. The French army, thus deprived of its most powerful ally, must have been ruined but for the abilities of its general, the count de Belleisle, who effected one of the most masterly retreats recorded in history, from the centre of Bohemia to the frontiers of Alsace. The Spaniards failed in their attacks on the imperial territories in Italy, chiefly owing to the activity of the English fleets in the Mediterranean; and the court of Versailles, disheartened by these repeated failures, made proposals of peace. Maria Theresa intoxicated with success, rejected all the proffered conditions (A.D. 1743). She urged forward her armaments with such vigour, that the French were driven to the Rhine, and the unfortunate elector of Bavaria, abandoned by his allies, and stripped of his dominions, sought refuge in Frankfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity.

¹ Dr. Johnson has powerfully described the fate of this unfortunate prince:

The bold Bavarian in a luckless hour,
Tries the dread summits of Cæsarean power,
With unexpected legions bursts away,
And sees defenceless realms receive his sway;
Short sway! fair Austria spreads her mournful
 charms,
The queen, the beauty, sets the world in arms;

From hill to hill the beacon's rousing blaze
Spreads wide the hope of plunder and of praise
The fierce Croatian and the wild hussar,
With all the sons of ravage, crowd the war;
The baffled prince, in honour's flatt'ring bloom
Of hasty greatness finds the fatal doom;
His foes' derision, and his subjects' blame,
And steals to death, from anguish and from
 shame.

The errors of the French in Flanders led to their defeat at Dettingen, just when a little caution would have ensured the ruin of the English and Austrians. But the allies made no use of their victory, owing to the irresolution of George II., who took the management of the campaign into his own hands, and superseded the earl of Stair. The war lingered in Italy, but the haughtiness and ambition of the empress began to excite the secret jealousy of the German princes; and the French and Spanish courts, alarmed by her treaty with the king of Sardinia, drew their alliance closer by the celebrated Family Compact, which bound them to maintain the integrity of each other's dominions.

England had now become a principal in the war, and the monarchs of France and Spain resolved to invade that country, and remove the Hanoverian dynasty. A powerful army was assembled, and a fleet prepared to protect the transports, but the French ships were shattered in a storm, and forced to take refuge in Brest from a superior English force (A.D. 1744). The English navy was less successful in the Mediterranean; the combined fleets of France and Spain were met by the British admirals, Matthews and Lestock; but owing to the misconduct of some captains, and Lestock's remaining aloof with his whole division, the result of the engagement was indecisive. It is a sad proof of the violence and injustice of faction, that when these officers were brought to trial, Matthews, who had fought like a hero, was condemned, and Lestock acquitted. The war in Italy was sanguinary, but indecisive. In Germany, however, the king of Prussia once more took up arms against Maria Theresa, and invaded Bohemia. He was defeated with great loss, and forced to retire precipitately into Silesia. Soon afterwards the death of the elector of Bavaria removed all reasonable grounds for the continuance of hostilities; his son, who had no pretensions to the empire, concluded a treaty with Maria Theresa, and promised to support the election of her husband, the grand duke of Tuscany, to the imperial dignity.

But the national animosity between the French and English prevented the restoration of peace (A.D. 1745). The Austrians were completely vanquished in Italy by the united forces of the French and Spaniards, whose vast superiority of numbers could not be resisted; and on the side of the Netherlands, the misconduct of the allies gave a signal triumph to the Bourbons. The French army under Marshal Saxe was strongly posted at Fontenoy, but was, notwithstanding, attacked by the English, Dutch, and Germans. In few battles has the valour of the British infantry been displayed more signally or more uselessly. Forming themselves into a column, they bore down every thing before them, until, deserted by their Dutch and German auxiliaries, they were outflanked and driven back by the entire force of the French army. The loss on both sides was nearly equal; but though the victory was not decisive, it enabled Marshal Saxe to reduce

some of the most considerable towns in the Netherlands. Tranquillity was restored to Germany by the election of the grand duke of Tuscany to the empire, under the name of Francis I.; and about the same time Maria Theresa, as queen of Hungary, concluded the treaty of Breslau with the king of Prussia, and thus quieted her most dangerous enemy.

The discontent occasioned by the loss at Fontenoy induced the grandson of James II., commonly called the Young Pretender, to attempt the restoration of his family. He landed in Scotland with a small train, but being soon joined by the enthusiastic Highland clans, he descended from the mountains and marched towards Edinburgh. The city surrendered without any attempt at resistance, but the castle still held out. Sir John Cope, the royal commander in Scotland, had marched northwards to raise the loyal clans; having collected some reinforcements, he proceeded from Aberdeen to Dunbar by sea, and hearing that the insurgents were resolved to hazard a battle, he encamped at Preston Pans. Here he was unexpectedly attacked by the Young Pretender, at the head of about three thousand undisciplined and half-armed soldiers. A panic seized the royal troops; they fled with the most disgraceful precipitation, abandoning all their baggage, cannon, and camp equipage, to their enemies.

The reduction of the French colony of Cape Breton, in North America, had revived the spirit of the English; and the time that the Pretender wasted in idle pageantry at Edinburgh afforded the ministers an opportunity of bringing over some regiments from Flanders. Notwithstanding the formidable preparations thus made, the Pretender, probably relying on promised aid from France, crossed the western borders, and took Carlisle. But the vigilance of Admiral Vernon prevented the French fleet from venturing out; and the Pretender having failed to raise recruits in Lancashire, and unable to force a passage into Wales, baffled the royal armies by an unexpected turn, and suddenly marched to Derby. Had he continued to advance boldly, London itself might have fallen, but he delayed at Derby until he was nearly inclosed between two powerful armies, and was forced either to retreat or to hazard a battle on very disadvantageous terms. It was finally determined that they should return to Scotland, and this retrograde movement was effected by the Highlanders with extraordinary courage and expedition.

This retreat did not produce the dispiriting effect on the insurgents that had been anticipated. The Pretender's forces were greatly augmented after his return to Scotland; but finding that Edinburgh had been secured by the royal army during his absence, he marched to Stirling, captured the town and besieged the castle. General Hawley was sent with a strong force to raise the siege, but despising the undisciplined Highlanders, he acted so imprudently that he suffered a complete defeat near Falkirk (A.D. 1746). The Pretender, instead of

following up his advantage, returned to the siege of Stirling Castle, while the royal army, reinforced by fresh troops, was placed under the command of the duke of Cumberland, a prince of the blood, who, though by no means a skilful general, was a great favourite with the soldiery. The insurgent army retired before the royal troops until they reached Culloden Moor, where they resolved to make a stand. Warned by the errors of Cope and Hawley, the duke of Cumberland took the most prudent precautions to meet the desperate charge of the Highlanders; they rushed on with their usual impetuosity, but being received by a close and galling fire of musketry, while their ranks were torn by artillery, they wavered, broke, and in less than thirty minutes were a helpless mass of confusion. The victors gave no quarter; many of the insurgents were murdered in cold blood, and their unfortunate prince was only saved from capture by the generous devotion of one of his adherents, who assured the pursuers that he was himself the object of their search.

The cruelties of the royalists after their victory were perfectly disgraceful; the country of the insurgent clans was laid waste with fire and sword; the men were hunted like wild beasts upon the mountains, the women and children, driven from their burned huts, perished by thousands on the barren heaths. When all traces of rebellion, and almost of population, had disappeared, the duke of Cumberland returned to London, leaving a large body of troops to continue the pursuit of the surviving fugitives. During five months the young Pretender remained concealed in the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, though a reward of thirty thousand pounds was set on his head, and more than fifty persons were entrusted with his secret. At length he escaped on board a French privateer, and after enduring incredible hardships, arrived safely in Brittany. The vengeance of the government fell heavily on his adherents: numbers of the leaders were tried and executed, and though they died with heroic firmness,

little excited commiseration.

In the mean time the French, under Marshal Saxe, had overrun the greater part of the Netherlands; Brussels, Antwerp, and Namur, were captured, while the confederate army was defeated in a sanguinary but indecisive engagement at Raucoux. In Italy, the allies were more successful; taking advantage of the mutual jealousies between the French and Spaniards, the Austrians, reinforced by the king of Sardinia, drove their enemies from Italy, and pursued them into France. The death of their monarch had abated the vigour of the Spaniards, for the designs of Ferdinand VI., Philip's son and successor, were for some time unknown; but when he declared his resolution to adhere to the Family Compact, the hopes of the partisans of the house of Bourbon were revived. About the same time the imperialists were compelled to evacuate the south of France by the judicious measures

of the marshal de Belleisle, and the Genoese, irritated by the severity with which they were treated, expelled the Austrian garrison and baffled every attempt that their oppressors made to recover the city. The national animosity between the French and English was aggravated by commercial jealousy; they mutually fitted out armaments against each other's colonies; but these expeditions, badly contrived and worse executed, led to no decisive results, and all parties began to grow weary of a war which produced no consequence but a lavish waste of blood and treasure. Conferences were commenced at Breda, but the demands of the French appeared so exorbitant to the allies, that the negotiations were abruptly terminated, and the hostile powers made the most vigorous preparations for a decisive struggle (A.D. 1747). The exertions of the allies were long paralyzed by the indecision of the Dutch rulers; even when their own country was invaded they could not be induced to adopt more vigorous councils, until a popular revolt compelled them to revive the office of stadtholder and confer that dignity on the prince of Orange.

Though this revolution gave more vigour to the operations of the allies, the whole weight of the war was ungenerously thrown upon the English; the obstinate and bloody battle of Val would have been won by British valour, but for the timidity and slowness of the Dutch and Austrians; in consequence of their misconduct it terminated to the disadvantage of the confederates. Soon after the fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, generally believed to be impregnable, was captured by the French, who thus became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt. In Italy, the allies, though forced to raise the siege of Genoa, were generally successful, while the British navy gained several important triumphs at sea. A valuable French convoy was attacked by the Admirals Anson and Warren, off Cape Finisterre, and, after an obstinate engagement, six ships of the line and several armed Indiamen were taken. Seven weeks after, a fleet laden with the rich produce of St. Domingo fell into the hands of Commodore Fox; and at a later period of the year, Admiral Hawke, after a sharp battle, took six ships of the line in the latitude of Belleisle. These reverses, and the sailing of a powerful British armament to the East Indies, so alarmed the court of Versailles, that negotiations for peace were once more commenced.

While conferences were opened at Aix-la-Chapelle (A.D. 1748), Marshal Saxe continued to carry on the war with great vigour; he laid siege to Maestricht, which was obstinately defended, but before the contest could be decided, intelligence was received that the preliminaries of peace had been signed. The basis of the treaty was a restitution of all conquests made during the war, and a mutual release of prisoners without ransom. It left unsettled the clashing claims of the Spanish and British to the trade of the American seas, and made

no mention of the right of search, which had been the original cause of the war: the only advantage, indeed, that England gained, was the recognition of the Hanoverian succession, and the general abandonment of the Pretender, whose cause was from thenceforth regarded as hopeless. This result, from so expensive a contest, gave general dissatisfaction; but the blame should fall on the authors of the war, not of the peace; England had no interest in the contests for the Austrian succession; under the peaceful administration of Sir Robert Walpole her commerce and manufactures had rapidly increased, but through an idle ambition for military glory, and a perverse love of meddling in continental affairs, the prosperity of the country received a severe check, and an enormous addition was made to the national debt.

SECTION II.—*The Colonial Struggle between France and Great Britain.*

THE peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was soon discovered to be little better than a suspension of arms. Two causes of a very different nature united to produce a new and fiercer struggle, which no arts of diplomacy could long avert. The first of these was the jealousy with which the court of Austria regarded the great increase of the Prussian monarchy; the extorted renunciation of Silesia could neither be forgiven nor forgotten, and its recovery had long been the favourite object of the court of Vienna. The Prussian monarch was not popular with his neighbours—all new powers are naturally objects of jealousy—and the selfish policy which Frederick displayed, both in contracting and dissolving alliances, prevented him from gaining any permanent friend; he was the personal enemy of Elizabeth, empress of Russia, and of Count Bruhl, the leading minister in the court of Saxony, and both readily joined in the plans formed for his destruction.

But with these confederates, the Austrian cabinet was reluctant to engage in hostilities, while France might at any time turn the balance, by renewing its former relations with Prussia. Prince Kaunitz, the real guide of the court of Vienna, and, during four reigns, the soul of the Austrian councils, resolved to unite the empire and France in one common project for sharing the rule of Europe. Louis XV., who had sunk into being the slave of his mistresses, was induced, by this able diplomatist, to depart from the course of policy which for two centuries had maintained the high rank of France among the continental powers; from being the rivals and opponents of the Austrian dynasty, the house of Bourbon sank into the humble character of assistants to that power, a change which eventually brought the greatest calamities on themselves and their country.

The commercial jealousy with which the English regarded the

French, was the second cause for the renewal of the war. During the late war, the French navy had been all but annihilated, and the exertions made for its restoration were viewed with secret anger. Owing to incapacity, or defective information, the negotiators at Aix-la-Chapelle had left most of the colonial questions at issue between England and France wholly undecided. The chief subjects contested were, the limits of the English colony of Nova Scotia, the right claimed by the French to erect forts along the Ohio, for the purpose of connecting the Canadas with Louisiana, the occupation of some neutral islands in the West Indies by the French, and, finally, the efforts of both nations to acquire political supremacy in Hindústan.

The maritime war between England and France had no immediate connexion with the struggle between Prussia and Austria. But when the French king, at the commencement of the contest, menaced Hanover, George II., who preferred the interests of this petty principality to those of the British empire, entered into a treaty with Frederic for its defence. Thus these two wars, so distinct in their origin and nature were blended into one; but before their termination, they were again separated and concluded by distinct treaties of peace.

The empire which the descendants of Baber had established in Hindústan, touched the summit of its greatness in the reign of Aurungzebe; under his feeble successors the imperial power rapidly declined, and after the successful eruption of Nadír Shah (A.D. 1738), it was almost annihilated. The governors of provinces and districts became virtually independent sovereigns, and the allegiance they paid to the court of Delhi was merely nominal. Both the French and English East India Companies took advantage of this state of things to extend their influence and enlarge their territories. Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, had long sought an opportunity of interfering in the troubled politics of India; it was afforded him by the contests which arose on the vacancies in the souhbadary of the Deccan, and the nabobship of the Carnatic. He supported the claims of Chundah Sahib to the latter post, and endeavoured to make Murzafa Jing souhbadar or viceroy of the Deccan. He succeeded in these objects, but his favourites did not long retain their elevation; still, however, a precedent was established for the interference of the French in the contests between the native powers, and their aid was purchased by fresh concessions in every revolution. The rapid progress of their rivals roused the English from their supineness, and, fortunately, they found a leader whose abilities, both as a general and statesman, have scarcely been surpassed by any European that ever visited the East. Mr. Clive, the son of a private gentleman, had been originally employed in the civil service of the East India Company; but war no sooner broke out than he exchanged the pen for the sword, and the union of courage and skill which he displayed at the very commencement of his career,

excited just expectations of the glory which marked its progress. He gained several brilliant advantages over the allies of the French, and greatly strengthened the English interest in the Deccan or southern division of Hindústan. But the French East India Company had begun to distrust the flattering promises of Dupleix; they found that his plans of territorial aggrandizement involved them in expensive wars, and were, at the same time, destructive of their commerce. A similar feeling, though to a less extent, prevailed in England, and the rival Companies prepared to adjust their differences by the sacrifice of Dupleix. No regard was paid by his countrymen to his defence; he was loaded with obloquy, as a selfish and ambitious man, though it was notorious that he had sacrificed his entire private fortune to support what he believed to be the true interests of France.

The successor of Dupleix concluded a treaty with the English authorities, in which all the objects of that able governor were abandoned. Mohammed Ali, the friend of the English, was recognised as the nabob of the Carnatic; the claims of the French upon the Northern Circars were relinquished, and it was agreed that the colonists from each nation should, for the future, abstain from all interference with the affairs of the native princes. It was scarcely possible that these stipulations could be strictly observed; indeed, the treaty had scarcely been signed, when mutual complaints were made of infractions; but, in the mean time, events had occurred in another part of the globe, which frustrated it altogether.

After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the British ministry, anxious to secure the province of Nova Scotia, as a barrier for the other American colonies, induced many disbanded soldiers and sailors to settle in that country. The town of Halifax was built and its harbour fortified, and Nova Scotia began to rise rapidly in importance. The French, who had hitherto viewed the province as little better than a barren waste, began now to raise disputes concerning its limits; and the settlers, from both countries, did not always arrange their controversies by peaceful discussion. Still more important were the differences which arose in the interior of North America. The French were naturally anxious to form a communication between the Canadas in the north and Louisiana in the south. This could only be effected by depriving the English of their settlements west of the Alleghany mountains, and seizing the posts which the British settlers in Virginia and the Carolinas had established beyond that chain for the convenience of trade with the Indians. Hostilities were commenced by the colonial authorities, without the formality of a declaration of war; the Virginian post of Logs' Town was surprised by a French detachment, and all its inhabitants but two inhumanly murdered; the North American Indians were stimulated to attack the British colonists, and large supplies of arms and ammunition were imported from France (A.D.

1755). The British ministers immediately prepared for hostilities; all the French forts within the limits of Nova Scotia were reduced by Colonel Monckton; but an expedition against the French forts on the Ohio was defeated, owing to the rashness of General Braddock, who refused to profit by the local knowledge of the provincial officers. He fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians, and instead of endeavouring to extricate himself, attempted to make a stand. At length he was slain, while vainly striving to rally his troops, and the regular soldiers fled with disgraceful precipitation. It deserves to be remarked that the provincial militia, commanded by Major Washington, did not share the panic of the royal army, but displayed great coolness, courage, and conduct.

Two other expeditions, against the forts of Niagara and Crown Point, failed, though General Johnson, who commanded the latter, gained a victory over the hostile army. But at sea the British strength was more effectually displayed; two sail of the line were captured by Admiral Boscawen off Newfoundland; and more than three hundred merchant ships were brought as prizes into the ports of Great Britain. Notwithstanding these hostilities a formal declaration of war was delayed: its publication was the signal for one of the fiercest struggles in which modern Europe had yet been involved. Before, however, we enter on this part of our history, we must briefly notice the important events that for a time threatened the total ruin of the English in Bengal, but whose final results made their power paramount in Northern India.

The privileges which the emperor of Delhi had granted to the English settlers in Calcutta excited great jealousy among the provincial governors, and were violently opposed by Jaffier Khan, the souhbadar of Bengal. Means were taken, however, to conciliate this powerful feudatory, and peace was preserved until the accession of the ferocious Suraja Dowla, who was enraged at the shelter which the English afforded to some of his destined victims (A.D. 1756). He advanced against Calcutta, when most of the local authorities were seized with a scandalous panic; the governor and the military commanders escaped in boats, leaving Mr. Holwell, Mr. Perks and about one hundred and ninety more, to provide for their own safety as they best might.

After endeavouring vainly to bring back even one vessel to aid their removal, this handful of men, after a vigorous defence, fell into the power of the ferocious Suraja. They were all thrust into a room twenty feet square, where, from the heat and foulness of the atmosphere, all but twenty-three died before the morning. The news of this catastrophe reached Madras just when Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson, flushed by their recent victory over the celebrated pirate Angria, had arrived in Madras to aid in the destruction of the French influence in the Deccan. The troops assembled for that purpose were now sent to

recover Calcutta, and this object was effected by the mere appearance of the fleet before the city. Several of the Suraja's own places were taken and plundered, and the French fort of Chandernagore reduced; conspiracies were formed against Suraja Dowla, and that haughty chieftain felt that the sovereignty of Bengal must be decided by a battle. Contrary to the opinion of all his officers, Clive resolved to hazard an engagement, and took up a position in the grove of Plassy (June 23, 1757). The British force consisted of three thousand two hundred, not more than nine hundred of whom were Europeans; their artillery consisted of eight six-pounders, and two howitzers. On the other hand, Suraja Dowla had with him fifty thousand foot, eighteen thousand horse, and fifty pieces of cannon. Though the engagement continued the greater part of the day, the British did not lose more than seventy in killed and wounded; they owed the victory, indeed, more to the errors of their adversaries than to their own merits; for the contest seems to have been little better than an irregular cannonade, occasionally relieved by ineffectual charges of cavalry. Its consequences were not the less decisive from the ease with which it was won; Suraja Dowla, after wandering for some time as a fugitive, was murdered by one of his personal enemies; and the viceroyalty of Bengal was given to Jaffier Khan, who purchased the favour of the British by large public grants and larger private bribes. This brief campaign established the supremacy of the English in Northern India, where their power has never since been shaken.

SECTION III.—*The Seven Years' War.*

WHEN the French government received intelligence of the events that had taken place in India and America, vigorous preparations for war were made throughout the kingdom, and England itself was menaced with invasion (A.D. 1756). Never was the national character of the British nation so tarnished as it was by the panic which these futile threats diffused; Hessians and Hanoverians were hired to protect the kingdom, while the presence of these mercenaries was justly regarded as dangerous to public liberty. It is more honourable to Britain to relate that, when Lisbon, on the very eve of this war, was almost destroyed by an earthquake, parliament voted one hundred thousand pounds for the relief of the sufferers. But the French government menaced an invasion only to conceal its project for the reduction of Minorca; a formidable force was landed on the island, and close siege laid to Fort St. Philip, which commands the principal town and harbour. Admiral Byng, who had been entrusted with the charge of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, was ordered to attempt the relief of the place; he encountered a French squadron, of equal force, but

instead of seeking an engagement, he would not even support Admiral West, who had thrown the French line into confusion. After this indecisive skirmish, he returned to Gibraltar, abandoning Minorca to its fate. General Blakeney, the governor of Fort St. Philip, made a vigorous defence, though his garrison was too small by one-third; but finding that he had no prospect of relief from England, he capitulated. But his conduct was so far from being disapproved of, that he was raised to the peerage by his sovereign, and welcomed as a hero by the people.

The rage of the people at the loss of Minorca was directed against the unfortunate Byng; popular discontent was still further aggravated by the ill-success of the campaign in America, where a second series of expeditions against the French forts signally failed: while the marquis de Montcalm, the governor of Canada, captured Oswego, where the British had deposited the greater part of their artillery and military stores. Our ally, the king of Prussia, displayed more vigour; unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation from the court of Vienna, he resolved to anticipate the designs of the Austrians, and invade Bohemia. For this purpose it was necessary that he should secure the neutrality of Saxony, but the elector was secretly in league with Frederic's enemies; and the Prussian monarch, finding pacific measures ineffectual, advanced against Dresden. The Elector Augustus, who was also king of Poland, fortified himself in a strong camp at Pirna, where he resolved to wait for the junction of the Austrian forces. Frederic blockaded the Saxon army and cut off his supplies; the imperialists, who marched to the relief of the allies, were defeated at Lowositz, and the Saxons, thus left to their own resources, were forced to lay down their arms. Augustus fled to his kingdom of Poland, abandoning his hereditary dominions to the Prussians, who did not use their success with extraordinary moderation.

But the victories of their ally only exasperated the rage of the English people against their rulers; the king was forced to yield to the storm, and dismiss his ministers. William Pitt (afterwards earl of Chatham), the most popular man in the kingdom, was appointed head of the new administration, though the duke of Devonshire was nominally premier; a spirit of confidence was spread abroad, and abundant supplies voted for the war. Unfortunately, as a concession to popular clamour, the unhappy Byng, whose worst fault appears to have been an error of judgment and the dread of the fate of Admiral Matthews¹, was brought to trial, found guilty of a breach of the articles of war, and sentenced to death. Great exertions were made to save the life of the unhappy admiral, but all in vain; he was ordered to be shot on board the *Monarque*, and he met his fate with an intrepidity which

¹ See page 370.

effectually clears his memory from the stain of cowardice (A.D. 1757). In France, the attention of the court was engaged by an attempt on the king's life. A maniac, named Damien, stabbed Louis with a pen-knife as he was entering his carriage; the wound was not dangerous, but it was supposed that the assassin might have accomplices in his treason. Every refinement of cruelty that scientific ingenuity could devise was exhausted in the tortures of this unhappy wretch, whose manifest lunacy made him an object of compassion rather than punishment.

The danger to which Louis had been exposed did not prevent him from making vigorous exertions to continue the war. Two armies were sent into Germany, one destined to invade Hanover, the other to join the imperial forces against Prussia. George II., anxious to save Hanover, wished to send over a body of British troops for the defence of the electorate, but being opposed by the Pitt administration, he dismissed his ministers and tried to form a new cabinet. The burst of national indignation at the removal of the popular favourite was, however, so great, that Pitt was soon recalled to power, but not until he had evinced a desire to make some concession to the royal inclinations.

At the commencement of the campaign, the prospects of the king of Prussia were very gloomy; the Russians were advancing through Lithuania, the Swedes threatened him in Pomerania, the united forces of the French and imperialists were advancing through Germany, and the empress-queen, Maria Theresa, covered her hereditary dominions with four armies, whose united strength amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand men.

Frederic, baffling the Austrians by a series of masterly movements, opened a passage into Bohemia, where he was joined by the prince of Bevern and Marshal Schwerin, who had defeated the Austrian divisions that opposed their progress. Confident in the excellence of his troops he resolved to engage without delay, though his enemies were posted in a camp strongly fortified by nature (May 6). The memorable battle of Prague was vigorously contested, and success continued doubtful until the Austrian right wing, advancing too rapidly, was separated from the left. Frederic poured his troops through the gap, so that when the Austrian right was forced back by the intrepidity of Marshal Schwerin, it suddenly found itself surrounded, and fled in confusion. The centre and left, thus abandoned, could not resist the successive charges of the Prussians, and sought shelter in Prague. Frederic ventured to besiege this city, though the numbers of the garrison nearly equalled those of his own army; and his delay before the walls gave the Austrians time to recover their courage and recruit their forces. Count Daun began soon to menace the Prussian communications; Frederic sent the prince of Bevern to drive him back; Daun, though his forces were superior, retreated before the prince,

until he could procure such additional strength as to render victory certain. When this was effected, he resumed the offensive, and Frederic was forced to hasten to the prince's assistance. A junction was effected at Kolin, and Frederic marched to attack the imperial camp (June 18). The Prussians charged their enemies with their usual vigour, but they were unable to force the Austrian lines, and were finally driven from the field.

In consequence of this defeat, the Prussians were forced not only to raise the siege of Prague, but to evacuate Bohemia. Nor were the arms of Frederic and his allies more successful in other quarters. The Russians having defeated General Lehwald, invaded the Prussian dominions on the side of Germany, and committed the most frightful devastations; the British and Hanoverian troops, under the duke of Cumberland, were forced to accept the disgraceful convention of Closterseven, by which thirty-eight thousand soldiers were reduced to a state of inactivity; and the French, thus released from an enemy that might interrupt their communications, advanced to join the Austrians in the invasion of Prussia; finally, an Austrian army, by a rapid march, arrived at the very gates of Berlin, and laid that city under contribution.

An expedition, planned by Mr. Pitt soon after his restoration to power, was defeated by the weakness and indecision of the officers entrusted with its execution. The object of attack was the French port and arsenal of Rochefort, which would have fallen an easy prey, had it been assailed when first the fleet arrived before the place. But the time which ought to have been employed in action was wasted in deliberations, and the expedition returned ingloriously home. The conduct of British affairs in America was equally disastrous; an armament was sent against Louisbourg, but it returned without having made any effort to effect its object; while the French, under the marquis de Montcalm, captured the strong fort William Henry, the bulwark of our northern frontier, without meeting the slightest interruption from a British force posted in its immediate neighbourhood.

These disasters would have proved fatal to the new ministry, had it not been generally understood that the officers, whose cowardice or incapacity had led to such inglorious results, were the choice of their predecessors, and were maintained in their posts by court favour. This conviction proved favourable to Mr. Pitt, the king was compelled to grant full powers to his ministers, and the secret intrigues by which the cabinet was controlled were rendered powerless for a season. An unexpected change of fortune on the Continent brightened the prospects of the British and Prussians towards the close of the year. Frederic, though his dominions were invaded by three hostile armies, never lost courage; though his army did not exceed half the number of his enemies, he resolved to give battle to the united forces of the French and Austrians (Nov. 5). Frederic, by a series of judicious

movements, led his enemies to believe that he dreaded an engagement; confident of victory, they hasted to force him to action, near the village of Rósbach. They advanced so precipitately, that their lines were thrown into disorder; and before they could remedy the error they were broken by the headlong charge of the Prussian horse. Every effort made by generals of the combined army to retrieve the fortunes of the day was anticipated by the genius of Frederic; they were forced to retreat in great confusion, having lost nearly nine thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, while the total loss of the Prussians did not exceed five hundred.

From this field Frederic hasted to another scarcely less glorious. The Austrians and Hungarians, under Prince Charles of Lorraine, entered Silesia, captured the important fortress of Schweidnitz, drove the prince of Bevern from his intrenchments, and made themselves masters of the greater part of the province. Frederic, by a rapid march, formed a junction with the relics of the prince of Bevern's army, and thus reinforced, attacked the Austrians at Lissa (Dec. 5). Pretending to direct all his force against the Austrian right, Frederic suddenly poured his chief strength against their left wing, which was speedily broken; Prince Charles attempted to restore the courage of his flying soldiers by sending reinforcements from the centre and right, but these fresh troops were unable to form under the heavy fire of the Prussians, and thus the Austrian battalions were defeated one after another. Night alone prevented the total ruin of the vanquished army. About five thousand men were killed and wounded on each side; but within a week after the battle the Prussians, pressing vigorously the pursuit of their retiring foes, captured twenty thousand prisoners, three thousand wagons, and two hundred pieces of cannon. The Austrians abandoned all Silesia except the town of Schweidnitz, which surrendered in the following spring. The effects of the victories of Rosbach and Lissa were felt throughout Europe; the French had flagrantly violated the convention of Closterseven; it was now disavowed by the British and Hanoverians (A.D. 1758). Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick was chosen by George II. to command his electoral forces, and this able general in a short time not only recovered Hanover, but drove his enemies across the Rhine. Mr. Pitt changed his policy, and consented to reinforce Prince Ferdinand with a body of British troops, while liberal supplies were voted to subsidize the German princes. The campaign was honourable to Prince Ferdinand's abilities, but its most important result was the diversion it made in favour of the king of Prussia, by compelling the French to employ their chief force on the Rhine.

Frederic in this campaign endured several vicissitudes of fortune. Having taken Schweidnitz, he unexpectedly entered Moravia, which had hitherto escaped from the ravages of war, laid that fine province under contribution, and even menaced Vienna. He failed, however,

at the siege of Olmutz, but he effected a retreat as honourable as a victory, and suddenly directed his march against the Russians, whose ravages in Brandenburg were shocking to humanity. He gained a complete victory over the invaders at Zomdorff, and then, without resting a moment, hastened to relieve his brother Henry, who was almost surrounded with enemies in Saxony. Count Daun, the commander of the imperialists, was a worthy rival of Frederic; he surprised and routed the Prussian right wing at Hochkirchen; but the judicious measures of the king saved the rest of his army, and Daun was unable to pursue his advantages. Indeed so little was Frederic affected by the reverse, that he drove the Austrians a second time from Silesia, and then returning, compelled Daun to raise the sieges of Dresden and Leipsic, and even retreat into Bohemia.

The enterprising spirit of Mr. Pitt, freed from the trammels which secret intrigues had formed, diffused itself through the British empire, and particularly animated the officers of the army and navy. Several French ships of war were captured by the British; an armament, destined for North America, was dispersed and driven on shore by Sir Edward Hawke, whose fleet rode triumphant in the Channel. From apathy and despair the nation passed at once to the opposite extreme of overweening confidence. It was resolved to carry the war into France itself, and two successive expeditions were sent against the French coast. As might reasonably have been anticipated, these armaments produced no important result; the only consequence arising from such a waste of blood and treasure, was the destruction of Cherbourg, a triumph dearly purchased by the subsequent loss of some of the best of the troops in the hurried embarkation.

But in North America, where the British arms had been tarnished by delay, disaster, and disgrace, the removal of the earl of Loudon from the command led to a complete change in the fortune of the war. His successor, General Abercrombie, planned three simultaneous expeditions, two of which produced triumphant results. General Amherst laid siege to Louisbourg, and aided by the talents of Brigadier Wolfe, who was fast rising into eminence, forced that important garrison to surrender. This was followed by the entire reduction of the island of Cape Breton, and the inferior stations which the French occupied in the gulf of St. Lawrence. Brigadier Forbes was sent against Fort du Quesne, which the French abandoned at his approach, and fled down the Mississippi. Abercrombie marched in person against Ticonderago, which he found better fortified than he had anticipated, and after a useless manifestation of desperate valour, he was forced to retire with considerable loss. The French were, at the same time, deprived of all their settlements on the coast of Africa; but the count de Lally not only preserved their East Indian possessions, but wrested from the English, Fort St. David and Cuddalore.

Great anxiety was felt at the opening of the next campaign (A.D. 1759). Early in the year the Prussians destroyed the Russian magazines in Poland, laid Bohemia under contribution, and reduced the imperial armies to inactivity. But Prince Ferdinand was unable to prevent the French from sending succours to the Austrians; and his ill-success once more exposed Hanover to an invasion. Had Ferdinand wavered, the British and Hanoverians might have been forced to a second convention as disgraceful as Closterseven, but his courage rose with the crisis, he engaged the French at Minden, and gained a complete victory. Minden, indeed, would have been as illustrious and decisive a battle as Blenheim, but for the unaccountable conduct of Lord George Sackville, who commanded the cavalry, and either misunderstood or disobeyed the order to charge the discomfited French. There had been some previous disputes between the Prince and Lord George; they threw the blame mutually on each other, but whichever was in fault, it is certain that on this occasion the best opportunity that could have been desired for humbling the power of France was irretrievably lost.

The victory of the British at Minden was more than counter-balanced by the defeat of the Prussians by the united forces of Austria and Russia, at Cunersdorff. But the heroic Frederic soon retrieved this disaster, and he would probably have triumphed in his turn, had he not exposed a large division of his troops in the defiles of Bohemia, which was surrounded and taken by count Daun. Still the only permanent acquisition that the Austrians made was Dresden, for Frederic's vigour and rapidity of movement rendered even their victories fruitless.

This indecisive campaign greatly diminished the ardour of the English for their ally, the king of Prussia, while their victories in North America and the West Indies, directed their attention to their colonial interests. Immediately after the conquest of Louisbourg, which was justly considered the key of Canada, an expedition was planned against Quebec. The colonists were prepared to submit to a change of masters by the politic protection granted to the French settlers in Guadaloupe, which had been subdued early in the year (A.D. 1758); and by the guarantee given to the inhabitants for the enjoyment of religious freedom. When General Wolfe, therefore, proceeded up the St. Laurence, he did not encounter any serious opposition from the Canadians, who seemed to view the struggle with indifference. While Wolfe advanced towards Quebec, General Amherst conquered Ticonderago and Crown Point, and Sir William Johnson gained possession of the important fortress of Niagara. But Amherst, as had been originally intended, was unable to form a junction with General Wolfe, who was thus employed in a hazardous enterprise, with very inadequate means. Though he almost despaired of success, Wolfe resolved to persevere; he adopted the daring plan

of landing at night under the Heights of Abraham, leading his men up the steep, and securing this position, which commanded the town. The stream was rapid, the landing-place narrow, and the precipices formidable even by day, but the soldiers, animated by their heroic commander, triumphed over these difficulties; and when morning dawned, the marquis de Montcalm was astonished to learn that the British army occupied those heights which he had deemed inaccessible. A battle was now inevitable, and both generals prepared for the contest with equal courage. The battle was brief but fierce; the scale of victory was just beginning to turn in favour of the British, when Wolfe fell mortally wounded. This loss only roused the English regiments to fresh exertion, their bayonets broke the French lines, and a body of Highlanders, charging with their broad-swords, completed the confusion. The French fled in disorder; the intelligence was brought to Wolfe, he collected his breath to exclaim, "I die happy!" and instantly expired (September 13).

The marquis de Montcalm fell in the same field; he was not inferior to his rival in skill and bravery, nor did he meet death with less intrepidity. When told, after the battle, that his wounds were mortal, he exclaimed, "So much the better: I shall not live to witness the surrender of Quebec." Five days after the battle, that city opened its gates to a British garrison, and this was soon followed by the complete subjugation of the Canadas, which have ever since remained subject to the crown of Great Britain.

The success of the English in the East Indies was scarcely less decisive than in America. Lally, the French general, possessed more courage than prudence; he engaged in enterprises beyond his means, and especially wasted his limited resources in a vain attack on Madras. Colonel Coote, the commander of the English forces, was inferior to his adversaries in numerical strength, but he enjoyed ampler pecuniary resources, and was far superior to Lally, both as a general and a statesman. Coote and Lally came to an engagement at Wandewash (Jan. 21, 1760), in which the French were completely overthrown, and their influence in the Carnatic destroyed. During the campaign, Admiral Pococke defeated a French fleet off the coast of Ceylon; the English, in consequence, became masters of the Indian Seas, and began to form reasonable expectations of driving their rivals from Hindustan. A Dutch armament arrived in Bengal, under suspicious circumstances, but Clive ordered that it should be immediately attacked by land and sea²; the Dutch were forced to surrender, and ample apologies were made by the authorities of Holland for this infraction of treaties.

² Clive was engaged in a rubber of whist, when an express from Colonel Forde brought him intelligence of the advance of the Dutch. He replied by the following pencil-note, on a

slip of paper torn from the colonel's letter; "Dear Forde,—Fight them immediately, and I'll send you an order of council to-morrow."

The French court threatened to take revenge for the destruction of Cherbourg, by invading Great Britain and Ireland; but the ports were so strictly blockaded by the English squadrons, that no vessel could venture to appear in the Channel. Admiral Boscawen pursued a squadron from Toulon, that tried to slip unnoticed through the straits of Gibraltar, overtook it off Cape Lagos, on the coast of Portugal (August 18), destroyed two ships of the line, and captured two more. A still more important triumph was obtained by Sir Edward Hawke, between Belleisle and Quiberon (November 20). Conflans, the French admiral, taking advantage of the gales that drove the blockading squadrons off the coast, put to sea, but was soon overtaken by Hawke. Conflans, unwilling to hazard a battle, sought shelter among the rocks and shallows of his own coast. Hawke unhesitatingly encountered the perils of a stormy sea and a lee shore; he gained a decisive victory, destroying four ships of the line, and compelling another to strike her colours. A tempestuous night alone saved the French fleet from destruction. Though this victory delivered the English from all fears of the invasion, some alarm was excited by the enterprises of Commodore Thurot, who sailed from Dunkirk with five frigates, and hovered round the coasts of North Britain. Having failed to make any impression on Scotland, he entered the Irish Sea, and landing at Carrickfergus, stormed and pillaged that town^a. Having heard the news of Conflans' defeat, he steered homewards, but was swiftly pursued by a squadron under Commodore Elliot, and overtaken near the Isle of Man (February 28, 1760). After a fierce engagement, Thurot was killed, and all his vessels forced to surrender.

Vigorous preparations were made by all parties for the maintenance of the war in Germany, although the people of England had become weary of continental connexions, and the French finances had fallen into a state of lamentable disorder (A.D. 1760). The conduct of the people of France to their sovereign was, indeed, truly generous; the principal nobility and gentry sent their plate to the treasury to be coined for the public service; an army of nearly one hundred thousand men was assembled in Westphalia, under the duke de Broglie, while an inferior army was formed upon the Rhine, under Count St. Germain. Prince Ferdinand could not have coped with such an overwhelming force, had not the French generals quarrelled with each other. Several battles were fought, but they were all more or less indecisive; and rarely has there been a campaign in which such numerous and well-

^a An interesting example of humanity softened the horrors of war during the attack on Carrickfergus. While the French and the garrison were engaged in the streets, a beautiful child, unconscious of its danger, ran between both parties. A French grenadier,

moved with compassion, threw down his musket, rushed into the midst of the fire, took up the child, and having placed it in safety, returned to his companions, who with loud shouts applauded the heroic deed.

appointed armies were opposed that produced so few memorable events.

The king of Prussia resolved to act on the defensive in Saxony, while his brother Henry opposed the Russians and Austrians in Silesia. But his plans were deranged by the enterprise of Marshal Laudohn, who surrounded the Prussian general, Fouquet, slew three thousand of his army, and compelled the remainder to surrender at discretion. Frederic attempted to retrieve his affairs by a sudden advance on Dresden, but he failed to capture the city; his brother, Prince Henry, was more fortunate in raising the siege of Breslau, which Laudohn had invested after his victory. But Frederic's ruin seemed unavoidable, as the Russians were advancing with overwhelming forces, and he was himself surrounded by three Austrian armies at Lignitz. Count Daun marched to storm the Prussian camp, in full confidence of victory; but, to his astonishment, he found it deserted, Frederic having marched that very night to meet the army of Marshal Laudohn, who was eagerly pressing forward to share, as he fondly believed, in assured victory. The heights of Pfaffendorff, judiciously protected by a formidable array of artillery, prevented Daun from marching to the assistance of his colleague; Laudohn was completely defeated, and the Austrian grand army driven from Silesia. But this victory did not prevent the success of the enemy in other quarters; the Russians, being joined by a considerable body of Austrians, under General Lascy, pushed forward through Brandenburg, and made themselves masters of Berlin. They levied a heavy contribution on the city, and destroyed its arsenals, foundries, and public works.

The Prussians were equally unfortunate in Saxony, but Frederic resolved to run every risk to recover a country that had hitherto supplied the chief support to his armies. Daun, equally convinced of the importance of Saxony, protected the electorate with a force of seventy thousand men, advantageously posted in a fortified camp, near Torgau. Frederic, with only fifty thousand men, resolved to attack the Austrians in their intrenchments, and to stake his life and crown on the hazard of the engagement (November 3). The battle was furious, but the ardour of the Prussians, who felt that they fought for the very existence of their country, was irresistible. Daun was borne from the field severely wounded; the Austrians were broken by desperate charges, and night alone saved them from total ruin. The result of this glorious victory was, that Frederic recovered all Saxony except Dresden, and compelled the Russians, Austrians, and Swedes, to evacuate his dominions.

The Canadian war was not terminated by the capture of Quebec; the French had still formidable forces in the country, and they made a vigorous effort to recover that city. They were baffled by the intrepidity of General Murray; and General Amherst soon after having

obtained re-inforcements from England, advanced to Montreal, and compelled the entire French army to capitulate. The savage tribes of Indians who had been induced by French gold to attack the British settlements, were now severely chastised, and compelled to make the most humiliating submissions.

Not less complete was the success of the English arms in India; Pondicherry and Mahé were reduced by Colonel Coote, the French power in the East completely subverted, and the English rendered masters of the commerce of the vast peninsula of Hindústan. These important acquisitions made the English very impatient of the German war; they complained of the inactivity of the navy, and asserted that the French islands in the West Indies, more valuable to a commercial people than half the German empire, might have been gained with far less risk and loss than attended the protection of the useless electorate of Hanover. In the midst of these disputes, George II. died suddenly, in the seventy-seventh year of his age (October 25). He was succeeded by his grandson, George III., a young prince in his twenty-third year, who had hitherto taken no active part in public life.

The death of George II. produced little change in European politics; but that of the peaceful Spanish monarch, Ferdinand VI. (A.D. 1759), led to some important results. His successor, Charles III., was king of the Two Sicilies, and by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, it had been agreed, that on his accession to the throne of Spain, his former kingdom should devolve to Don Philip, duke of Parma and Placentia, and that these duchies should be resigned to the empire. By the mediation of France with Austria, Charles was enabled to procure the Neapolitan throne for his third son, Ferdinand, while Philip was permitted to retain Parma and Placentia. Grateful for such a benefit, Charles signed the family compact, which bound the Bourbon princes to afford each other mutual assistance, and secretly prepared to join France in the war against Great Britain. The haughty conduct of the English diplomatists, which was not unjustly offensive to Spanish pride, greatly contributed to strengthen the resolution of the court of Madrid, especially as the naval superiority of the English menaced the communications of Spain with her American colonies.

Negotiations of peace were commenced by the courts of France and Great Britain, soon after the accession of George III., but with little sincerity on either side (A.D. 1761). Mr. Pitt was firmly resolved to humble the house of Bourbon; the duke de Choiseul, the French minister, relied on the secret promises of Spanish aid, and thus it was impossible to arrange preliminaries. The war languished in Germany; Prince Ferdinand succeeded in protecting Hanover, but he could not prevent the French from ravaging Westphalia and East

Friesland. The king of Prussia, exhausted even by his victories, was forced to act on the defensive; though he lost no battle, he had the mortification to see the Russians make themselves masters of Colberg, and the Austrians surprise Schweidnitz. The possession of these important places enabled the Russians to establish their winter-quarters in Pomerania, and the Austrians in Silesia. On sea, the honour of the British flag was maintained in several actions between single ships and small squadrons. The island of Belleisle, on the coast of France, was captured by a British armament, but at a very disproportionate cost of blood and treasure.

This languid campaign seemed to prove that all parties were weary of the war, and negotiations were resumed. In their progress, Mr. Pitt discovered the intimate connexion that had been formed between the courts of Versailles and Madrid; and he proposed to anticipate the hostile designs of the latter by seizing the plate-fleet, laden with the treasures of Spanish America. But the colleagues of Mr. Pitt, already dissatisfied with his imperious manners, refused to adopt such bold measures, and he instantly resigned the seals of office. The king, anxious to introduce his favourite, the earl of Bute, into the cabinet, adopted the opinions of the majority of his council, and accepted the resignation. Fierce political disputes arose, whose effects were felt throughout Europe; the hopes of the French court were raised, and the German allies of Great Britain were greatly dispirited.

But the new ministry showed no want of alacrity in maintaining the honour of the country. One of their earliest measures was a declaration of war against Spain, the conduct of the court of Madrid having amply justified Mr. Pitt's anticipations of its hostile designs (A.D. 1762). The superiority of the British navy over the combined fleets of France and Spain, hindered these powers from making any attempt at colonial conquests; but they believed themselves equally superior by land, and therefore resolved to attack Britain through the side of its ancient ally, Portugal.

Few kingdoms had sunk into such a state of degradation as Portugal at this period. Trusting to the protection of England, and enriched by the treasures of Brazil, the court of Lisbon reposed in ignorance and indolence; its fortresses were neglected, its army mouldering away, its subjects destitute of martial spirit. The earthquake that laid Lisbon in ruins was followed by a dangerous conspiracy against the life of Joseph, the reigning sovereign. This monarch, less superstitious than most Portuguese kings, had banished the jesuits from his court, and had resented with spirit the encroachments of his nobles. Some of the dissatisfied jesuits and nobles formed a plot to murder the king, and he was dangerously wounded by assassins while on his road from his country-seat to Lisbon. The principal conspirators were arrested and punished by cruel deaths; and all the jesuits

banished from the kingdom (A.D. 1759). But the nobles continued discontented; the pope and the clergy resented the expulsion of the jesuits, while the superstitious Portuguese seemed ready to renounce their allegiance to a sovereign who had incurred the resentment of the Church. Such was Joseph's situation, when the ministers of France and Spain presented a joint demand that he should instantly renounce his alliance with Britain, under pain of incurring their resentment, and allowing him only four days to deliberate on his answer. Joseph at once returned a spirited refusal to such an insolent memorial, and the Spanish army crossed the frontiers. An auxiliary British force of eight thousand men was sent to Portugal, together with a large supply of arms and ammunition. Joseph entrusted the command of his army to the count de la Lippe, who had already distinguished himself in Germany. The skill of this commander, and the valour of the British officers, compelled the Spaniards to evacuate the kingdom with loss and disgrace, before the closing of the campaign.

The French hoped that the invasion of Portugal would facilitate the progress of their arms in Germany; but Prince Ferdinand, and the marquis of Granby, not only protected Hanover, but recovered the greater part of Hesse. An unexpected event delivered the king of Prussia from the ruin that seemed to threaten him at the close of the last campaign. Elizabeth, empress of Russia, died, and was succeeded by her nephew, Peter III., who entertained a romantic admiration of Frederic. The new emperor not only put an end to hostilities, but entered into alliance with the Prussian monarch; and Europe saw with astonishment the unprecedented spectacle of an army marching off from its former allies to the camp of its enemies. Sweden followed the example of Russia in concluding peace; and Frederic, taking advantage of these favourable circumstances, recovered Schweidnitz and drove the Austrians from Silesia.

A new revolution in Russia compelled the Prussian king to halt in his victorious career. The reforms of Peter III. had given offence to a great body of his subjects; he was dethroned by his wife, who usurped the throne, with the title of Catherine II. Peter died in prison a few days after his deposition, but it has not been ascertained whether he was the victim of disease or violence. Catherine did not renew the war against Prussia, as had been at first expected, but she withdrew her forces, and resolved to observe a strict neutrality. Frederic's victories had in the mean time so seriously alarmed the Austrians, that they consented to a cessation of hostilities for Silesia and Saxony. This impolitic truce laid Bohemia open to Frederic: one division of his army advanced to the very gates of Prague and destroyed a valuable magazine; another laid the greater part of Egra in ashes, while detachments ravaged Franconia, and even Suabia. The princes of the empire hastened to conclude treaties of neutrality, and the

war was left to be decided by the powers of Prussia and Austria, between which the contest had begun.

In the mean time the English conquered the chief islands that the French still retained in the West Indies, Martinique, St. Lucie, Grenada, and St. Vincent; while the Spaniards suffered the more severe loss of Havannah, the capital of Cuba, and the large fleet that lay in its harbour. Nor was this the least alarming of the consequences that resulted to the court of Madrid from its unwise interference; an armament from Madras, under the command of Admiral Cornish and General Draper, captured Manilla, and the fall of this city involved the fate of the whole range of the Philippine islands.

France and Spain, heartily tired of a war which threatened ruin to the colonies of both, became desirous of peace, and they found the earl of Bute, who now ruled the British cabinet, equally anxious to terminate the war. Indeed, so anxious was that minister to avoid a continuance of hostilities, that he not only stopped the career of colonial conquest, but consented to sacrifice several acquisitions that Britain had already made. Still the British nation gained by the war the whole of Canada and part of Louisiana, the chief settlements on the western coasts of Africa, and a decided superiority in India; had the war lasted another year, had even the fair claims of Britain's position been supported by her negotiators, these gains would have been more extensive and more secure. Contrary to all expectation, the preliminaries were sanctioned by a majority of the British parliament, and soon after the definite treaty was signed at Paris (Feb. 10, 1763). The king of Prussia and the empress of Austria, deserted by their respective allies, agreed to a reconciliation about the same time, on the basis of a restitution of conquests and an oblivion of injuries.

The result of the continental war was, that Prussia and Austria became the principal European powers, France lost her political pre-eminence when united to the empire, and England abandoned her influence in the European system, maintaining an intimate relation only with Portugal and Holland. Britain by the colonial war obtained complete maritime supremacy, she commanded the entire commerce of North America and Hindústan, and had a decided superiority in the West Indian trade. But during the seven years' war a question arose which led to very important discussions; France, unable to maintain a commercial intercourse with her colonies, opened the trade to neutral powers; England declared this traffic illegal, and relying on her naval superiority, seized neutral vessels and neutral property bound to hostile ports. The return of peace put an end to the dispute for a season, but it became the subject of angry controversy in every future war. The internal condition of England improved rapidly during the contest by the extension of the funding system; the pecuniary affairs of the government became intimately connected with

those of the nation; by far the greater part of the loans required for the war was raised at home, so the increase of the national debt more closely united the rulers and the people in the bonds of a common interest. This altered state of things scarcely excited notice, though it was the chief source of the permanence and stability displayed by the British government when revolutionary movements threatened to subvert the other dynasties of Europe.

CHAPTER IX.

THE AGE OF REVOLUTIONS.

SECTION I.—*Change in the Relations of the Catholic Powers to the Holy Sec.—Dismemberment of Poland.*

No country had suffered so severely as France during the late war; the finances had long been in confusion, and the profligate expenditure of a demoralized court aggravated the indignation produced by national distress. Louis XV., though not destitute of abilities, was the slave of his sensual appetites; ruled by his mistresses, and other unworthy favourites, he connived at glaring abuses, and sanctioned the grossest acts of tyranny and rapacity. A spirit of opposition spread through the kingdom, several of the parliaments refused to register the edicts for the continuance of war-taxes, and others remonstrated in a tone of censure to which the French monarchs had been long unaccustomed. This unusual liberty of the parliaments had been in some degree fostered by the court itself; the king permitted these bodies to set bounds to ecclesiastical tyranny, and to suppress the order of the jesuits in France (A.D. 1762); and their spirit was further increased by the intrigues of the duke de Choiseul, who persuaded the king to allow the Parisian parliament to pass sentence on Lally, the unfortunate commander of the French in India, whose only crime was failure under circumstances that rendered success impossible.

Popular discontent was at the same time rapidly spreading in Spain, where the reforms of the prime minister, Squillacé, offended the obstinate prejudices of an ignorant and bigoted nation. Charles III. yielded to the clamours of his subjects and dismissed the minister, but he firmly resolved to take vengeance on the jesuits, who were supposed to have secretly instigated the insurrection. A reforming minister in Portugal maintained his post in spite of opposition; the marquis of Pombal ruled the land with iron sway, and, confident in the rectitude of his intentions, scorned all opposition. But though he removed all impediments, including the higher order of nobility and the society of

jesuits, his reforms took no root in the land, and the institutions which he established by force perished when that force was taken away.

The enmity of Pombal and Choiseul to the jesuits was felt in the Spanish cabinet; the king was indignant at their share in the late disturbances, his minister, Count d'Aranda, regarded the order as hostile to all existing governments. Both took their measures with profound secrecy (A.D. 1767). The houses of the jesuits in Madrid were surrounded at night, and the inmates commanded to set out instantly for the coast. An edict was then issued for the banishment of the regulars of that community from Spain and its colonies, and the confiscation of their temporalities. The jesuits in Mexico and Peru were similarly seized; and in Paraguay, where they had established an almost independent empire, they were suddenly deposed and transported to Europe. The king of Naples and the duke of Parma followed the example of the court of Spain, in spite of the urgent remonstrances of Pope Clement XIII.; they also placed new restrictions on the pontiff's jurisdiction in their states, and when Clement made a vigorous effort to support the ancient privileges of the Holy See, he found himself opposed to all the Italian powers, except the king of Sardinia, to the remonstrances of Spain and Portugal, and the active hostility of France.

While these disputes between the Catholic powers and the head of their church proved that the supremacy of the papacy no longer existed, but in name, the struggles of a small insular people to maintain their national independence excited general sympathy. The Genoese transferred their nominal claims over the island of Corsica to the crown of France, and Choiseul sent a large army to occupy this new acquisition. But the Corsicans, justly enraged at the transfer of their allegiance without the formality of asking their consent, boldly flew to arms, and under the command of the heroic Paoli prepared for an obstinate resistance. Had the British ministry interfered, the result of the contest would have been very doubtful; but Paoli could not resist the entire force of France, he was driven by the vast superiority of numbers from post to post, until every strong place had yielded to the invaders, when he cut his way through the enemy, and embarked for Leghorn (A.D. 1769). The island submitted to Louis, but many of the Corsicans long continued to harass the French by a guerilla war in their mountain fastnesses.

Choiseul, finding his influence with Louis XV. on the decline, sought to strengthen it by cementing the alliance between the courts of Paris and Vienna. He effected a marriage between the king's grandson and heir and Marie Antoinette, daughter of the empress dowager. These ill-omened nuptials were celebrated with extraordinary splendour during a season of great public distress; during the festivities a fatal accident cast a shade of melancholy over all parties; some confusion arose in the crowd of spectators, and nearly two hundred

persons lost their lives in the tumult. Choiseul involved the king in a quarrel with the parliaments, which precipitated the fall of that able minister; the king reluctantly consented to abandon the new forms of jurisdiction which were proposed, and allow the old courts to resume their functions. This unfortunate and dishonourable proceeding completed the abasement of France; it was notorious that the duke de Choiseul owed his disgrace to the intrigues of the king's profligate mistress¹; and whatever may have been the faults of that minister, he would certainly never have permitted the influence of his country to sink so low as it did during the administration of his successor, the duke d'Aiguillon.

While France was thus declining, the Russian empire was rapidly acquiring a preponderating influence in eastern Europe. The Empress Catherine procured the throne of Poland for one of her favourites, Stanislaus Augustus (A.D. 1765), having sent a Russian army to overawe the diet, when it assembled to choose a sovereign. Frederic of Prussia, anxious to remedy the calamities which the seven years' war had brought upon his country, did not venture to oppose the schemes of the ambitious czarina; on the contrary, he was gained over by some commercial concessions to aid her projects with all his influence. The new sovereign of Poland, opposed by a licentious aristocracy and a bigoted people, was unable to remedy the disorders of the state, or control the events that soon furnished a pretext for the interference of his powerful neighbours. Poland had long been agitated by religious disputes; the oppressions of the Catholics compelled the dissidents, as the dissenting sects were called, to seek foreign protection; those of the Greek church appealed to the empress of Russia, while the Lutherans sought aid from the kings of Prussia and Denmark. Catherine, with great promptitude, sent an army to enforce the claims of the dissidents, and paying little regard to the remonstrances of Stanislaus, acted as if Poland had been one of her own provinces. The Catholic lords formed a confederacy to maintain the purity of their religion, and the independence of their country, but they were unable to compete with the overwhelming forces of Russia; Cracow, where they attempted to make a stand, was taken by storm, the fugitives were pursued beyond the Turkish frontiers, and the country that had afforded them refuge was cruelly devastated.

Mustapha III. was more peacefully inclined than most of the sultans that have filled the throne of Constantinople, but he felt that the power which Russia was acquiring in Poland would be dangerous to the security of his northern provinces; he was indignant at the violation of his dominions, and he was secretly instigated by the French

¹ Madame du Barri. She was subsequently one of the victims of the French revolution.

court. The king of Prussia vainly remonstrated with the sultan²; Mustapha had formed an extravagant estimate of his military resources, and he is said to have been animated by a personal dislike of Catherine. The war was commenced by the Turks (A.D. 1769); their irregular troops entered Southern Russia, and committed the most frightful ravages; but when they hazarded a regular engagement at Choczim, they suffered a severe defeat. Catherine prepared to strike a decisive blow against the Turkish power; she sent a fleet from the Baltic round to the Mediterranean, to support an insurrection which her emissaries had excited in Southern Greece (A.D. 1770). The insurgents, aided by a Russian force, at first gained some advantages, but on the first reverse they were abandoned by their allies to the brutal retaliations of their Turkish masters. Soon after, the Turkish fleet of fifteen ships of the line was burned by a Russian squadron in the bay of Chesmé, with the exception of a single vessel that was captured. This was followed by the defeat of the grand Ottoman army near the Pruth, the capture of Bender, Akerman, and Ismail, and the occupation of the entire province of Bessarabia.

Stanislaus was forced to join in the war against the Turks, though he knew that one of the chief causes of their taking up arms was to defend the independence of Poland. But Joseph, who had succeeded his father in the German empire (A.D. 1765), began to dread the dangerous ambition of Russia; and even his mother, Maria Theresa, began to court the friendship of her old rival, Frederic, as a counterpoise to the governing power of the czarina. It was obviously the interest of the Northern states, Denmark and Sweden, to adopt a similar course of policy, but the governments of both countries were too deeply engaged by their domestic affairs to attend to the state of their foreign relations.

Frederick V., one of the best monarchs that ever occupied the throne of Denmark, was succeeded by Christian V., a prince of weak intellect and dissipated habits (A.D. 1766). Soon after his accession, Christian married Caroline Matilda, one of the sisters of the king of England, and the engaging manners of this princess won her the favour of the Danish king and people. To maintain her ascendancy over the mind of her husband, Caroline favoured the ambition of Struensee, a foreign adventurer, who was raised to the office of prime minister, or rather sole ruler of Denmark. Struensee's administration was vigorous and useful, but his haughtiness gave great offence to the Danish nobles; a conspiracy was formed against him, of which the king's step-mother and her son Frederic were the principal instigators, and it was resolved to involve the unfortunate Queen Caroline in his fate. Struensee and

² Frederic, who loved to indulge in sarcasm, said that a war between the Russians and Turks would be a contest between the one-eyed and the blind.

his friend Brandt were arrested at midnight, by virtue of an order which had been extorted from the imbecile Christian, they were insulted with the mockery of a trial, and put to a cruel death. The queen was also arrested and sent a prisoner to Cronenberg Castle; dread of British vengeance, however, saved her from personal violence, she was permitted to retire to Hanover, where the remainder of her life was spent in comparative obscurity. The queen dowager having removed her rival, usurped the royal authority; a young nobleman named Bernstorff was appointed prime minister, and the court of Copenhagen became remarkable for its subserviency to that of St. Petersburg.

Gustavus III., a young prince of great vigour and sagacity, ascended the Swedish throne on the death of his father, Adolphus Frederic (A.D. 1771); he had early formed a project for removing the restrictions which the senate had imposed on the royal authority after the death of Charles XII., and his efforts were seconded by the bulk of the nation, long weary of aristocratic tyranny. The senate, suddenly surrounded by armed bands, was intimidated into assenting to the instrument of government which Gustavus had prepared, and a revolution which changed Sweden from one of the most limited into one of the most absolute monarchies of Europe, was effected without spilling a drop of blood. Dread of a counter-revolution, and the necessity of providing some remedy for the distress which prevailed in Sweden, prevented Gustavus from interfering in the affairs of Poland, a country that had often occupied the anxious cares of his predecessors.

Stanislaus was sincerely anxious to confer the blessings of tranquillity and good government on Poland; but all his judicious measures were frustrated by the Polish nobles, who clung to their tyrannous and absurd privileges, though they were known to be as pernicious to themselves as they were ruinous to the country. An attempt on the personal liberty of the unhappy king gave Catherine a pretext for sending a Russian army into the country, and suggested to the Prussian king a scheme for the dismemberment of Poland. A treaty was concluded between Austria, Russia, and Prussia, for dividing the Polish provinces between them; their armies instantly occupied their several shares; and the diet, overawed by the united forces of the three powers, was forced to acquiesce in an arrangement that left Poland a merely nominal existence (A.D. 1773). The unhappy Stanislaus, reproached for calamities which it was not in his power to avert, could not avoid retorting on his accusers, and attributing the national calamities to the bigotry, the factious spirit, and the incessant contentions of the turbulent nobles. By the intervention of Prussia, a treaty was subsequently concluded between Russia and Turkey, by which the empress gained several important fortresses, a large acquisition of territory, and permission for her subjects to navigate the Black Sea (A.D. 1774). Great as these gains were, they were less valuable in themselves than as means for obtaining other objects of Catherine's secret ambition.

Degraded as Louis XV. was, he could not receive without emotion, intelligence of events which showed the low ebb to which the influence of France was reduced. When informed of the partition of Poland, he could not refrain from exclaiming, "Had Choiseul been still in the cabinet, this disgraceful transaction might have been averted." The duke d'Aguillon merited this reproach, but he resolved to atone for his negligence by gratifying the national hatred against the jesuits, though he had long been suspected of secretly favouring that order. The death of Clement XIII. favoured his projects (A.D. 1769). Ganganelli, who succeeded to the papacy under the title of Clement XIV., felt that the time was for ever gone by when the extravagant claims of the pontiffs could be maintained, and he therefore sought a reconciliation with the Catholic sovereigns by making reasonable concessions. After a long but not unjustifiable delay, he issued a bull suppressing the order of jesuits, and most of the Catholic prelates, who had long been jealous of that fraternity, eagerly enforced the papal edict (A.D. 1773). Little opposition was made by the jesuits to this decree, but an insurrection in Sicily and the deaths of Louis XV. and Pope Ganganelli (A.D. 1774) were attributed to their secret practices, though not a shadow of proof could be adduced to support such severe accusations. Indeed, it is notorious that Louis died of small-pox, and Ganganelli of a constitutional disease to which he had long been a martyr. Louis XVI., of whom his subjects had long been taught to form the most favourable expectations, ascended the throne of France: Angelo Braschi was elected to the papacy, under the title of Pius VI., by the influence of the more bigoted cardinals, who believed that he would be a more zealous supporter of the Church than his predecessors.

SECTION II.—*History of England from the Peace of Paris to the commencement of the American War.*

WHEN the British ministry concluded a separate treaty with France, they dis severed their country from its expensive connexion with the Continent, but at the same time they diminished its influence in European politics. Extensive colonies, rapidly increasing commerce, and improving manufactures, afforded the nation ample amends for this loss; but a spirit of faction began to appear in the national councils, which produced a pernicious influence on the growing prosperity of the nation. While there was any reason to apprehend danger from the house of Stuart, the Brunswick dynasty was necessarily thrown for support on the whigs, for the tories were from principle more or less disposed to favour the claims of the exiled house; but when all fears from the Pretender had disappeared, the zeal which the tories had ever shown for the maintenance of the royal prerogative naturally

recommended them to royal favour. Personal friendship induced George III. to introduce the earl of Bute into the cabinet; his influence excited the jealousy of the whigs, who had long monopolized the favour of the king and the nation; they accused him of an attachment to toryism, of partiality to his Scottish countrymen, and of having sacrificed the interests of the nation at the peace. Unable or unwilling to face popular clamour, the earl of Bute resigned his office, but it was believed he privately retained his influence in the cabinet, and thus no small portion of his unpopularity was inherited by his successors.

John Wilkes, member of parliament for Aylesbury, assailed the ministers with great bitterness in a paper called the *North Briton*. The 45th number of this periodical contained a fierce attack on the king's speech at the opening of the parliamentary session; and the ministers, forgetting discretion in their rage, issued a general warrant against the authors, printers, and publishers of the libel. Wilkes was arrested, but was soon liberated, on pleading privilege of parliament. The House of Commons, in opposition to the legal authorities, voted that privilege of parliament did not extend to the case of libel; but it subsequently joined with the Lords in voting the illegality of general warrants. Wilkes, in the mean time, quitted the country, and not appearing to take his trial, was outlawed. So much was the nation engrossed by this dispute between the government and an individual, that little attention was paid to colonial affairs; but during this period the East India Company acquired several rich districts in Bengal, and displayed a grasping ambition, which threatened the independence of the native powers.

A more dangerous prospect was opened in the American states. The French being removed, and the Indians driven into the back woods, the colonies began to increase rapidly in wealth, and their prosperity suggested to Mr. Grenville a scheme for making them share in the burden of taxation. The late war had been undertaken principally for the security of the colonists, they had been almost exclusively the gainers by its successful termination, and it was therefore deemed equitable that they should pay a portion of the cost. But the Americans were not represented in the British parliament, and they, together with a large party in Britain, maintained that they could not be constitutionally taxed without their own consent. Mr. Grenville, supported by his royal master, disregarded opposition, and an act was passed, imposing stamp-duties on a multitude of articles (A.D. 1765). A congress of deputies from the principal states assembled in Philadelphia, and voted a series of spirited remonstrances against the measures of government. The northern colonies, frequently called New England, took the lead; they had been, for the most part, founded by puritan exiles, driven from Britain by the heat of persecution; they brought with them, and transmitted to their successors, a stern spirit of inde-

pendence, that necessarily led them to contemplate the establishment of a republic.

The dispute seemed to be allayed by a change in the British ministry: the marquis of Rockingham, much against the king's will, repealed the obnoxious Stamp Act; but he was forced to assert, in strong terms, the right of the king and parliament to enact laws, binding the colonies in all cases whatsoever. The marquis of Rockingham was soon obliged to give way to Mr. Pitt, who had been created earl of Chatham; but the cabinet constructed by this once popular minister had no principle of union, and soon fell to pieces. The appointment of Lord North to the chancellorship of the exchequer aggravated party animosities (A.D. 1767); the new minister was suspected of hostility to the American claims, and had taken a prominent part against Wilkes. That demagogue returned to England; he was chosen member for the county of Middlesex at the general election, after which he surrendered himself to justice, obtained the reversal of his outlawry, and was sentenced to imprisonment for the libel he had published. When parliament met, it was supposed that Wilkes would take his seat for Middlesex, and a crowd assembled to escort him to the house; some rioting occurred, the military were called out, and a scuffle ensued, in which some lives were lost. Wilkes stigmatized the employment of the soldiers on this occasion in the most unmeasured terms; the ministers took advantage of this second libel to procure his expulsion from the House of Commons, but the electors of Middlesex re-elected him without any hesitation. The Commons resolved that an expelled member was incapable of sitting in the parliament that had passed such a sentence upon him, and issued a writ for a new election. Once more Wilkes was unanimously chosen, and once more the Commons refused to admit him. A new election was held, and Wilkes was returned by a great majority over Colonel Luttrell, the ministerial candidate. The House of Commons persevered in its declaration of Wilkes's incapacity, and resolved that Colonel Luttrell should be the sitting member.

In their anxiety to crush a worthless individual, the ministers had now involved themselves in a contest on an important point of constitutional law, with all the constituencies of the nation. A fierce opposition was raised against them in England, and this not a little encouraged the Americans to persevere in their resistance.

The resignation of the duke of Grafton, who wished to conciliate the colonies, the removal of Earl Camden, who disapproved of the decision respecting the Middlesex election, and the appointment of Lord North as premier, added to the exasperation of parties (A.D. 1770). The imposition of a light duty on tea kept alive the dispute with America, while the concessions made to the court of Spain, in a dispute respecting the Falkland Islands, were represented as a delibe-

rate sacrifice of the honour of the country. The only beneficial result from these disputes was, the indirect license given to the publication of the parliamentary debates, which had hitherto been deemed a breach of privilege. The Commons sent a messenger to arrest some printers and publishers, but the execution of their orders was opposed by the civic magistrates, Crosby, Oliver, and Wilkes. The two former were sent to the Tower; but Wilkes refused to attend, unless permitted to take his seat for Middlesex, and the Commons gave up the point by adjourning over the day on which he had been summoned to appear. Since that time the debates have been regularly published in the newspapers.

The abuses in the government of the dominions of the East India Company having attracted considerable attention, a law was passed for bringing the affairs of that commercial association in some degree under the control of government; but to reconcile the company to such interference, a loan was granted on favourable terms; and also permission to export teas without payment of duty. A quantity of tea was shipped for Boston, and Lord North hoped that the low price of the commodity would induce the New-Englanders to pay the small duty charged on importation; but when the vessels arrived at Boston, they were boarded during the night by a party of the townsmen, and the cargoes thrown into the sea. This outrage, followed by other acts of defiance, gave such offence in England, that acts were passed for closing the port of Boston, and altering the constitution of the colony of Massachusetts (A.D. 1774). It was hoped that the other colonies would be warned by this example; but, on the contrary, they encouraged the people of Massachusetts in their disobedience, and signed agreements against the importation of British merchandize, until the Boston Port Bill should be repealed, and the grievances of the colonies redressed. But though the colonists acted firmly, they showed the greatest anxiety for reconciliation; they prepared addresses to the government and their fellow-subjects, and they sent a memorial to the king, couched in terms equally spirited and respectful. The address to his majesty was not received, as it had emanated from an illegal assembly; and the determination evinced by the new parliament, which met in 1775, to support ministerial measures, defeated all hopes of an accommodation. The merchants and citizens of London, dreading the injury which would be brought on their trade by a contest with the colonies, supported the claims of the provincials; but their connexion with the notorious Wilkes rendered the civic authorities distasteful to the court, and their remonstrances were disregarded.

Blood was first shed at Lexington, where a party of American militia being ordered to disperse by a body of royal troops, showed symptoms of a refractory spirit, which led to a brief conflict. The British detachment, however, advanced to Concord, in order to destroy

some military stores which the provincials had collected, but it was attacked on its return, and would have been totally destroyed, had not fresh troops arrived to cover the retreat. These skirmishes were the signal for war; the colonial militia and volunteers blockaded the British garrison in Boston, intercepting its provisions and cutting off foraging parties. Not contented with thus harassing their enemies, the provincials fortified an eminence called Bunker's-hill, from which they could open a formidable cannonade on the town. General Gage sent two thousand men to drive the Americans from the post, and a fierce contest ensued, in which the colonial militia proved itself able to compete with the regular army. The British finally succeeded, but their success was purchased by such a heavy loss, that General Gage resolved to confine himself to defensive operations. General Washington, whom the congress had chosen to be their commander, kept Boston closely blockaded. The congress had not yet laid aside all hopes of peace, though they sent an army into Canada, commanded by Generals Montgomery and Arnold, to gain that colony over to the common cause. The Canadians, however, refused to join the other provincials: Montgomery was killed, and Arnold, having failed in an attempt to storm Quebec, retreated with some precipitation.

The continental powers, jealous of the maritime and commercial prosperity of England, exulted in the contest thus unwisely provoked. Even the moderate king of France, though severely harassed by the disordered state of his finances, and the embarrassing disputes which had been raised by his grandfather between the court and the parliaments, seemed disposed to favour the revolted colonies; several of his ministers urged him to offer them support, but the opinion of Turgot, the wisest of the French cabinet, prevailed for a season; he strenuously condemned such interference as impolitic and unjust. Spain, involved in a disastrous war with the piratical states of Barbary, and in a less formidable dispute with Portugal, respecting the boundaries of their South American colonies, was slow to engage in fresh hostilities, and was resolved to imitate the example of France. The king of Prussia, indignant at the desertion of his interests in the peace of 1763, openly rejoiced in the embarrassments of the British ministry: and Catherine of Russia exulted in the hope of seeing the naval power most likely to oppose her ambitious schemes preparing to destroy what was believed to be the secret source of its strength. Undervaluing the power and the fortitude of the provincials, the king and his ministers resolved to force them into obedience, parliament seconded these views, and the great bulk of the people applauded their determination. It is useless to conceal that the American war was popular at its commencement. The vague notion of dominion over an entire continent flattered English pride, and the taxes which the ministers demanded, promised some alleviation to the public burdens. The colonial revolt

was regarded by many as a rebellion, not against the British government, but the British people, and the contest was generally looked upon in England as an effort to establish, not the royal authority, but the supremacy of the nation.

SECTION III.—*The American War.*

BLOOD having once been shed, it was manifest that the dispute between Britain and her American colonies could only be decided by the sword. Both parties, therefore, prepared for the struggle, but apparently with some lingering hope of a restoration of peace. Mutual forbearance was exhibited by the hostile generals, when the English were compelled to evacuate Boston; Howe, the British commander, made no attempt to injure the town, and Washington permitted the royal army to retire unmolested. But the employment of German mercenaries, by the English ministry, completed the alienation of the colonists; they resolved to separate themselves wholly from the mother-country, and on the 4th of July, 1776, the congress published THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES. When this bold measure was adopted, the congress was destitute of money, ships, and allies; its army was a raw militia, badly clothed and armed, while the English forces, greatly augmented, were preparing to seize New York. Neither did the first efforts of the new republicans open any flattering prospects of ultimate success; the royalists defeated General Sullivan at Brooklyn, and took that commander prisoner; they obliged Washington to abandon New York, subdued the province of New Jersey, and forced the congress to seek shelter in Maryland. Such success naturally inspired Howe with some contempt for the provincial forces; he was ignorant of the patient watchfulness that marked the character of Washington, and he forgot the advantages that his adversaries derived from their superior local knowledge. Washington soon benefited by the relaxed vigilance of his opponents; seeing that the British forces were distributed in distant cantonments over too wide a space, he surprised a body of German mercenaries at Trenton, after which he drove the English garrison from Princetown, and recovered New Jersey.

The news of Howe's early success greatly gratified the English ministry; a bold plan was formed for the total subjugation of the colonies, by sending an army under General Burgoyne, from Canada through the northern states, to co-operate with Howe in the south (A. D. 1777). At first everything seemed favourable to the success of this project; Sir William Howe defeated Washington at the battle of Brandywine, and became master of the important city of Philadelphia; the Americans made an effort to retrieve their fortune by an attack upon German Town, but were repulsed with loss. In the mean time,

Burgoyne, having reduced Ticonderago, commenced his march southwards, but found his progress impeded by a series of unexpected difficulties, arising partly from the nature of the country and partly from the vigilance of his enemies. Slow as his movements necessarily were, those of the forces designed to co-operate with him were still more dilatory; their leaders delayed their march to plunder and ravage the country, until the Canadian army was ruined. When Burgoyne reached Saratoga, he was surrounded by the American forces, under Generals Gates and Arnold; expecting every moment to receive the promised co-operation of the southern forces, he made a spirited resistance; but they had halted to burn the little town of *Æsopus*, and before they resumed their march, Burgoyne and his soldiers were driven from their intrenchments and forced to surrender prisoners of war.

This disastrous termination of a campaign whose commencement seemed so promising, did not abate the confidence of the British ministers or the British people. Conciliatory acts were, indeed, passed by the parliament, but before intelligence of this altered policy could be received in America, France had entered into a treaty, recognising the independence of the United States (A.D. 1778). There were already some in Britain who advocated this extreme measure; the earl of Chatham vehemently opposed the dismemberment of the empire, but while addressing the Lords, he was struck down in a fit, and died within a few days. The nation mourned his loss, but it did not the less prepare vigorously to meet impending dangers. A declaration of war was issued against France, and a respectable fleet, commanded by Admiral Keppel, sent to cruise in the Channel. Keppel met and engaged the French fleet off Ushant, but being badly supported by Sir Hugh Palliser, the second in command, he was unable to make any use of the slight advantage he obtained.

The co-operation of the French did not at first produce all the benefit to their cause that the Americans had anticipated. Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded Howe in the command of the British army, effected his retreat to New York in good order, and severely repulsed the Americans in an attempt to harass his rear. The provincial army sent to reduce Rhode Island was badly supported by the French admiral D'Estaing, and forced to abandon the enterprise. In consequence of this indecisive campaign, some hopes were formed of an accommodation, but the earl of Carlisle, and the other English commissioners, found that the Americans would treat on no other basis than the acknowledgment of their independence, which the English government was not yet prepared to grant.

The peace of the Continent was momentarily menaced by the efforts of the Emperor Joseph to obtain possession of Bavaria, but the prompt interference of the king of Prussia, the remonstrances of the Empress

Catherine, and the unwillingness of France to second the ambitious designs of Austria, compelled Joseph to relinquish his prey when it was almost within his grasp (A.D. 1779). France alone, of the continental powers, had yet interfered in the American contest, but the intimate connexion between that country and Spain, led to a general belief that the latter would not long remain neutral. Nor was the expectation groundless; the court of Madrid, after an insincere offer of mediation, threw off the mask, and openly prepared for active hostilities. Washington adopted a cautious defensive policy, by which his adversaries were more exhausted than by a loss of a battle. The English subdued Georgia, and made some progress in the Carolinas; but the French captured several islands in the West Indies, and a Spanish fleet, for a time, rode triumphant in the Channel, and even insulted Plymouth.

Serious riots in London tended more to lower the character of the English, among foreign nations, than these reverses. Some of the penal laws against the Catholics having been repealed, an association was formed by some ignorant fanatics for the protection of the Protestant religion; they stimulated the passions of the mob, and roused an immense multitude to acts of outrage. For several days, London was at the mercy of an infuriated populace; some Catholic chapels were burned, and many private houses destroyed. Tranquillity was at length restored by the interference of the military, and several of the rioters capitally punished. These disgraceful transactions alienated the court of Madrid at a time when it was disposed to negotiate, and the promise of the French to aid in the reduction of Gibraltar, confirmed the hostile dispositions of the Spaniards.

The English had reduced all the French settlements in the East Indies in 1778, and humbled the Mahrattas; but a new and formidable enemy now appeared. Hyder Ali, a soldier of fortune, raised by chance to the throne of Scringapatam, resolved to drive the European intruders from Hindústan, and entered the Carnatic with overwhelming forces. The local government of Madras was unprepared for this event, and the resources at its command were wasted by the obstinacy and incapacity of the council. Owing to this mismanagement, the English forces, commanded by Baillie and Fletcher, were all either slain or taken by Hyder and his son, Tippoo.

The English arms were more successful in America; Charleston was taken by General Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot; three detachments were sent to complete the reduction of South Carolina, and one of these, commanded by Earl Cornwallis, gained a brilliant victory near the town of Camden. But the Americans narrowly escaped a more serious danger; Arnold, one of their most trusted generals, proved a traitor, and offered to surrender to the royalists the posts and troops with which he had been intrusted. Major André was sent

from the British lines to arrange the conditions, but on his return he fell into the hands of the Americans, and was hanged as a spy, by too rigid an interpretation of the laws of war. Arnold narrowly escaped a similar fate; he took refuge on board an English vessel; the army he commanded proved faithful to the republic, and the alarm excited by the first discovery of his treason soon subsided.

The maritime glory of England was ably maintained by Sir George Rodney; he captured four Spanish ships of the line off Cape St. Vincent, drove two more on shore, and burned another: thence proceeding to America, he thrice encountered the French fleet, under the count de Guichen, and though he obtained no decisive success, he prevented Washington from receiving naval aid in his meditated attack on New York. But the progress of the war now threatened to involve England in a new contest with all the maritime powers, respecting the trade of neutral vessels. The empress of Russia took the lead in demanding freedom of trade for neutral vessels, not laden with the munitions of war to all ports not actually blockaded; she proposed that the northern powers should unite to support this right; a confederacy, called the Armed Neutrality, was formed by Russia, Denmark, and Sweden; Holland promptly acceded to the league; the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Naples, adopted its principles; the republic of Venice, and even Portugal, the oldest ally of England, joined the association. The British ministry temporized, they expected, probably, that the smothered jealousy between Austria and Prussia might lead to a war that would divert the attention of the continental powers, but these hopes were frustrated by the death of Maria Theresa, whose inveterate hatred of the Prussian monarch was not inherited by her successor.

The conduct of the Dutch government had long been suspicious; but proof was at length obtained of its having concluded a treaty with the American congress, and the remonstrances of the British minister were treated with disdain. War was instantly declared, and several of the Dutch colonies in the South American seas were subdued by the English forces. Nor was this the only calamity that befel the Dutch republic; no sooner had the emperor Joseph succeeded to the ample inheritance of Maria Theresa, than he commanded a series of important reforms, amongst which was included the dismantling of the barrier towns in the Netherlands, which had been fortified at a vast expense to save Holland from the encroachments of France (A.D. 1781). A Dutch fleet, under Zoutman, was defeated by Admiral Parker, at the Doggers' Bank; but the English had less success in the American seas, where Sir Samuel Hood was reduced to inactivity by the superior force of Count de Grasse. The French admiral would not hazard a decisive engagement, but he sailed to aid General Washington in his course of operations for finishing the war by one decisive

blow. The progress of the British forces, under Lord Cornwallis, in Virginia and the Carolinas, had raised great expectations of triumph in England, and had proportionably depressed the Americans. Washington having secured the co-operation of the French fleet resolved to direct his whole force against the southern invading army, while he led his adversaries to believe that his design was to attack New York. Sir Henry Clinton was completely deceived; anxious to protect New York, he left Earl Cornwallis without assistance in Virginia, to contend against the united forces of the French and the Americans. Cornwallis, on the approach of the enemies, fortified himself in Yorktown, but he was unable to contend against the great disparity of force arrayed against him, and after a more vigorous resistance than could have been expected under the circumstances, he was forced to capitulate. This was the second British army that had been forced to surrender, and the disaster led to a general feeling in England, that any further protraction of the contest would be hopeless (A.D. 1782). The ministers, indeed, seemed at first resolved to continue the war, but they could no longer command a parliamentary majority, and were forced to resign. A new ministry, formed by the marquis of Rockingham and Mr. Fox, commenced negotiations for peace, without at all relaxing their efforts to support the war; but before the results of the change could be fully developed, the ministry was dissolved by the death of the marquis. But ere this event produced any effect on the political aspect of affairs, two signal triumphs shed lustre on the arms of Britain. Admiral Rodney gained a decisive victory over the French fleet under Count de Grasse, between the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe; and General Elliott, who had long been besieged in Gibraltar, defeated the formidable attack of the combined French and Spanish forces on that fortress, and burned, by showers of red-hot balls, the floating batteries, which the besiegers had fondly believed irresistible. In the East Indies, Sir Eyre Coote partly retrieved the fortunes of the company; he recovered the Carnatic, and totally routed Hyder's army at Porto Novo (A.D. 1781); and again at Pollalore. All the Dutch settlements were captured (A.D. 1782), but this success was interrupted by the defeat of Colonel Braithwaite, whose forces were surprised, surrounded, and cut to pieces by Tippoo and an auxiliary French force under M. Lally. Several indecisive engagements took place between Suffrein and Hughes, the French and English admirals, in the Indian seas; and the operations of the British by land were impeded by the jealousies of the civil and military authorities (A.D. 1783). The death of Hyder, and the restoration of peace between France and England, induced Tippoo to listen to terms of accommodation, and the English terminated this most unfortunate and disgraceful war, by submitting to humiliations from the son of Hyder, which greatly diminished the respect that had hitherto been paid to their name in Asia.

The changes of ministry in England protracted the negotiations for peace. The earl of Shelburne succeeded the marquis of Rockingham; but he was forced to yield to the overwhelming parliamentary strength of Lord North and Mr. Fox, who formed an unexpected coalition. The independence of America was recognised by the signature of preliminaries at Versailles (November 30, 1782); little difficulty was found in arranging terms with France and Spain; but the English wished to gain some compensation for their losses from Holland, and this circumstance occasioned a delay in the final arrangement of the treaty.

No war of modern times has produced such important consequences as that which led to the establishment of the American republic. A state of Europeans, unconnected with the political system of Europe, taking an active share in the general commerce of the world, liberated by its position from the necessity of maintaining a standing army, or meddling in cabinet policy, was certain to increase rapidly in wealth and power. The vast tracts of valuable but unoccupied land belonging to the United States invited hosts of emigrants from every part of Europe, and their wants encouraged an active commerce. But the Americans wanted capital, and they traded most with that country which gave the longest credit; the commerce with England, instead of being destroyed by the war of independence, increased most rapidly, and English trade was never more prosperous than in the period that succeeded the loss of the colonies; its progress was accelerated by the sudden decline of the trade of Holland, the greater part of which, we might almost say the whole, passed into the hands of the English. The Canadas and Nova Scotia were retained by England, and they shared in the rising prosperity of America; the West India islands, emancipated from unwise commercial restrictions, were rapidly improving; but several negro insurrections, and destructive hurricanes, crushed for a season the hope of the advantages that had been expected from these possessions.

SECTION IV.—*The British Empire in India.*

THE British empire in India was, as we have already stated, founded on the ruins of the empire of Delhi. The French were the first who aimed at acquiring sovereignty by interfering in the contests of the local governors who had established their independence; they gained a decided superiority in the Carnatic and on the Coromandel coast, until the naval supremacy of England, in the seven years' war, intercepted their communications, and enabled their rivals to seize all their settlements. It was soon discovered that Coromandel cost more than it was worth, and that the territorial acquisitions most desirable were the countries round the Ganges. Under the government of Lord

Clive, the English obtained the sovereignty of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, on the condition of paying twelve lacs of rupees annually to the emperor of Delhi. No sooner had the company acquired the sovereignty of this rich and opulent country, than an opposition of interest arose between the directors at home and their officers in India. The former were anxious to augment their commercial dividends by the territorial revenues, the latter were as obstinate in applying the surplus income to their own advantage. The want of control over the subordinate authorities in India led to most calamitous results; the officers of the company established monopolies in all the principal branches of domestic trade, rendered property insecure by arbitrarily changing the tenure of land, and perverted the administration of justice to protect their avarice. The injustice with which the native princes were treated, roused a formidable enemy to the English in Hyder Ali, sultan of Mysore; and had he been supported by European aid as effectively as he might have been, the company's empire in Hindústan would soon have ended. Some improvements were made in 1774, by concentrating the power of the three presidencies in the governor-general and council of Bengal, and the establishment of a supreme court of judicature. But Warren Hastings, the first governor-general, by a series of oppressions and extortions, provoked a second war with Hyder and the Mahratta states, the general results of which have been stated in the preceding chapter.

Notwithstanding the fortunate termination of the Mysorean and Mahratta wars, and the extension of the company's territory in Bengal, by the capture of Negapatam from the Dutch, the aspect of affairs was very gloomy and threatening. All the exactions of the company did not enable it to fulfil its engagements with the government; and its affairs were considered as fast approaching bankruptcy. It had also been found very inconvenient to have a mercantile association existing as a state within the state, and all parties agreed that the company ought to be placed more directly under the control of the government.

Under the administration of the marquis of Rockingham, Mr. Fox had taken the lead in arranging the affairs of Ireland. That country had been left unprotected during the late war; the inhabitants, menaced by invasion, armed in their own defence, and the volunteers thus raised, resolved, while they had the power, to secure the legislative independence of their country. The prudence of their leaders averted the horrors of a civil war, which would probably have ended in the separation of the islands; but they could not long have restrained the impatience of their followers, had not the Rockingham administration showed early its desire to comply with their demands. The legislative independence of Ireland was acknowledged (A.D. 1782), and a federal union of the two governments arranged, which promised to produce permanent advantages to both countries. His success in Ireland

induced Mr. Fox to prepare a measure for regulating the complicated affairs of India; and a bill was introduced, on whose success he staked the existence of the coalition ministry. The principle of Mr. Fox's measure was to place the whole civil and military government of India under a board of nine members, chosen for four years and not removable without an address from either house of parliament. Such a board would manifestly be an independent authority in the state; and it was said that its design was to make the power of a party rival that of the king. When the bill had passed the Commons, his majesty, through Earl Temple, intimated to the peers his hostility to the measure, and the Lords rejected it by a considerable majority. A new ministry was formed under the auspices of Mr. Pitt, second son to the great earl of Chatham; and as it was impossible to resist the strength of the coalition in the House of Commons, the parliament was dissolved at the earliest moment that the state of public business would permit (A.D. 1784). The success of this measure surpassed the expectations of the new minister; the nation had been disgusted by the coalition of parties, that had been so long and so bitterly opposed to each other as those of Mr. Fox and Lord North; their friends were in most places beaten by the supporters of the new cabinet, and Mr. Pitt found himself firmly established in the plenitude of power. A new bill was framed for the government of India, which transferred to the crown the influence which Mr. Fox had designed to entrust to parliamentary commissioners; but some share of power and the whole management of commercial affairs, was allowed to remain with the court of directors. The most important branch of commerce monopolized by the company was the tea trade with China, and this was thrown completely into their hands by a reduction of the duty, which removed all temptation to smuggling.

This change in the government of India was followed by the memorable impeachment of Mr. Hastings whose trial lasted several years. It ended in the acquittal of that gentleman, at least of intentional error; but his fortune and his health were ruined by the protracted prosecution. A wise selection of rulers greatly improved the condition of the British empire in India; under the administration of Lord Cornwallis, the situation of the natives was greatly ameliorated; but the seeds of corruption, arising from ancient misgovernment and internal wars, could not be wholly eradicated.

The great extension of the British colonies gave a fresh stimulus to the spirit of maritime discovery, and the English penetrated into the remotest seas, stopping only where nature had interposed impenetrable barriers of ice. The three voyages of Captain Cook awakened a spirit of enterprise scarcely inferior to that which had been roused by the discoveries of Columbus. The islands of the South Pacific Ocean became soon as well known as those of the Mediterranean Sea, and their natural productions speedily formed articles of trade. Cook

hims the expediency of forming a settlement on the coast of New Holland; in less than half a century this colony has risen into importance as an agricultural community; it promises at no very distant day, to outgrow the fostering care of the mother country, to afford her a rich reward, and become one of her most flourishing descendants.

From the period of Mr. Pitt's accession to power until the commencement of the French revolution, there was little beyond the strife of parties remarkable in the domestic history of England. The illness of the king (A.D. 1787), gave indeed alarming proof that the federal union of the English and Irish legislatures was by no means sufficient to secure the permanent connexion of the two countries; for, while the British parliament adopted a restricted regency, the Irish offered the entire royal power to the prince of Wales. The speedy recovery of the king averted the evils that might have resulted from so marked a discrepancy, but from that time Mr. Pitt seems to have determined on his plan for uniting the two legislatures. The chief parliamentary struggles were for a repeal of the disqualifying laws that affected the Dissenters, and the abolition of the infamous slave trade; but the success of both these measures was reserved for later times.

SECTION V.—*History of Europe, from the end of the American War to the commencement of the French Revolution.*

DURING the progress of the American war, a gradual improvement in the science of government began to be manifested in the European states. Many of the German princes began to moderate the stern exercise of their despotic authority, to reform their expenditure and military establishments, and to adopt new institutions suited to the advanced state of civilization. The Emperor Joseph was the most enterprising of the royal reformers; his measures for regulating the Church involved him in a contest with Pope Pius VI., who hated and dreaded innovation, and was bigotedly attached to the ancient pretensions of the Romish See. Persuaded that his personal influence would be sufficient to dissuade Joseph from pursuing his course of change, the pontiff undertook an expensive journey to Vienna, but the emperor only gave him an abundance of compliments and persevered in his resolutions. His failure covered the pontiff with ridicule, especially as he had to endure similar disappointments in his negotiations with the courts of Russia and Prussia. Joseph was willing to join the Empress Catherine in the dismemberment of Turkey, and permitted that princess to seize the Crimea; but the principal western powers still the aggrandizement of Austria, and the threat of their confe-

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deracy saved the Ottoman empire. The king of Prussia was foremost in checking the encroachments of the emperor; he secretly instigated the Dutch to refuse the free navigation of the Scheldt to the ships of the Austrian Netherlands, and he planned a confederacy for maintaining the integrity of the Germanic states. Frederic died when he had completed the consolidation of a kingdom which his conquests had nearly doubled (A.D. 1786); he was succeeded by his nephew Frederic William, whose attention was early directed to the affairs of Holland.

The success of the Americans in establishing a commonwealth, induced many of the Dutch to aim at restoring their old republican constitution, and abridging or destroying the power of the stadtholder, which had become in all but name monarchical. The French secretly encouraged the opponents of the prince of Orange, hoping to obtain from the popular party an addition to their East Indian colonies, or at least such a union of interests as would counterpoise British ascendancy in Asia; but the new king of Prussia, whose sister was married to the stadtholder, resolved to prevent any change, and the English ambassador vigorously exerted himself to counteract the intrigues of the French. An insult offered to the princess of Orange brought matters to a crisis; Frederic William immediately sent an army to redress his sister's wrongs, the republicans, deserted by France, made but a feeble resistance, and the stadtholder was restored to all his former authority.

The disordered state of the French finances was the cause of this desertion of their party by the ministers of Louis; through mere jealousy of England, they had involved their country in the American war, and had thus increased the confusion in which the prodigality of the preceding reign had sunk the treasury. Minister after minister had attempted to palliate the evil, but M. de Calonne, who owed his elevation to the unwise partiality of the queen Marie Antoinette, aggravated the disorder by a series of measures formed without prudence, and supported with obstinacy. Opposed by the parliaments, Calonne recommended the king to convene an assembly of the notables, or persons selected from the privileged orders (A.D. 1787); but these orders had hitherto paid far less than their fair proportion of the imposts, and an equitable system of taxation could not be expected from such an interested body. Necker, a Swiss banker, who had been for a short time the French minister of finance, joined in the opposition to Calonne, and it must be confessed that he demonstrated the total inadequacy of the proposed measures to remedy the decline of public credit. Louis dismissed Calonne, but he would not gratify his subjects by recalling Necker to the cabinet; and he dismissed the notables, whose uncomplying disposition rendered all hopes of aid from that assembly fruitless.

But the derangement of the finances was not the only evil that

the French court suffered from its interference in the American war; the officers and soldiers who had fought for liberty in one hemisphere became dissatisfied with despotism in the other. A general desire for the establishment of a free constitution, like that of England, was diffused through the nation, and some more ardent spirits began to speculate on a republic. The connexion of the court with Austria was the cause of much secret discontent; the decline of the influence and the power of France was traced to its unfortunate alliance with the court of Vienna during the seven years' war, and the queen, who was naturally inclined to perpetuate this unpopular union, became an object of suspicion and dislike. It was mortifying to find that France no longer held the balance of power on the continent; that she could not save Turkey from the aggressions of the ambitious Catherine, nor protect the republican party in Holland from punishment for acts done in her service.

While France was thus disturbed, the progress of reform in other states was unimpeded; the rulers of Spain and Portugal improved their kingdoms by institutions for the protection of trade, and by placing checks on the exorbitant powers of the clergy. They joined in an effort to chastise the piratical powers in the Mediterranean, but the strength of the Algerine capital frustrated the attempt. The Emperor Joseph and his brother Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, distinguished themselves by enacting new and salutary codes of law; they abolished the use of torture to extort confessions, and they greatly limited the number of offences to which the penalty of death was affixed. Their example was followed by the Empress Catherine, whose code was the greatest blessing that her glorious reign conferred on Russia; and even the sultan evinced a desire to improve the institutions of Turkey.

But the course of events in France soon inspired all the sovereigns of Europe with a horror of innovation. After the dismissal of the notables, M. de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, had become minister of finance, and he soon involved himself in a dispute with the parliaments, by refusing to produce the accounts, which they insisted on examining before registering any new edicts of taxation. The great object of the parliament was to maintain the immunities of the privileged orders; the minister justly recommended a less partial system, when his opponents yielding to temporary irritation, demanded the convocation of the states-general. The nobles and the clergy joined in the demand, without any expectation of its being granted, but merely to annoy the court; the people, however, took up the matter in earnest, and determined to enforce compliance. Various schemes were tried by the archbishop to overcome this powerful opposition, but all his plans were disconcerted by the obstinacy of the parliaments, and the king finding every expedient fail, consented to recall Necker (A.D. 1788). At the same time, a solemn promise was given for the

CAPTURE OF THE BASTILE.

speedy assembly of the states-general, a body that had not been convened since the year 1614.

Before the assembling of this legislative body, it was necessary to determine the number of representatives that should be sent by each of the three orders, the nobles, the clergy, and the people; the majority of the notables voted that an equal number of deputies should be sent by the respective classes, but it was subsequently determined that the representatives of the third estate should equal in number those of the nobles and clergy conjoined. The king declared that the three estates should form separate chambers, but this very important matter was not so definitely fixed as to prevent future discussion. On the 5th of May, 1789, the states-general met at Versailles, and the democratic party, confident in its strength, demanded that the three orders should sit and vote together. After a short struggle, the court was compelled to concede this vital point, and the united bodies took the name of the National Assembly.

A spirit of insubordination began to appear in Paris, caused in some degree by the pressure of famine; artful and ambitious men fanned the rising flame, and directed the popular indignation against the king and his family. The arms in the Hospital of Invalids were seized by the mob, and the insurgents immediately proceeded to attack the Bastile, or state-prison of Paris. After a brief resistance, the governor, having an insufficient garrison, capitulated, but the conditions of the surrender were not observed by the infuriate multitude; the governor was torn to pieces, and many of the soldiers inhumanly massacred. Louis, greatly alarmed, tried by every means to conciliate his subjects; he removed the regular troops from Paris and Versailles entrusting the defence of the capital to a body of civic militia, called the National Guards. The command of this new force was entrusted to the marquis de la Fayette, who had acquired great popularity by his liberal sentiments and his services to the cause of freedom in the American war. But all the king's concessions failed to conciliate the democratic, or rather, as we may henceforth call it, the republican party; relying on the support of the Parisian populace, the leaders of this band resolved that the legislature should be removed to the capital, and a mob was secretly instigated to make the demand. A crowd of the lowest rabble, accompanied by some of the national guards, proceeded to Versailles, the palace was violently entered, several of its defenders slain, and the king compelled instantly to set out for Paris, a prisoner in the hands of a licentious crowd, whose insults and indecencies were revolting to human nature.

This atrocious outrage may fairly be regarded as the commencement of the French Revolution; thenceforth the royal authority was an empty name, and all the ancient forms of government set aside; visionaries indulged in speculations on a new order of things, ardent

patriots hoped to establish a constitution more perfect than the world had yet witnessed, but the base and the depraved sought to gain their own selfish ends by stimulating popular violence; and the last class was the only one whose expectations were realized.

SECTION VI.—*The French Revolution.*

FROM the moment that Louis XVI. was brought a prisoner to his capital, the ancient constitution of France was overthrown; the monarchy continued to exist only in name, and the abolition of feudal rights, the extinction of hereditary titles, and the secularization of ecclesiastical property, established popular sovereignty on the ruins of the ancient structure. Several German princes, who had possessions in Alsace, protested against these violent changes, but the popular rulers would not listen to any proposal of a compromise, and thus the leaders of the revolution were embroiled with the empire in the very outset of their career. A club, called from its place of meeting, the Jacobin Association, was formed by the leading democrats, and from this body denunciations were issued against all who were believed favourable to the ancient institutions of the country. Through the machinations of the Jacobins, popular hatred was directed against the court, and violent tumults excited in various parts of France. Infinitely more dangerous to the repose of Europe were the emigrations of the nobles, who were dissatisfied with the revolution; instead of remaining at home and organising a constitutional resistance, they resolved to seek the restoration of the old government, with all its abuses, by the intervention of foreign powers. A meeting and conference took place at Pilnitz, between the emperor of Germany, the king of Prussia, and the elector of Saxony; the Count d'Artois, brother to the French monarch, and head of the emigrants, came uninvited, and he engaged the sovereigns to issue a vague declaration in favour of the rights of kings. Louis, wearied by the violence of the Jacobins, the licentiousness of the Parisian mob, and the disappointments he was daily forced to meet, resolved to escape from the captivity in which he was detained and seek refuge on the frontiers. He fled from Paris accompanied by his queen and children, but was unfortunately discovered at Varennes, seized, and brought back a prisoner to his capital. This failure exposed the royal family to suspicions of which the Jacobins took advantage; but the more moderate of the patriots were for a time sufficiently powerful to restrain their violence; and after a long deliberation, they prepared a constitutional code, which was tendered to the king for acceptance. The readiness with which Louis assented to this instrument of government, and his frank communication of his satisfaction with the arrangement to his ambassadors at the different

European courts, for a time restored his popularity. The Emperor Leopold notified to the other powers that all danger was averted, and the external and internal tranquillity of France seemed to be assured.

But the constitution thus established, could not be permanent; it was itself defective; and the minds of the French people, once animated by the desire of change, could not rest satisfied with any fixed form of government. The assembly by which it had been framed was dissolved, and a new legislative body chosen, according to the system recently established, and in this assembly the more violent partisans of democracy had more influence than in the preceding. It was the great object of the revolutionary party to involve the kingdom in foreign war; and the suspicious proceedings of the emigrants, their intrigues in the German courts, and the avowed determination of the emperor to maintain the feudal rights of the German princes in Alsace, furnished plausible pretexts for the commencement of hostilities. The death of the Emperor Leopold accelerated a rupture; his successor, Francis II., continued to make alarming military preparations, and on his refusal to give any satisfactory explanation, Louis was compelled to declare war against him (A.D. 1792). But the strife of parties in the royal cabinet and the National Assembly, led to such confusion in the councils of the French, that their armies, though superior in number, were defeated with loss and disgrace; while the Jacobins, whose intrigues were the real cause of these misfortunes, ascribed them to royalist treachery, and to the influence that Austrian councils possessed over the court from its connexion with the queen. These malignant slanders, industriously circulated, and generally believed, stimulated the Parisian mob to disgraceful acts of violence and disorder, against which La Fayette and the friends of rational liberty protested in vain.

A new incident gave fresh strength to the Jacobin party; Frederic William, king of Prussia, engaged to co-operate with the Emperor Francis to restore the royal authority in France; their united forces were placed under the command of the duke of Brunswick; and this prince issued a sanguinary and insulting manifesto, which had the effect of uniting all the French factions in the defence of their common country. A declaration issued soon after by the emigrant brothers and relatives of Louis, in which the revolution was bitterly condemned, proved still more injurious to the unfortunate king; scarcely did intelligence of the publication reach Paris, when the palace was attacked by an infuriate mob, the Swiss guards ruthlessly massacred, and Louis, with his family, forced to seek shelter in the hall of the National Assembly. The deputies protected his person, but they suspended his regal functions, and committed him a prisoner to a building called

the Temple; from having been once a monastery of the knights of that order.

La Fayette was equally surprised and indignant at these outrages of the Jacobins; he tried to keep the army firm in its allegiance; but wanting either the energy or the interest necessary at such a crisis, he fled into the Netherlands, when he was seized and imprisoned by the Austrians for his former opposition to the royal power. He was succeeded in the command of the army by Dumouriez, who made energetic preparations to resist the coming invasion. Confident in their strength, the allied armies entered France with the proudest anticipations, and their rapid progress in the beginning seemed to promise the most decisive results. To diminish the number of their internal enemies, Robespierre, Marat, and other chiefs of the Jacobins, planned the massacre of all the suspected persons confined in the prisons of Paris, and this diabolical plot was executed by the licentious populace. Similar horrors were perpetrated in other parts of France; a reign of terror was established, and no man dared to remonstrate against these shocking excesses. In the mean time the invaders had met with unexpected reverses; trusting to the representations of the emigrants, that the revolution had been the work of a few agitators, not of the nation, and that there was a general reaction in favour of royalty, the allies had advanced, without providing adequate stores, and when they received a check at Valmy, their camp was attacked by famine and disease; they were soon compelled to retreat, and to purchase an inglorious security by resigning the fortresses they had occupied. Dumouriez pursued the Austrians into the Netherlands, and gained a decisive victory, which encouraged the Belgians to throw off the imperial yoke; Flanders and Brabant were soon in possession of the victors, and their arms had made considerable progress in the reduction of Luxemburg. The Convention, as the National Assembly began to be called, having made their own country a republic, resolved to extend the revolution into other states; they offered their alliance to every nation that desired to recover its liberties, and they ordered the ancient constitutions of all the countries occupied by the French troops to be subverted. As the republican arms had conquered Savoy, and were fast gaining ground in Germany, the adoption of such a decree was virtually a declaration of war against all the kings of Europe.

The Jacobins, aided by the Parisian mob, and still more by the cowardice and indecision of their opponents, were now masters of the Convention, and the first use they made of their power was to bring the unfortunate king to trial, on the ridiculous charge of his having engaged in a conspiracy for the subversion of freedom. Louis defended himself with great spirit and energy, but his judges were pre-deter-

mined on his conviction: six hundred and eight-three deputies pronounced him guilty of treason against the sovereignty of the nation, while there were only thirty-seven who took a more favourable view of his conduct. A motion for an appeal to the people was rejected; but the sentence of death was passed by a very inconsiderable majority, and this probably induced the Jacobins to hasten the execution. On the 21st of January, 1793, the unfortunate Louis was guillotined in his capital city; and the severity of his fate was aggravated by the insults of his cruel executioners.

This judicial murder excited general indignation throughout Europe; Chauvelin, the French ambassador, was dismissed from the British court, and many persons in England, who had hitherto applauded the efforts of the French people, became vehement opposers of revolutionary principles. A similar result was produced in Holland, where the government had been justly alarmed by the progress of the French in the Netherlands.

The Convention did not wait to be attacked; a vote was passed that the republic was at war with the king of England and the stadtholder of Holland, by which artful phraseology it was intended to draw a marked distinction between the sovereign and the people of both countries. Spain was soon after added to the enemies of France, and the new republic had to contend against a coalition of all the leading powers of Europe. None of the allies threatened more loudly than the Empress Catherine; she had just concluded a successful war against Turkey, in which her general, Suwaroff, had won a large addition of territory for his mistress, and the power of Russia in the Black Sea was secured; she had also triumphed over the king of Sweden, more, however, by the insubordination of her rival's officers, than by the valour of her own troops. Poland was in everything but name subjected to Russia, and the empress was secretly maturing a plan to blot that country from the list of nations. As the coalition against the French republic was regarded as a war in the defence of the rights of kings, it was intended that a king should be placed at the head of the allied armies; and Gustavus, who had subverted the free constitution of Sweden, offered his services; but while he was preparing for the expedition, a conspiracy was formed against him by his discontented nobles, and he was murdered at a masked ball by Ankarstrom, an officer who believed himself personally injured by the king (A.D. 1792). After the death of Gustavus, the insincerity of Catherine became more manifest; she issued violent proclamations against the French, but carefully abstained from active hostility: indeed, it was manifestly her purpose to involve the continental powers in a war, which would prevent them from watching too jealously the aggrandizement of Russia.

The English and Prussians, deeming the defence of Holland a

matter of primary importance, combined to check the progress of Dumouriez, who had overrun Dutch Brabant, with little opposition (A.D. 1793). But the progress of the Austrians, on the side of Germany, stopped the French in their career of conquest. Dumouriez quitted Holland to defend Louvain; he suffered a complete defeat at Neer-winden, by which his soldiers were so discouraged, that they deserted in great numbers. Dumouriez, finding himself suspected by the two great parties which divided the republic, and weary of the disorganized state of the French government, entered into negotiations with the allied generals, and arrested the deputies sent by the Convention to watch his movements. But the army did not share the anti-revolutionary feelings of Dumouriez, and he was forced to seek shelter in the Austrian camp.

[Custine, the successor of Dumouriez, was unable to check the progress of the allied armies; being reinforced by a British force under the duke of York, they captured the important fortress of Valenciennes, and seemed to have opened a way to Paris. The revolutionary government punished Custine's failure by a public execution, and employed the terrors of the guillotine as an incentive to patriotism. But the separation of the allied forces was more serviceable to the cause of the Convention than the cruelties of the "Committee of Public Safety" to which the supreme power in France was intrusted. Austria, Prussia, and England, had separate interests, in the pursuit of which the common cause was forgotten; the imperialists laid siege to Le Quesnoi, while the English and Dutch proceeded to invest Dunkirk. The duke of York attacked Dunkirk with great spirit, but not receiving the support by sea that he had expected, and the Hanoverian force that covered his operations having been routed by Houchard, he was obliged to raise the siege and abandon the greater portion of his artillery and military stores. The Austrians were for a time more successful, but when Hoche, the defender of Dunkirk, was promoted to the command of the republican armies, they were driven from all their conquests in Alsace, and forced to seek shelter within the imperial frontiers. In Italy, the French maintained their hold of Savoy, but they experienced some severe reverses on the Spanish frontier.

The revolutionary excitement produced the most dreadful effects beyond the Atlantic; the coloured population in the French division of St. Domingo took arms to force the whites to grant them equal privileges; their claims were supported by the three deputies sent by the Convention to regulate the affairs of the colony, the negroes were seduced, by offers of liberty, to revolt against their masters, and St. Domingo, which had been one of the most flourishing islands in the West Indies, was devastated by a civil war, scarcely to be paralleled for its sanguinary fury and the wanton destruction of life and property.

The wars of Southern and Western Europe permitted Catherine of Russia to accomplish the favourite object of her policy, the dismemberment of Poland. Austria and Prussia joined in this iniquitous scheme, for the purpose of sharing the plunder, but the Poles made a gallant struggle to maintain their independence. Kosciusko, who had served in America, under Washington, was the chief of the patriots, and his heroic efforts protracted a struggle which from the first was hopeless. Kosciusko, severely wounded, fell into the hands of his enemies, Warsaw was stormed by the brutal Suwaroff, and the kingdom of Poland, erased from the list of nations, was divided between the three confederates (A.D. 1795). The king of Prussia, more anxious to secure his new acquisitions than to support the objects of the coalition, made peace with the French, and offered to mediate between the republic and Austria.

Scarcely had the Austrians been driven from France, when that country was convulsed by civil war (A.D. 1793). The Jacobins having, by the aid of the Parisian populace, triumphed over the rival faction in the Convention, mercilessly proscribed their political adversaries as traitors, and after a mockery of trial, hurried them to execution. Among the victims to their fury was the unfortunate queen of France, Marie Antoinette, but death was to her not a punishment, but a release from suffering. The tyranny of the Jacobins provoked formidable insurrections in the south of France, and encouraged the royalists of La Vendée to take up arms in the cause of their church and their king. Nothing could exceed the fury of the Jacobins when they heard of these revolts; severe decrees were passed against the cities which had resisted their authority, but no place was so cruelly punished as Lyons, which had continued for four months in a state of insurrection. After having endured a furious bombardment, it was forced to surrender at discretion; five deputies, of whom Collot and Fouché were the chief, received a commission from the Convention to punish the Lyonnese revolvers by the summary process of military law, and about four thousand victims were shot or guillotined after the mockery of trial before this savage tribunal. But, in the midst of their butcheries, the Jacobins did not neglect the military defence of their country; a decree of the Convention declared, that all the French were soldiers, and a levy of the population, *en masse*, was ordered. To support such numerous armies, private property was seized and paid for in promissory notes, called *assignats*, whose value was speedily depreciated, a circumstance which ruined public credit in France.

Toulon having revolted, an English garrison, strengthened by Spanish and Neapolitan detachments, occupied that important seaport. It was soon besieged by the troops of the Convention; the artillery of the besiegers was directed by a young Corsican, Napoleon

who had risen by his merits from an inferior station, to his exertions, the English soon found the place untenable; they evacuated Toulon, without loss, after having destroyed the arsenal and shipping, but they abandoned the inhabitants to the fury of the conquerors, who punished their revolt with indiscriminate severity.

In the Netherlands and Germany, the French, under Pichegru and Jourdan, gained many important advantages over the imperialists and their allies; but though many battles were fought, nothing of any consequence was effected in the early part of the campaign (A.D. 1794). A more important event was the downfall of the sanguinary faction which had so long deluged France with the blood of its best citizens; Robespierre's enormities were too numerous and too shocking to be borne, even by many of the Jacobin party; a conspiracy was formed against him; the Convention was induced to resume its authority, and order his arrest, and after a brief struggle, he and his accomplices were hurried before the revolutionary tribunal, which they had themselves organized, and sent to the scaffold. This revolution did not produce the beneficial results that had been expected; Robespierre's successors were little better than himself, and they were confirmed in their hostility to Britain by the recent defeat of their navy. Lord Howe, who had been distinguished as a naval commander in the two preceding wars, encountered a French fleet of rather superior force (June 1), and having broke the enemy's line, took six ships of war and sank two. This success revived the declining spirits of the English nation, discouraged by the ill-success of the war in Holland. Corsica was soon after annexed to the dominions of England, but the French were victorious on the Spanish frontier, and Holland was completely subdued by Pichegru and Moreau. The prince of Orange and the English forces escaped by sea; the Dutch abolished the office of stadtholder, and adopted a new form of government, similar to that of the French republic. If there were any in Holland who expected to derive advantage from this revolution, they were grievously disappointed; the French despised their new confederates, and treated them as a conquered people, while the English seized their colonies and destroyed the remains of the once unparalleled commerce of Holland.

The alarm which the French revolution excited in England, led the government to prosecute some enthusiastic advocates of reform in parliament for high treason; three of them were brought to trial and acquitted, upon which the prosecution of the others was abandoned. There were few in the country anxious to make a change in the established institutions, the crimes and follies of the French Jacobins had rendered innovation unpopular, and many who had hitherto been in opposition to the court, tendered their aid to the minister; the most

remarkable of these converts was the eloquent Burke, whose denunciations of French principles produced a powerful effect on the national mind.

The dismemberment of Poland, and the desertion of the coalition by the king of Prussia, gave great dissatisfaction to the British parliament, and the character of our faithless ally was made the theme of severe and not unmerited censure. He had accepted a large subsidy from England, and employed the money lavishly granted him, against the Poles instead of the French. But the defection of Prussia did not dishearten the English or the Austrians, who were encouraged to continue the war by the distracted state of France. In Paris, the Convention partially succeeded in throwing off the yoke of the Jacobins, but the city was frequently endangered by their machinations, and the insurrections of the ferocious populace who supported them. The royalist war was renewed in La Vendée, and the south of France continued discontented. But the allies profited little by these commotions. The Spaniards, completely humbled, were forced to make peace with the republicans; the Austrians barely maintained their ground in Italy, and success was evenly balanced on the side of Germany. Great Britain, however, maintained its supremacy at sea; Admiral Cornwallis compelled a fleet of very superior force to retire, and Lord Bridport, with ten sail of the line, attacked twelve of the enemy, three of which were compelled to strike their colours. The French were deprived of Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucie, in the West Indies, and their reluctant allies, the Dutch, lost their settlements at the Cape of Good Hope, and in the island of Ceylon.

The Convention, by an attempt to perpetuate its authority, provoked a formidable insurrection in Paris; Buonaparte had a considerable share in subduing the revolvers, more than two thousand of whom were mercilessly slaughtered. Soon afterwards, France had a new constitution, consisting of a legislative assembly, an upper house, called the Council of Ancients, and a directory of five members, intrusted with the executive functions of government. The directors soon began to limit the powers of the legislative body, and the new constitution was found to be a delusion. But an approach had been made to regular government, and the war was carried on with fresh vigour by the directory (A.D. 1796). Marshals Jourdan and Moreau made successful irruptions into Germany, but they encountered a formidable antagonist in the Archduke Charles of Austria. He stopped the invaders in their mid-career of victory, completely routed Jourdan at Kornach, and then suddenly marching against Moreau, he nearly succeeded in surprising and overwhelming that general. Moreau's celebrated retreat was more honourable to his abilities than the most brilliant victory; he led his forces through the Black Forest, from position to position, often compelled to yield his ground, but never

thrown into confusion, until he safely crossed the Rhine with all his artillery and baggage.

The campaign in Italy, where the French were commanded by Napoleon Buonaparte, was more eventful. The king of Sardinia, completely routed and cut off from his communications with the Austrians, was forced to purchase a dishonourable peace from the republic, by the cession of his most important fortresses. Napoleon then led his forces against the Austrians, forced, but with great loss, a passage over the bridge of Lodi, and gained possession of Milan and the principal cities of Lombardy. The victors made a harsh use of their triumph, the unfortunate Lombards were treated with great cruelty, the duke of Tuscany was compelled to exclude the English from the port of Leghorn, and the pope was forced to purchase the forbearance of the republicans by ceding to them Bologna, and several other towns, paying a heavy ransom, and sending three hundred precious manuscripts and pictures to enrich the national museum at Paris. The dukes of Modena and Parma were subjected to similar exactions, but the king of Naples had providently made a truce with the French before they approached his frontiers. Mantua, the last stronghold of the Austrians in Italy, was closely besieged, but the court of Vienna made vigorous preparations for its relief. Marshal Wurmser twice pushed forward against the French, but was each time defeated with great loss, a calamity owing to his unwisely dividing his forces. Alvinzi, who succeeded to the command of the Austrians, committed the same fault, and was compelled to retire; Mantua, however, was still obstinately defended, but the garrison ceased to entertain sanguine hopes of success.

In the mean time, the Corsicans grew weary of their connexion with Great Britain, drove the English from the island, and placed themselves under the protection of France. Ireland was exposed to the horrors of an invasion; a formidable squadron, having a large body of troops on board, appeared in Bantry Bay. Hoche, who had acquired considerable fame by his suppression of the insurrection in La Vendée, commanded the expedition, and, could he have effected a landing, the safety of the British empire would have been perilled; But a violent storm dispersed the ships, most of which were subsequently either sunk or captured. The death of the Empress Catherine inspired the English minister with the hope of gaining more effective assistance from Russia; but her successor, the Emperor Paul, disregarded all the solicitations addressed to him by the courts of London and Vienna.

A new enemy appeared against England; the Spanish government, always jealous of British naval power, and overawed by the French Directory, entered into alliance with the republic, and began to increase its navy (A.D. 1797). At this moment, when the existence of England

depended on its sailors, a formidable mutiny broke out in the fleet at Spithead; the officers were suspended from their authority and dismissed from their ships; the malcontents blockaded the mouth of the Thames, and committed several acts of depredation. Fortunately the sailors grew alarmed themselves and hastened to return to their allegiance; a few of the ringleaders were hanged, but the great body of the revolvers was conciliated by an act of amnesty.

The war in Italy was not discontinued during the winter: Alvinzi made a desperate effort to retrieve the fortunes of Austria, but he was again defeated, and Mantua soon capitulated. Having very severely punished the pope for his attachment to the imperial interests, Napoleon resolved to carry the war into the hereditary states of Austria. The territory of Friuli was quickly subdued, and a great part of the Tyrol occupied by the French; the Archduke Charles made a bold defence, but the emperor Francis, terrified by the advance of Hoche and Moreau in Germany, sued for peace, in spite of the remonstrances of his English allies. While the terms of pacification were under discussion, Napoleon subverted the ancient constitutions of Genoa and Venice, and made both republics virtually dependent on France.

Spain suffered severely in the war she had so rashly commenced. Admiral Jervis encountered a Spanish fleet of very superior force off Cape St. Vincent, and by a dexterous manœuvre cut off nine of their ships from the line, so that he could engage the rest on more equal terms. Four ships of the line were taken in this brilliant engagement, to the success of which Nelson, who was now commencing his brilliant career, mainly contributed. The Spaniards lost also the valuable island of Trinidad, but an attack made by the British on Teneriffe was unsuccessful. The Dutch, too were punished for their alliance with France. Three ships of the line and four frigates were taken by the British, after an unsuccessful attempt to recover the Cape. But they suffered a more severe loss on their own coast; an English squadron, commanded by Admiral Duncan, got between their ships and the shore, and took eleven out of fifteen sail of the line. Two of the prizes, however, in consequence of the difficulties of the navigation, were abandoned.

A new revolution in France invested the Directory with supreme power, and their opponents were banished to the unhealthy swamps of Guiana, where they were treated with great rigour. Negotiations for peace were commenced, but those of England were broken off abruptly by the extravagant demands of the French plenipotentiaries. This did not prevent the conclusion of a treaty between the republic and Austria, when the emperor was remunerated for the loss of Mantua by the cession of Venice, which he meanly accepted, and the frontiers of France were extended to the Rhine.

Great Britain was now the only power at war with France, and

the Directory prepared a large army for its invasion. This threat produced a noble display of patriotism throughout the country, volunteer associations for defence were formed, and every man was ready to act as a soldier. But while the British navy rode triumphant in the Channel, the menace of invasion was an idle boast, and Buonaparte only used it as a pretext to cover his ulterior designs. While the French were modelling, at their pleasure, the governments of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, Napoleon planned an expedition to Egypt, with the hope of rendering the French influence as predominant in the East as it was in Western Europe (A.D. 1798). Convoyed by a fleet under Admiral Brueys, he sailed first to Malta, which was betrayed by the French knights. A garrison was left to secure the forts of this important island; the rest of the expedition, escaping the vigilance of the English fleet, safely reached Egypt, and having effected a landing, took Alexandria by storm. The Mameluke Beys, who were then masters of the country, led their brilliant cavalry to check the progress of the invaders; but these undisciplined warriors were unable to break the firm squares of the French infantry, and they were almost annihilated in the battle of Embaba.

But the hopes inspired by such success were soon dashed by the ruin of the French fleet. After a long search, Admiral Nelson discovered Brueys, in the bay of Aboukir, and immediately formed a bold plan of action. He led a part of his fleet between the French and the shore, so as to place his enemies between two fires. The victory was complete, nine sail of the line were captured, *L'Orient*, a ship of uncommon size, blew up with the greater part of her crew; another ship of the line and a frigate were burned by their respective captains.

But Great Britain was not equally fortunate in other quarters; an armament sent against the Belgic coast signally failed, and the island of St. Domingo was evacuated by the British troops. Ireland was distracted by an insurrection, planned by some enthusiastic admirers of French principles, but put into execution by an ignorant peasantry, whose excesses their leaders were unable to control. Many acts of atrocity were committed by the insurgents, and the conduct of the royal army was frequently very disgraceful. The insurrection was finally quelled; but scarcely was tranquillity restored, when a small party of French landed in Connaught, and through the cowardice of the troops first sent to oppose them, penetrated into the heart of the country. Lord Cornwallis, who had just been appointed lord lieutenant, soon overtook the French, and forced them to surrender. Judiciously tempering severity with clemency, he conciliated the discontented; and Sir John Warren, by capturing the greater part of a French fleet, averted the dangers of a future invasion.

The victory of Nelson at the Nile produced a powerful effect throughout Europe. The sultan made preparations for a vigorous

defence of his dominions; the Russians sent an armament into the Mediterranean, and captured the Ionian Islands, which the French had wrested from the Venetians; the king of Naples took arms to recover the Roman territories for the pope; and the emperor of Austria yielded to the suggestions of Mr. Pitt, and commenced hostilities.

The French were not daunted by this powerful coalition; they easily repelled the Neapolitans, but they found a more formidable foe in the Russians, who entered Italy under the command of Suwaroff, and being there joined by the Austrians, gained several important advantages in spite of Marshals Moreau and Macdonald. But these successes were so dearly purchased, that the allies resolved to try a new plan of operations. Suwaroff undertook to drive the French from Switzerland; Kray and Melas were to direct the Piedmontese and Austrian troops in Italy; while the Archduke Charles protected Germany with all the forces of the empire. Victory in general favoured the allied powers; the French lost all their posts in Italy except Genoa, and that was closely besieged; Suwaroff made rapid progress in Switzerland; and in Germany the French arms suffered several but not very important reverses. In the mean time Napoleon invaded Syria; but being foiled at Acre, chiefly through the heroic exertions of Sir Sydney Smith, he returned to Egypt, and having provided for the security of that country, secretly embarked for France. He escaped the vigilance of the English cruisers, and arrived at Paris just as the Directory was indulging in extravagant joy for the defeat of the joint invasion of Holland by the English and Russians. It had been confidently asserted that the Dutch were anxious to throw off the yoke of France, but these representations were proved to be fallacious; and the duke of York, who commanded the English forces, was compelled to purchase a safe retreat by restoring eight thousand French prisoners without ransom or exchange.

Buonaparte soon perceived that the French people had grown weary of the Directory; trusting to his popularity with the army, he drove the legislative council from their chamber at the point of the bayonet, and formed a new constitution, by which the executive power was entrusted to three consuls, of whom he was the chief. The First Consul, in everything but name a monarch, attempted to commence negotiations; the English ministers repulsed him rather harshly, and preparations were made for a decisive campaign.

An important and necessary change was made in the constitution of the British empire (A.D. 1800). Some difficulties had arisen from the existence of independent legislatures in England and Ireland; the two parliaments had already divided differently on the important question of the regency, and there was reason to fear that some future discrepancy might lead to the dismemberment of the empire. To prevent such an evil, it was resolved that the two legislatures should

form one imperial parliament, and the terms of union were warmly canvassed in both countries. The measure was very unpopular in Ireland, and when first proposed, was rejected by the parliament; but, during the recess, the minister found means to increase the number of his supporters, and in the following session the Act of Union was passed by considerable majorities.

It was expected that the First Consul would attempt the invasion of England or Ireland, but Napoleon was too well aware of his naval weakness to undertake such a hazardous enterprise. He formed a daring plan of a campaign in Italy, and led his army like Hannibal over the Alps. The Austrians could scarcely have been more surprised if an army had fallen from the clouds, than they were by the appearance of the French columns descending from Mount St. Bernard; but, encouraged by their recent acquisition of Genoa, they prepared to make a vigorous resistance. The battle of Montebello, in which the French had the advantage, was the prelude to the decisive battle of Marengo. The Austrians commenced the fight with unusual spirit; both wings of their opponents were beaten, and the centre shaken, but some fresh divisions arriving to the support of the French at the last moment of the crisis, Napoleon pierced the lines of the imperialists, which were too much extended, and Murat's furious charge completed the rout of the Austrians. So disheartened was the imperial general, Melas, that he purchased a truce by resigning Genoa, and the principal fortresses in Piedmont and the Milanese, to the conquerors.

The influence of the British cabinet, and some slight successes in Germany, induced the Emperor Francis to continue the war; but his rising hopes were crushed by the battle of Hohenlinden, in which the French and Bavarians under Moreau completely defeated the imperialists, and opened a passage into Upper Austria. The emperor, alarmed for his hereditary dominions, consented to a truce, and this was soon followed by the treaty of Luneville, which annihilated for a season the Austrian influence in Italy. Scarcely had Great Britain lost one ally when she was threatened with the active hostility of another. The Russian emperor, Paul, had been chosen patron of the order of St. John of Jerusalem; and when the English, after having reduced Malta by blockade, refused to restore the island to the degenerate knights, the chivalrous potentate ordered the British ships in the Russian ports to be detained, and prevailed upon Sweden and Denmark to unite with him in an armed neutrality (A.D. 1801). In the mean time, Mr. Pitt, who had so long presided over the councils of Great Britain, resigned his office as premier. When he was urging forward the great measure of the Union with Ireland, he had endeavoured to conciliate the Catholics of that country by a promise of his aid in procuring a repeal of the laws which excluded them from

parliament and office; but the king's repugnance to Catholic emancipation was invincible, and Mr. Pitt retired from the cabinet. Mr. Addington, his successor, had scarcely been installed, when the gratifying intelligence was received of a great triumph obtained by the British navy in the Baltic. When Mr. Pitt received intelligence of the armed neutrality, he sent a large fleet into the northern seas, under the command of Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson. The latter, with twelve sail of the line and some small vessels, attacked the Danish fleet, moored in a formidable position before their capital, and after a desperate contest, took or destroyed every Danish ship that had a share in the engagement. The Danes were humbled by this loss, but they were still more disheartened by the death of the Russian emperor, Paul, who was the founder and head of the northern confederacy. This potentate's incapacity provoked the indignation of the nobles and the people, and he was murdered by a party of conspirators, who placed his son Alexander upon the throne. The young prince concluded a treaty with the British on equitable terms, and the other northern powers imitated his example.

A British army under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, had been sent to drive the French from Egypt, and it succeeded in its object, but with the loss of its gallant commander. Some naval enterprises were less successful: and as there was now a stable government in France, the English minister consented to commence negotiations for peace. The terms were soon arranged; France retained her acquisitions in Germany and the Netherlands, and her supremacy in Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. England consented to resign Malta to the knights, to make the Ionian Islands an independent republic, and to restore all her colonial conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad. The treaty was signed at Amiens, and for a short time Europe was deceived with a hope of continued tranquillity.

During this war the maritime and commercial supremacy of England had been completely established, and her colonial empire in India extended and secured. When the French invaded Egypt, Tippoo, the sultan of Mysore, inheriting his father's hostility to the English, meditated an attack on the company's territories, but he was anticipated by the vigour of the earl of Mornington, the governor-general, who, instead of waiting for an attack, invaded Mysore. Seringapatam, Tippoo's capital, was taken by storm, and that unfortunate prince fell in the assault. This conquest made the British power supreme in Southern India, and led to the establishment of the company's paramount authority over the whole peninsula of Hindústan.

France had gained a vast accession of territory, but the freedom which the French had taken arms to defend was no more. The revolution, whose progress had been so strongly marked by savage crime and cruel suffering was now fast finding its consummation in a military

despotism more arbitrary and crushing than the iron rule even of the feudal monarchs; but the French, weary of the many vicissitudes that their government had undergone, submitted to a change that promised future stability, and consoled themselves with dreams of glory for the loss of freedom.

CHAPTER X.

THE FRENCH EMPIRE.

SECTION I.—*Renewal of the War between England and France.*

WHEN peace was restored, Napoleon directed all his energies to consolidate the power he had acquired. Permission was granted to those whom the violence of the revolution had driven from their country, to return, on certain conditions; Christianity, abolished in the madness of the preceding convulsions, was restored, and arrangements were made with the pope for the future government of the Gallican church; and finally, the consular power was conferred upon Napoleon for life, while a representative constitution preserved for the nation a mere shadow of freedom. His interference in foreign states was less honourable: he moulded the Italian and Ligurian republics at his pleasure; but the Swiss proving more refractory, Marshal Ney entered their territory with a large army, to enforce submission to the imperious dictates of the First Consul. The British ministers remonstrated against this interference, but they could not prevent the French from extending their influence in Germany and Italy, as well as the Swiss cantons. Napoleon was less successful in his efforts to recover the island of Hispaniola or St. Domingo. A large French army was sent to the island, and the proceedings of its commanders were marked by gross cruelty and treachery; but these abominable means failed to crush the spirit of the insurgent negroes, and the unfortunate colony was exposed to all the horrors of a servile war. Great Britain did not interfere in this contest; the example of a successful revolt of slaves was deemed of dangerous consequence to our West Indian islands, and the reduction of St. Domingo was desired rather than deprecated.

But the encroachments of France on the independence of the neighbouring states, and the determination of England to retain the island of Malta, gave rise to angry discussions, which, it was soon obvious, would only terminate in a renewal of hostilities (A.D. 1803).

The English commenced the war by issuing letters of marque, authorising the seizure of French vessels; Napoleon retaliated, by seizing the persons of all the British whom pleasure or business had induced to

visit France during the brief interval of peace. The threats of invasion were renewed, but the English people evinced a spirit of loyalty which quelled all fear of danger. In Ireland an unmeaning insurrection was raised by two enthusiasts, Russell and Emmett, but it was suppressed almost the instant it exploded, and a few of the leaders were capitally punished. Hanover, however, was occupied by a French army, and the Dutch republic joined in the war against Britain. On the other hand, the English conquered the French islands of St. Lucie and Tobago, and the Dutch settlements of Demerara and Essequibo. In Asia, the English broke the dangerous power of the Mahrattas, who were supposed, at the instigation of the French, to have formed plans for the subversion of the Company's power. The earl of Mornington, who had recently been created marquis of Wellesley, disconcerted their schemes by his vigour and promptitude; and the formidable Scindiah was forced to purchase peace by the cession of a large portion of his dominions. The King of Kandi, who had assailed the British power in Ceylon, was also subdued, and our colonial empire in Asia was thus at once enlarged and secured. The French colonial power was at the same time nearly annihilated; the island of St Domingo was wrested from them by the insurgent blacks, and erected into an independent state, under its ancient Indian name of Hayti. These results might have been reasonably anticipated, for without a navy it was impossible for France to retain its colonies.

Mr. Pitt had retired from office just before the conclusion of the peace, his friends became anxious that he should return to the administration on the renewal of war, and Mr. Addington was forced to yield to their superior influence (A.D. 1804). The premier encountered many difficulties in constructing a cabinet, and had to resist a more formidable opposition in parliament than he had been accustomed to meet. While Mr. Pitt was labouring to strengthen his ministry, Napoleon was more successfully engaged in securing the supreme power in France. He accused his rivals, Moreau and Pichegru, of having plotted his destruction, in conjunction with Georges, a royalist leader, and charged the English ministers with having hired assassins to destroy him. A more atrocious crime was the murder of the most amiable of the Bourbon princes. The young duke d'Enghien was unjustifiably seized in the neutral territory of Baden, hurried to the castle of Vincennes, and shot by the sentence of a court-martial, contrary to all forms of law, as well as principles of justice. Immediately after the perpetration of this ruthless deed, Napoleon obtained the title of emperor from his servile senate; the dignity was declared hereditary in his family, and the principal powers of Europe, with the exception of Great Britain, recognised the new sovereign.

The emperor of Russia was anxious to avenge the fate of the duke d'Enghien, his remonstrances against the usurpations of Napoleon were

very warm, but none of the other continental sovereigns seconded his zeal, and the storm, which threatened to burst forth, soon subsided. Having no ally on the continent, England had no means of employing her military strength, and the operations of the war were confined to a few naval enterprises. Napoleon offered terms of peace; but the British minister, relying on the probable co-operation of Russia, refused to negotiate (A.D. 1805). At the same time war was commenced against Spain, by sending out a squadron to intercept the Plate fleet, laden with the treasures of Spanish America. This attempt was made before hostilities were formally declared; but the British minister justified it by referring to the intimate connexion that had been formed between the courts of Paris and Madrid. Mr. Pitt's conduct was approved by large parliamentary majorities; but he received a harsh proof of the decline of his influence, in the impeachment of his friend Lord Melville, for official delinquency. When the charge was made in the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt vindicated the conduct of Lord Melville; but notwithstanding the minister's exertions, the impeachment was carried by the casting vote of the speaker. The premier was more successful in his foreign policy; the emperor of Russia concluded a treaty with England for restraining the ambition of France, and Napoleon's encroachments in Italy induced Austria to accede to the league.

Napoleon, at the request of the constituted authorities of the Italian republic, assumed the title of king of Italy; and in the cathedral of Milan placed upon his head the ancient iron crown of the Lombard monarchs, and with less ceremony annexed the territories of the Ligurian republic to the French empire. The Austrian emperor vainly remonstrated; and at length, relying on the aid of the Russians, published a declaration of war. Unfortunately, Francis commenced hostilities by an action as unjustifiable as any of which he accused Napoleon. The elector of Bavaria, whose son was in the French capital, declared himself neutral, upon which the Austrian troops entered his dominions, treated them as a conquered country, and compelled him to seek refuge in Franconia. Napoleon eagerly seized the opportunity of branding his enemies as the aggressors in the contest, and declaring himself the protector of the liberties of Europe.

The naval war was maintained by Great Britain with equal vigour and success. The French and Spanish fleets having formed a junction, sailed for the West Indies, but they were soon pursued by Lord Nelson, the terror of whose name induced them to return to Europe. Off Ferrol, they encountered an inferior squadron, under Sir Robert Calder, and lost two of their ships, but the rest reached the bay of Cadiz, where they were strongly reinforced. Lord Nelson, with twenty-seven sail of the line, appeared off the coast, and the French admiral Villeneuve, relying on his vast superiority of force, resolved to hazard an

engagement. The allied fleets of France and Spain amounting to thirty-three ships of the line, besides frigates and corvettes, appeared near Cape Trafalgar, ranged in order of battle; Nelson gave immediate orders for an attack, and the English fleet, advancing in two divisions, soon broke through the adverse line. In the heat of the engagement, the heroic British commander fell mortally wounded; but he lived to know that his plans had been crowned with success, twelve of the enemies' ships having struck before he expired. A dreadful storm, which arose just after the battle closed, prevented the English from retaining all the fruits of their victory; but four prizes reached Gibraltar, fifteen French and Spanish vessels were destroyed or sunk; out of the fourteen which fled, six were wrecked, and four taken at a later period by Sir Robert Strachan. The joy which so brilliant a victory diffused throughout England was chastened by grief for the loss of the gallant Nelson; he was honourably interred at the public expense, and monuments were erected to his memory by a grateful nation.

Napoleon consoled himself for his losses at sea by the prospect of gaining some decisive advantage over the Austrians before they could be joined by their Russian auxiliaries. He treated with contempt the threats of Gustavus, king of Sweden; and it must be confessed that the pompous boasts of that eccentric monarch, combined with his vacillating conduct, did not entitle him to much respect. The French army crossed the Rhine, and disregarding the neutrality of the king of Prussia, passed through the Franconian territories of that monarch, and having passed the Danube, began to menace the rear of the Austrians. In spite of the remonstrances of the Archduke Charles, the cabinet of Vienna had entrusted the chief command of their armies to General Mack, whose talents and fidelity were both suspicious. Mack in a short time permitted himself to be surrounded by the French at Ulm; he had ample means for a protracted defence, having twenty thousand men under his command, but through cowardice or incapacity, he consented to a capitulation, by which he and his soldiers became prisoners of war. Intelligence of the battle of Trafalgar came to abate Napoleon's triumph, while the courage of Francis was revived by the arrival of the Russian auxiliaries. The French, pushing forward, made themselves masters of Vienna; but the Russians, encouraged by the presence of their emperor, though they had been severely harassed in Moravia, showed so much spirit, that the allies resolved to hazard an engagement. In the beginning of December, the hostile armies met near the village of Austerlitz; Kutuzoff, who directed the movements of the allies, injudiciously extended his lines, with the intention of outflanking the French; Napoleon at once saw and took advantage of the error, he separated the enemies' central divisions from those of both wings, and pouring his columns through the gaps, overwhelmed his foes in detail. After a desperate resistance, the Russians were

forced to retreat; a large body attempted to escape over a frozen lake, but the French artillery poured a storm of shot from a neighbouring eminence, which broke the ice around the fugitives, and the greater part of them perished in the waters. This severe defeat humbled the Emperor Francis; he accepted peace on the terms dictated by the conqueror; but the Emperor Alexander refused to be a party to the treaty, and returned to his own country.

During these transactions, the selfish conduct of the king of Prussia was as injurious to the allies as it was ultimately ruinous to himself. On the violation of his Franconian territories, he had taken arms, and entered into treaties with Great Britain and Russia; but Napoleon, aware that the prompt movement of a third power might disconcert all his plans, contrived to keep awake the ancient jealousy between the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia, and he finally won the tacit approbation of the latter power by offering Hanover as a bribe. Thus the Prussian sovereign was induced to favour the alarming extension of French power by a share of the plunder of his own allies.

The battle of Austerlitz was a fatal blow to Mr. Pitt; he had been the chief agent in forming the coalition—he had loudly and boldly prognosticated its success, and had despised the warnings of his political adversaries; the failure of all his hopes proved too much for his shattered constitution, and he died at the commencement of the parliamentary session (A.D. 1806). His parliamentary friends procured him a splendid funeral, and the payment of his debts at the national cost, and a monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

SECTION II.—*Progress of Napoleon's Power.*

WHILE Napoleon was establishing his supremacy over the continent of Europe, the marquis of Wellesley was further extending and securing the British Empire in India, by humbling the Mahratta powers. Jesswunt Holkar, a formidable chief, made a vigorous resistance, but he soon found that his soldiers could not cope with the disciplined troops of the company, and was forced to beg a peace. He obtained better terms than he could have expected, from the Marquis Cornwallis, who succeeded the marquis of Wellesley, for the court of directors had found that conquests were very expensive, and that every new acquisition of territory became an additional source of expense. At this time the English nation generally took little interest in the affairs of India; men's minds were more occupied by the change of ministry consequent on the death of Mr. Pitt. It was generally desired that as large a share of the talent of the country as possible, without reference to party, should be included in the new administration; and Lord Grenville, to whom the arrangements were confided, overcame

the king's reluctance to Mr. Fox, and made that gentleman one of the secretaries of state. The first measures of the ministers won them a considerable share of public favour; Lord Henry Petty introduced order into the financial accounts, which were in such a state of confusion as to afford protection to fraud and peculation; Mr. Fox proposed and carried the abolition of the infamous slave trade, which had been so long a disgrace to England and to Christianity. The acquittal of Lord Melville by the House of Peers was received with some surprise; but the ministers appear to have acted impartially in avoiding any interference that might influence the result of an official investigation.

The war was still prosecuted with great vigour; the Dutch colony of the Cape was subdued, and a small force under Sir Home Popham and General Beresford, captured the important city of Buenos Ayres in South America. The provincials, however, disappointed in the hope of obtaining freedom and independence by British aid, took up arms, and the conquerors of Buenos Ayres were forced to capitulate, while a British armament was on its way to maintain the supposed conquest.

Hastening to secure the reward of his perfidy, the king of Prussia occupied Hanover, ceding to the French the duchy of Cleves, and some other districts, as a reward for yielding him the electorate. Gustavus of Sweden joined the British court in remonstrating against this proceeding; but as that monarch's actions were not very consistent with his menaces, the Prussians treated him with contempt. An ally of Britain was about the same time driven from his dominions. During the Austrian war, the king of Naples, encouraged by the withdrawal of the French troops from his territories, and instigated by his queen, an Austrian princess, received an army of Russians and English into his capital. Napoleon, provoked by this unexpected war, declared that the Bourbon dynasty had ceased to reign in Naples, and assembled an army to execute his threats just as the Russian and English forces were withdrawn. The invaders scarcely encountered any resistance, except in Calabria, where the peasants made a brief stand. The king of Naples fled to Sicily, and Napoleon conferred the vacant throne on his brother, Joseph Buonaparte. The peasants in Calabria and the Abruzzi, harassed the French by desultory attacks, and they were supported by Sir Sydney Smith, who commanded the British naval force on the Sicilian station. The queen of Naples and Sir Sydney Smith prevailed on Sir John Stuart, the commander of the British force in Sicily, to transport his troops into Calabria; the natives did not join the invaders in such force as had been expected, and they would have immediately returned, had not an opportunity offered of engaging the French general Regnier. The armies met at Maida, and the French, though greatly superior in number, were completely defeated.

But the victory had no result except to raise the character of the British army, which had been for some time depressed. The French poured large bodies of soldiers into Calabria, and in a short time established their authority over the whole of the south of Italy.

Having procured the throne of Naples for his brother Joseph, Napoleon resolved to place his brother Louis on that of Holland. The Dutch submitted to the change without remonstrance, though their country thus became a mere province of France; but they consoled themselves by reflecting on the mild character of their new sovereign, who was sincerely anxious to promote the prosperity of his subjects. His efforts were, however, controlled by his imperial brother, who was ambitious of becoming the arbiter of Europe, and rendering everything subservient to the military sway of France. Still Napoleon professed an anxious desire for peace, and made overtures to Mr. Fox, for whose character he professed and probably felt the highest veneration. The negotiations were broken off by the refusal of the French to admit the Russians to a share of the treaty, and by Napoleon's perseverance in retaining power inconsistent with the independence of the other European states. While the subject was under discussion, Mr. Fox died, and was succeeded in office by Mr. (afterwards Earl) Grey: the conferences were continued, but M. Talleyrand, who was the representative of France, insinuated that the change in the British cabinet blighted the hope of restoring tranquillity to Europe.

The frustration of this negotiation led to a new war; during the conferences, Napoleon's agents averred that the restoration of Hanover would not be refused; the king of Prussia was indignant at the readiness with which his pretended friend sacrificed his interests; Hanover had been the reward of subserviency, if not treachery, and he now found that he retained the bribe by a very insecure tenure. A more justifiable ground of indignation was the opposition which Napoleon gave to the efforts of the Prussians, in forming an association which might counterbalance the Confederation of the Rhine, an alliance that transferred to France the supremacy over Germany, that had formerly belonged to the house of Austria; finally, it was more than suspected that Napoleon had offered to win the favour of the Russian emperor at the expense of his Prussian ally. Frederic William was further stimulated by his queen and his subjects; the Germans generally were enraged by the military tyranny of the French, especially by the judicial murder of two booksellers, who were shot pursuant to the sentence of a court-martial for circulating libels against Napoleon.

Anger is an evil counsellor to nations as well as individuals; yielding to the suggestions of indignation rather than prudence, the king of Prussia commenced hostilities before his own arrangements were complete, or his allies ready to give him effective assistance; and he intrusted the command of his army to the duke of Brunswick, who

possessed the personal bravery of a soldier, but not the prudence and abilities requisite for a general. Louis, the king's cousin, impetuously advancing to seek the French, encountered a vastly superior force; he was defeated and slain, a calamity that greatly dispirited the Prussian army. This was only the preliminary to the fatal battle of Jena; the Prussians, injudiciously posted and badly commanded, were routed with great slaughter, and what was even worse than defeat, a dispute arose between them and their Saxon allies, which induced the latter to conclude a separate peace with Napoleon. The success of the French was uninterrupted, Berlin opened its gates to the conquerors, and the division of the Prussian army, which had been long preserved unbroken by the heroic exertions of Marshal Blücher, was forced to capitulate. The fugitive king still preserved his courage, relying on the approaching aid of his Russian ally. Napoleon's forces advanced into Poland, where they were joined by many of the inhabitants, who were taught to hope that the French emperor would restore the independence of their native country; but he was incapable of such generous policy, and in after-life, he lamented too late that he sacrificed the hopes of a brave and grateful people to the temporary gain of selfish ambition. The Russians successfully engaged the French at Pultusk, but they were unable to retain their advantages, and were forced gradually to retreat.

Encouraged by his rapid success, Napoleon resolved to crush, if possible, the commercial prosperity of Great Britain; he issued a series of edicts from Berlin, declaring the British islands in a state of blockade, and excluding British manufactures from all the continental ports. Every country that refused obedience to these decrees was threatened with immediate vengeance, and Portugal, so long the faithful ally of England, was marked out as the first victim (A.D. 1807). Great indignation was excited throughout Britain by the French emperor's adoption of this unparalleled system; but it proved eventually more injurious to himself than to his enemies; British manufactures and colonial produce were smuggled to the continent in various ways, and Napoleon was finally compelled to connive at the illicit traffic. But the menaces of the French had roused the spirit of the English people, and complaints were made of the want of vigour and success with which the war was supported. A second expedition against Buenos Ayres, under General Whitelock, disgracefully failed, though it must be confessed that the hatred of the Spanish provincials to the English, as strangers and heretics, would probably have prevented any permanent success in South America. An armament sent against Constantinople, to gratify our Russian ally by enforcing his demands on Turkey, was equally unsuccessful; and an attempt to occupy Egypt, badly contrived, and worse executed, terminated in loss and disgrace. But the ministers might have overcome the unpopularity occasioned by these failures, had they not displeased the king by introducing a bill

for opening the highest dignities of the army and navy to Roman Catholics. His majesty entertained religious objections to the measures, he demanded that the cabinet should not only abandon it for the present, but give a promise that it should not be proposed at any future period. The ministers refused to give a pledge which they regarded as unconstitutional, and resigned their offices. A new administration was formed under the auspices of the Duke of Portland and Mr. Perceval, an appeal was made to the country by a dissolution of parliament, and the tide of popular prejudice ran so strong against the preceding cabinet, that many, if not most of its supporters, were rejected by the electors.

Russia vigorously maintained the war against Turkey, and gained some important advantages. The Turks, enraged by their losses, directed their vengeance against Sultan Selim, whose attempts to introduce European reforms had offended their inveterate prejudices. The Janissaries deposed their unfortunate sovereign, and raised his cousin Mustapha to the throne; but this revolution did not change the fortune of the war, for the Russians soon after gained a signal naval victory off the island of Tenedos.

But the Turkish war did not divert the attention of Alexander from the more important object of checking French ambition. Military operations were renewed during the winter, and a sanguinary battle at Eylau, in which each army lost more than twenty thousand men, led to no decisive result. In some minor engagements the allies had the advantage, but their gains were more than outbalanced by the loss of Dantzic, which, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered to the French. Napoleon, on the fall of Dantzic, hastened to terminate the war by the decisive battle of Friedland; the Russians fought with great bravery, but their generals were inferior in ability and experience to those of the enemy, and they were completely defeated. Königsberg was surrendered immediately after this battle, and the existence of the Prussian monarchy now depended on the discretion or moderation of the conquerors. An armistice having been concluded, Napoleon sought a personal interview with the Russian emperor, and arrangements were soon made for a conference of the two potentates on a raft in the river Niemen. In this and some subsequent interviews, Buonaparte won over the Emperor Alexander to his interests, by stimulating that monarch's ambition for eastern conquest, and promises of support. Peace was restored by the treaty of Tilsit, all sacrifices were made at the expense of the Prussian monarch, by whose distress even his Russian ally did not refuse to profit; and when Frederic ventured to remonstrate, he was contemptuously informed that he owed the preservation of the miserable remnant of his kingdom to Napoleon's personal friendship for Alexander.

The eccentric king of Sweden refused to be included in this paci-

fication, but he was unable to prevent the French from occupying Stralsund and the island of Rugen. Terms were arranged for a peace between Russia and Turkey, but so many points remained open for dispute, that it was manifest war would be renewed at no distant period. The king of Prussia was forced not only to accede to the Berlin decrees, and exclude British manufactures and colonial produce from his dominions, but had also to receive French garrisons into his principal fortresses, and these troops treated the unfortunate Germans with such arrogance and cruelty, that they were almost reduced to despair. Napoleon's power had now nearly touched the summit of its greatness, and had he been contented with what he had already acquired, it might have been permanent, but his restless ambition hurried him soon into an unprincipled contest, which terminated in his overthrow.

SECTION III.—*The French Invasion of Spain.*

AFTER the treaty of Tilsit it was generally believed that Napoleon would endeavour to enforce the Berlin decrees by excluding the British from the navigation of the Sound, and that he would probably avail himself of the Danish navy to execute his old project of an invasion. To prevent such an enterprise, a powerful armament was sent against Denmark, which had hitherto remained neutral in the contest. An imperious demand for the instant surrender of the Danish fleet and naval stores, to be retained as a deposit by the English until the conclusion of the war, being peremptorily rejected, the Danes were briskly attacked by land and sea. After Copenhagen had been furiously bombarded for four days, the Danish court was constrained to submit to the demands of the British, and the fleet was removed, while the indignant people could scarcely be prevented from avenging the national insult even by the presence of a superior force.

The attack on Denmark furnished the Russian emperor with a pretext for fulfilling the promises he made to Napoleon at Tilsit, and breaking off his connexion with Great Britain. He complained in strong language of the disregard which England had ever shown for the rights of neutral powers, and the unscrupulous use that had been made of our naval supremacy, and many of the maritime states seconded his remonstrances. A second fleet was saved from the grasp of the enemy by a less unjustifiable proceeding than the attack on Denmark. Napoleon issued one of his imperious edicts, that "The house of Braganza had ceased to reign," and to enforce it, sent an army to occupy Portugal. The prince regent of that country, at the instigation of the British, sailed with the Portuguese fleet for Rio Janeiro, where he resolved to hold his court until peace was restored.

As a retaliation for the Berlin decrees, the British Government issued orders in council, restraining the trade of neutrals with France, and all countries subservient to its power. Against these regulations the government of the United States of America protested loudly, and their remonstrances assumed a very angry character, which threatened speedy hostilities. An attack made on an American frigate, whose captain refused to submit to having his ship searched by an English vessel of inferior force, was resented as a national insult; a proclamation was issued excluding all armed British ships from the harbours and waters of the United States; and an embargo was laid on British commerce.

While the policy of the orders in council, and the proffered mediation of Austria, to effect the restoration of tranquillity, were warmly discussed in the British parliament, events were occurring in Spain which gave the war an entirely new character and direction.

The annals of the world could scarcely supply a parallel to the picture of degradation which the Spanish court presented at this period. Charles, the imbecile king, was the dupe of a faithless wife and an unprincipled minister; this unworthy favourite had been raised, by the queen's partiality, from an humble station to the highest rank; Godoy, Prince of the Peace, as he was called, had neither abilities for the high office with which he was invested, nor strength of mind to support his elevation; he excluded Ferdinand, the heir-apparent, from all share in the government, and thus provoked the resentment of a prince who was as ambitious of power as he was unfit to possess it. But Ferdinand's evil dispositions were as yet unknown to the Spaniards, and when Godoy attempted to ruin him by an accusation of treason, the people showed such discontent that Charles was forced to consent to his son's liberation. Napoleon won Godoy's support by proposing a partition of the Peninsula, part of which should be assigned to the royal minion, as an independent sovereignty, and he thus obtained the means of pouring a large body of troops into Spain, and occupying the principal fortresses. Charles, intimidated by these proceedings, meditated flight to Spanish America, but finally resolved to resign his crown to Ferdinand (A.D. 1808). By the intrigues of the French, Charles was induced to disavow his abdication, while Ferdinand was led to expect a recognition of his royal title from the Emperor Napoleon. Deceived by such representations, he proceeded to Bayonne, where he was contemptuously informed that, "the Bourbons had ceased to reign;" and on his refusal to resign his claims for the petty kingdom of Etruria, he was guarded as a prisoner. A fierce riot in Madrid, occasioned by preparations for the removal of the Spanish princes to France, was cruelly punished by Murat, who massacred multitudes of the unarmed populace. Soon after, Charles, accompanied by his queen, proceeded to Bayonne, and formally

abdicated his crown in favour of Napoleon; Ferdinand, daunted by intelligence of the massacre at Madrid, pursued the same course; and the French emperor summoned his brother Joseph from the throne of Naples to occupy that of Spain. The Neapolitan kingdom was given to Murat, whose eminent services to the French emperor were not overpaid, even by the splendid donation of a crown. Many of the Spanish nobles tamely acquiesced in this arrangement, but the great bulk of the nation rejected the intruding sovereign, and preparations to maintain Spanish independence were made in the principal provinces. Andalusia took the lead, Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed in Seville, war declared against Napoleon, and a junta, or council, chosen to direct the affairs of the government. A French squadron, which had been stationed in the bay of Cadiz, was forced to surrender to a Spanish flotilla; but this would not have happened if the port had not been at the same time blockaded by the British fleet.

In every province not occupied by French troops, the adult population offered military service to the different juntas; the English sent large supplies of arms and ammunition, and released all their Spanish prisoners of war, a seasonable reinforcement to the patriotic armies. In their first contests with the invaders, the Spaniards obtained considerable success; Marshal Moncey was repulsed from Valencia with great loss, and Marshal Dupont, with eight thousand men, was forced to surrender to the patriot general, Castanos (July 20). On the very day that this unfavourable event occurred, the intrusive monarch made his triumphal entry into Madrid. Joseph Buonaparte, however, had neither the firmness nor courage of his brother Napoleon; the moment he heard of Dupont's surrender, he plundered the treasury and the royal palaces of their most valuable contents, and fled to Burgos.

A bold example of Spanish heroism directed the attention of all Europe to the struggle in the Peninsula. The citizens of Saragossa, distrusting the fidelity of the captain-general of Arragon, deposed him, and chose for their leader Don Joseph Palafox, a nobleman of dauntless courage, though destitute of military experience. Their city was almost destitute of defences, they had only a mere handful of regular soldiers in the garrison, and they had a very limited supply of arms and ammunition. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, they sternly refused to admit the French, and prepared for a desperate resistance. All classes were animated with the same spirit; the monks manufactured gunpowder, and prepared cartridges, the women shared the toil of raising fortifications, even the children lent their feeble aid in such labour as was not beyond their strength. It is not wonderful that the French soldiers were daunted by such an heroic population; after a long and sanguinary contest they abandoned the siege, leaving Saragossa in ruins, but immortalized by the patriotic courage that had enabled its undisciplined citizens to triumph over a regular army.

The spirit of resistance soon extended to Portugal; the people of Oporto rose in a body, seized and imprisoned all the French they could find, and formed a junta under the superintendence of the bishop. A British force, commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, stimulated and protected these patriotic exertions. A French division, posted at Roléia to terrify the insurgents, was driven from its position by the allied forces, and the north of Portugal delivered from the invaders. Marshal Junot collected all the forces at his disposal to drive back the English; he found Sir Arthur Wellesley at Vimiera, and immediately attacked his lines (August 21). After a brief but vigorous struggle, the French were defeated and driven in confusion towards Lisbon. Scarcely had the victory been won, when Sir Arthur Wellesley was superseded by Sir Hew Dalrymple, who concluded a convention with Junot, for the evacuation of Portugal, on terms that were generally regarded as too favourable to the French after their recent defeat.

Whilst Napoleon was pursuing his ambitious designs against Spain, Alexander of Russia was engaged in a war with Sweden, undertaken in an equally unjust and aggressive spirit. The English sent an army under Sir John Moore to assist their ally, but that general, refusing to submit to the dictates of the eccentric, or, perhaps, the insane, Gustavus soon returned home. Though the Swedes fought with great courage, they were unable to resist the overwhelming force of the Russians, especially as the limited resources of Sweden were wasted by Gustavus, in senseless and impracticable enterprises. At length the Swedes grew weary of a sovereign whose conduct threatened the ruin of their country; he was arrested by some of his officers, deposed, and the crown transferred to the duke of Sudermania, who took the title of Charles XIII. (A.D. 1809). The new monarch was forced to purchase peace from Russia by the cession of Finland, and the exclusion of British vessels from the ports of Sweden.

The Spaniards soon found that a central government was necessary to the success of their operations; the different juntas, therefore, chose deputies who formed a supreme junta for the general conduct of the war. The marquis de la Romana, who had commanded a large body of Spaniards employed by the French in Holstein, was enabled to return home with his troops, by British aid, and take a share in the defence of his country. But the want of concert among the Spanish leaders, and of discipline among the soldiers, rendered them unable to cope with the French; they were severely defeated at Durango, Reynosa, and Tudela, and Napoleon soon appeared in Spain at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men (A.D. 1808).

A very exaggerated notion of the capabilities of the Spaniards appears to have been formed by the English ministers. They ordered Sir John Moore to advance with the British forces in Portugal to the

aid of the patriot armies, but do not seem to have sufficiently investigated the obstacles by which his march was impeded. When Sir John Moore entered Spain, he found that the French were everywhere victorious, and that it was hopeless to expect such active co-operation from the Spaniards as would enable him to turn the scale. After some hesitation, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, he retired rather precipitately into Galicia. The English soldiers, in their retreat, displayed great courage whenever they were attacked by the enemy; but in other respects, their conduct was so disorderly that it was stigmatised by the general himself as disgraceful. At length a halt was made at Corunna, where the troops remained until the transports, prepared for their embarkation, could arrive from Vigo. In this position they were attacked by the French; but the English soldiers, though dispirited by their late retreat, and worn down by fatigue, compelled the enemy to retire. Sir John Moore was mortally wounded in this battle, and was buried on the field. The embarkation of the army was very feebly resisted, and though the British gained no honour by the campaign, its conclusion impressed the enemy with greater respect for English patience and valour than they had previously been accustomed to entertain.

At the beginning of the year 1809, the possession of Spain seemed assured to Napoleon, but neither the Spaniards nor the British despaired of final success. The English parliament readily voted the necessary supplies for the defence of Spain and Portugal, and reinforcements were sent to the Peninsula. About the same time, his royal highness the duke of York was accused of having connived at some abuses in the command of the army; he was acquitted by a great majority of the House of Commons, but he deemed it prudent to resign his situation, and Sir David Dundas was appointed commander-in-chief.

Austria once more resolved to try the hazards of war; the Emperor Francis was induced to take this precipitate step by the harsh remonstrances and menaces of Napoleon; taking advantage of the absence of the large body of French troops employed in Spain, the Archduke Charles entered Bavaria and took possession of Munich. But the rapid measures of Buonaparte baffled the Austrian calculations, he speedily collected a large army and defeated the archduke at Eckmuhl, so severely, that he was compelled to cross the Danube. Vienna was thus opened to the conquerors, and Napoleon took possession of that capital. The archduke was still undismayed, he attacked the French in their positions at Asperne and Essling; the battle was very sanguinary and obstinate, it terminated to the advantage of the Austrians, but they had suffered such severe loss that they were unable to profit by their victory. The failure of the Archduke John, in Italy, more than counterbalanced the success of the Austrians at Asperne, and was the chief cause of their final overthrow at Wagram (July 5). It would be

impossible to describe within reasonable limits the various conflicts that terminated in this result; suffice it to say, that the Austrians were driven from all their positions, forced to retreat in confusion, and only saved from total ruin by an armistice.

The Tyrolese and Voralbergers had been transferred to the king of Bavaria by the treaty of Presburg, but their national privileges and immunities had been guaranteed by the articles of pacification. But Maximilian Joseph was as regardless of a compact as his master Napoleon; he violated the Tyrolese constitution without scruple, crushed the peasants with severe taxes, and punished remonstrances as seditious. The Tyrolese seized the opportunity of the Austrian war to raise the standard of revolt; success attended their early operations, and the Bavarians were expelled from the principal towns. A French army entered the country and laid it waste with fire and sword, but the Tyrolese, animated by an heroic peasant named Hoffer, expelled the invaders once more, and secured a brief interval of tranquillity. When the total defeat of the Austrians at Wagram compelled the Emperor Francis to accept peace on any terms, the Tyrolese were assailed by overwhelming forces; they made a desperate resistance, but the French and Bavarian columns penetrated their fastnesses, desolated the land with fire and sword, and punished the leading patriots as rebels. Hoffer was taken prisoner and put to death by the sentence of a court-martial; Mayer, another gallant chieftain, shared the same fate, and the green hills of Tyrol were again subjected to Bavarian tyranny.

Several efforts were made in Germany to shake off the French yoke; Schill, who commanded a regiment in the Prussian service, collected a considerable force and harassed the French detachments in Saxony and Westphalia, but he was defeated and slain by some Dutch and Danish troops, near Stralsund. The duke of Brunswick made a bold effort to recover his hereditary dominions, but after the overthrow of the Austrians he despaired of success, and sought refuge in England. The Archduke Ferdinand invaded Saxony, while Napoleon's brother Jerome trembled for the security of his Westphalian throne, in consequence of the progress of General Kienmayer. But the success of Napoleon in Austria frustrated the exertions of the patriots in the north of Germany, especially as no effort was made to send them support from England.

The attention of the British ministry was occupied by an expedition of a very different nature, for which the most ample preparations were made. A fleet of thirty-seven sail of the line, twenty-nine ships of inferior rate, besides small craft, and an army of forty thousand men, were sent to the island of Walcheren, on the coast of Holland. After many delays, the fort of Flushing was besieged and taken; but Antwerp, which was the great object of attack, had, in the mean time,

been secured, and the commanders despaired of success. Soon afterwards the pestilential climate of Walcheren spread disease through the British army and navy; the greater part of the forces returned to England; the progress of the disease soon rendered the removal of the remainder necessary, and the only result of this costly armament was the destruction of the fortifications of Flushing. Their naval successes in some degree consoled the English for this disappointment; Lord Cochrane destroyed four vessels, forming part of a French squadron, in Basque-roads, and irreparably injured several others; Lord Collingwood was similarly successful in the Mediterranean, and the French were deprived of their remaining colonies in the West Indies.

Some European islands, especially those called the Ionian, were added to the British dominions, a proceeding which gave some offence to the new sultan of Turkey, Mahmoud II., who had been elevated to the throne on the deposition of his cousin Selim and his half-brother Mustapha. But the progress of the Russian arms induced Mahmoud to court an alliance with Great Britain, and jealousy of the same power inclined the Persian shah to renew his former friendly connexions with England.

Though the Russian emperor did not join Napoleon in the war against Austria, he received a share of the provinces which Francis was forced to resign, in order to purchase peace. But though the Austrian emperor was compelled to make many great and painful sacrifices, he obtained more favourable conditions than had been anticipated; and Napoleon received general praise for the moderation with which he used his victory. The secret cause of this affected generosity was subsequently revealed, and proved that it resulted from a plan for more effectually securing his despotism over Europe.

After the retreat of the British from Corunna, the French seemed to have permanently secured possession of Spain. Though the marquis de la Romana and the duke del Infantado held out against the invaders, yet Saragossa was taken, in spite of the heroic resistance of its inhabitants; and Soult having invaded Portugal, made himself master of Oporto. Victor also advanced towards the same country, and, on his march, overthrew the Spanish army of Estremadura. But Oporto was soon recovered by a British force under Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the removal of a large body of the French to take part in the Austrian war revived the courage of the Spaniards. Sir Arthur Wellesley, believing it possible to strike an important blow before the French grand army could be reinforced, boldly, and perhaps rashly, advanced into Spain. He was attacked at Talavera (July 28), by the united forces of Jourdan, Victor, and Sebastiani, who were rather the masters than the servants of the nominal king, Joseph Buonaparte. British valour has rarely been more nobly displayed than in the engagement; the French were beaten back at every point, and had the

Spaniards displayed the same courage and zeal as their allies, the retreat might have been changed into a total rout. The misconduct of the Spaniards, indeed, deprived the English of the chief fruits of their victory; they were soon compelled to act only on the defensive, and to retreat slowly towards the frontiers of Portugal. Nor were the patriots more successful in other quarters; they did not, however, despair, and the supreme junta published a spirited proclamation, animating the national courage, and convoking an assembly of the cortes or estates of the realm, to form a fixed constitutional government.

The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the king's accession diffused joy through England. About the same time the death of the duke of Portland, and some dissensions in the cabinet, led to a partial change in the ministry. Mr. Perceval was appointed premier, and several angry debates ensued in both Houses of Parliament. The opponents of the ministry failed in procuring a condemnation of the Walcheren expedition; but, during the discussion, party spirit raged with great violence, and Sir Francis Burdett, having assailed the privileges of the House of Commons in very unmeasured terms, was ordered to be committed to the Tower. He declared his intention to resist the warrant, but was arrested and conveyed to the Tower by a military force. The soldiers, on their return, were assaulted by the mob, and a riot ensued in which several lives were lost. At the close of the session, the popular baronet was liberated, as a matter of course; he brought actions for what he regarded as an illegal arrest, against the speaker and the serjeant-at-arms, but the court of King's Bench disallowed his claims and supported the privileges of the House of Commons.

These ebullitions of party violence did not weaken the British cabinet, though they induced the enemies of England to believe the country on the verge of a convulsion. France was apparently tranquil, and Napoleon revealed the secret of his moderation at Vienna, by procuring a divorce from the Empress Josephine, the faithful companion of his former fortunes, and offering his hand to the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the Emperor Francis (A.D. 1810). This marriage, which seemed permanently to establish Buonaparte's power, became eventually the principal cause of his ruin, for it alarmed all the Northern powers, and especially the Russians, who justly feared that Napoleon, secured by the Austrian alliance, would strive to make himself absolute master of Europe. His arbitrary conduct to Holland justified these suspicions; he removed his brother from the throne of that country, and annexed it as a province to France.

The disputes respecting the trade of neutrals, between England and America, began to assume a very hostile aspect, and it was feared that war could not long be delayed. But public attention was diverted

from this subject to the struggle in Portugal, where Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had recently been created Lord Wellington, nobly sustained the honour of the English arms. The French army, strongly reinforced, was placed under the command of Massena, prince of Essling; the fortresses of Astorga, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Almeida, were captured; Lord Wellington retired slowly before a superior force, and Massena flattered himself that he would soon obtain possession of Lisbon. His presumption was first checked at Busaco, where the British made a stand and inflicted a severe check on their assailants; but the hopes of the French were completely destroyed when they saw Lord Wellington take up his position in the formidable lines of Torres Vedras. Not daring to advance, and ashamed to retreat, Massena remained for more than a month watching his cautious adversary, and losing thousands of his men by disease or desertion. He at length retreated to Santarem, but though he received a large reinforcement, he did not venture to resume offensive operations.

A desultory war was maintained in Spain; the patriot armies were usually defeated in regular engagements, but the invaders were severely harassed by the incessant attacks of the guerilla parties; convoys were intercepted, stragglers cut off, and outposts exposed to constant danger. Cadiz, the residence of the supreme junta and the seat of government, was besieged, but the strength of its works and the ease with which relief was obtained by sea, prevented the French from making any progress in its reduction. The cortes assembled in this city and framed a form of constitutional government, which, however, had many violent opponents among the higher orders of the nobility and clergy.

Most of the French and Dutch colonies in the Indian seas were subdued, under the direction of Lord Minto, the governor-general of India, a nobleman whose judicious administration of affairs in the East, not only extended the British dominions in the East, but suppressed a dangerous mutiny in the presidency of Madras, occasioned by the adoption of economical regulations, which curtailed the allowances made to officers in the Company's service.

In the north of Europe, little of moment, in war, occurred; the Danes and Russians had some trivial naval engagements with English vessels; but Sweden was the theatre of a most extraordinary revolution, which, for a time, added her to the enemies of England. The crown prince died suddenly, not without some suspicion of poison, and the Swedish senate tendered the succession to Charles John Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's most celebrated marshals, who had won their favour by the leniency and prudence he displayed some years before in the North of Germany. Bernadotte accepted the offer, to the secret annoyance of Napoleon, who had long been jealous of his military fame and independent spirit.

Civilized Europe might now be said to be arrayed against Great Britain, but the spirit of its inhabitants did not sink. Its sovereign, afflicted by grief for the loss of his favourite daughter, was seized by the disease under which he had formerly suffered, and fell into a state of mental derangement, from which he never afterwards recovered (A.D. 1811). The prince of Wales was appointed regent, under restrictions similar to those proposed by Mr. Pitt in 1789, but these were subsequently removed when it was found that he intended steadily to pursue his father's system of policy.

It was not long before Lord Wellington reaped the fruits of his prudent arrangements for the defence of Portugal. Massena was forced to retreat from Santarem, but before he evacuated the country, he ravaged it in the most frightful manner, destroying many noble monuments of architecture in mere wantonness. The British parliament voted the sum of one hundred thousand pounds for the relief of the Portuguese, and a liberal subscription for the same purpose was formed by private liberality. Almeida was the only town in Portugal retained by the French; it was blockaded by the allies, and Massena's efforts to relieve it led to the battle of Fuentes d'Onor. The engagement was severe, but British valour triumphed; the garrison of Almeida, disheartened by the defeat of their countrymen, evacuated the place, and Portugal was delivered from the presence of an enemy.

The liberation of Spain was a more difficult task, and it was rendered still more so by the surrender of Badajoz to Marshal Soult, after a very brief and ineffective defence. Lord Wellington sent Sir William Beresford to recover this important place, but the advance of the French from Seville compelled that general to raise the siege. The united forces of the British and Spanish encountered the French at Albuera, and gained an important victory; Badajoz was once more invested, but the approach of Soult on one side and Marmont on the other, induced Lord Wellington to retire beyond the Tagus. But in his anxiety to save Badajoz, Soult had so much weakened the force which blockaded Cadiz, that the Spaniards resolved to hazard an expedition against the invading armies in Andalusia. General La Pena, aided by the British lieutenant-general, Graham, undertook to direct these operations, and great hopes were entertained of success. But though Graham obtained a brilliant victory at Barossa, over Marshal Victor, no efforts were made to follow up his success. In the other Spanish provinces, the patriotic armies were still more unfortunate; Mina, indeed, from his mountains, threatened and harassed the invaders, but the other Spanish leaders showed themselves equally deficient in courage and conduct. Neither did all the expected advantages result from the assembling of the cortes; they prepared, indeed, a constitutional code, which, however, was scarcely suited to the Spanish people; but they maintained the onerous restrictions on the

colonial trade, and thus gave deep offence to the South American provinces, and drove them to organize plans for self-government.

In other quarters the war was more favourable to British interests; the island of Java was wrested from the Dutch; several flotillas were destroyed by English frigates on the Italian seas, and an attempt made by the Danes to recover the island of Anholt, in the Baltic, was defeated by the gallant garrison. Sweden could scarcely be said to be at war with Great Britain; Bernadotte soon discovered that subserviency to France was inconsistent with the interests of his adopted country, and he secretly entered into negotiations with the Russian emperor for restoring their mutual independence. But Alexander was still too deeply engaged in pursuing the favourite policy of the czars, and establishing the supremacy of Russia on both sides of the Black Sea, at the expense of Turkey and Persia. His success was far from answering his expectations; the wild tribes of the Caucasus severely harassed the invaders of Asiatic Turkey; and though Kutusoff was more successful on the European side, his acquisitions were obtained by a very disproportionate expenditure of blood and treasure. The disorganized state of the Turkish provinces prevented the sultan from effectively defending his dominions; in most of them a military aristocracy had usurped the chief power of the state, and in Egypt especially, the Mameluke Beys acted as independent princes. Mohammed Ali, pacha of Egypt, finding that the beys would not submit to his power, and fearing the hazards of civil war, invited them to a banquet, where they were all ruthlessly massacred. The sultan applauded this perfidy, but ere long he found Mohammed Ali a more dangerous subject than the turbulent lords whom he had removed.

The mental disease of George III. showed no symptoms of improvement, and as the time approached when the restrictions imposed on the authority of the prince regent would expire, some anxiety was felt about the probable fate of the ministry. But the prince regent had become reconciled to the cabinet, and after a faint effort to gain the support of lords Grey and Grenville, it was resolved that no change should be made in the government (A.D. 1812). At a later period in the year, negotiations were resumed, in consequence of the murder of Mr. Perceval; the premier was shot in the lobby of the House of Commons, by Bellingham, a merchant, who believed that the ministers had shown indifference to his fancied claims on the Russian government. After some delay, the old cabinet was re-constructed, under the auspices of the earl of Liverpool, and the plans for forming a united administration was abandoned.

Lord William Bentinck, the British minister in Sicily, strenuously exerted himself to remedy the evils which the imbecility of the king and the tyranny of the queen had introduced into the government of that island. He succeeded in procuring the establishment of a consti-

tution similar to that of Britain; and the island began to enjoy peace and prosperity in a greater degree than had been experienced for several centuries.

A change in the Spanish constitution revived the courage of the nation; a new regency, the promulgation of the constitutional code, and various reforms in the different branches of the administration, gave fresh spirit to the Spaniards, and inspired hopes of final success. Lord Wellington opened the campaign with the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo; the capture of this important fortress was followed by that of Badajoz, but the victors suffered severe loss at both places. Wellington, who had been created an earl for these exploits, next marched against Marmont, and took the important city of Salamanca. Marmont, strengthened by large reinforcements, hoped not only to defeat the British, but to intercept their retreat. As he extended his lines, for this purpose, Wellington seized the favourable opportunity, and, pouring his whole force on the weakened divisions, gained the most complete victory that the allies had yet won in the Peninsula. Indeed if the Spaniards had displayed the same energy as the British and the Portuguese, Marmont's entire army would have been ruined. Still the immediate results of the battle of Salamanca were very great; Madrid was evacuated by the intrusive king Joseph; the blockade of Cadiz was raised; and the city of Seville was taken by Colonel Skerret and the Spanish general La Cruz.

The failure of the British at the siege of Burgos, the want of concert in the Spanish councils, and the great reinforcements received by the French, compelled Wellington to resign the fruits of his victory; he retired leisurely to the frontiers of Portugal, and firmly waited an opportunity for renewing his efforts. But events in other parts of the globe were producing the most important results in favour of Spanish independence; the South American colonies, alarmed by an earthquake which was superstitiously believed to be a visitation of Providence, returned to their allegiance, and the Russian emperor prepared to measure his strength with the colossal power of Napoleon.

SECTION IV.—*The Russian War.*

No long time after the conclusion of the peace of Tilsit, Alexander began to doubt the prudence of the compact he had made with the French emperor, and the subsequent marriage of Napoleon to an Austrian princess gave him fresh grounds of alarm. The Austrian emperor, however, was not very sincerely attached to his son-in-law; Napoleon had given his infant son the title of king of Rome, a very plain intimation of his design to retain his hold on Italy. The interests of his subjects, many of whom were almost ruined by the suspension

of the trade with Great Britain, compelled Alexander to seek for some relaxation of the restrictive system established by the Berlin decrees; but Napoleon would not abandon his favourite policy, and the discussions between the courts of St. Petersburg and Paris began to assume an angry and even hostile tone. Both parties, however, professed an anxious desire for peace, and Napoleon even made overtures to the British government, but as he refused to restore Spain to its legitimate sovereign, or to withdraw his troops from Prussia, negotiations were fruitless, and both sides prepared for war.

Alexander entered into alliance with Sweden and England: Napoleon arrayed under his banners the military strength of western and southern Europe. But the selfishness of the French emperor in the very outset deprived him of the best security for success; to secure the aid of Austria, he refused to restore the independence of Poland, and thus lost the hearts of a brave and enthusiastic race of warriors, who would have powerfully aided his advance, or effectually covered his retreat. Trusting to the vast number of his victorious legions, Napoleon crossed the Niemen, routed a division of Cossacks at Kowno, and directed his march to the capital of Lithuania. The Russians retired before the French deliberately, wasting the country as they retreated. Several sharp battles were fought without any important result; but the hopes of the Russians were raised by the conclusion of a treaty with the Turks, which enabled them to direct all their energies to repel the invaders. Napoleon with his main body directed his march towards Moscow, while a large division of his forces menaced the road to St. Petersburg. The Russians repelled the latter, but the main force of the invaders advanced to Smolensko, which was justly regarded as the bulwark of Moscow. A dreadful battle was fought under the walls of Smolensko; it terminated in favour of the French, but they purchased their victory very dearly, and the Russians made an orderly retreat.

Kutusoff now assumed the command of the Russians, and resolved to hazard another battle for the protection of Moscow; he fixed upon a position near the village of Borodino, and there firmly awaited the enemy. The battle was furious and sanguinary, nearly seventy thousand of the combatants fell without giving to either side a decisive victory. The Russians indeed maintained their ground; but the French having been joined by new reinforcements, Kutusoff was forced to retreat and abandon Moscow to its fate. This ancient capital of the czars is revered by the Russians, as Jerusalem was by the Jews; they give it the fond name of Mother Moscow, and regard it as the sanctuary of their nation. But when the invaders approached, the citizens resolved not only to abandon their beloved metropolis, but to consign it to the flames. Napoleon entered Moscow, and took up his residence in the Kremlin, the ancient palace of the czars; but while he was

holding a council, fires broke out in various parts of the city, and though many of the incendiaries were shot, it was found impossible to check the conflagration.

When the greater part of the city was destroyed, its stores consumed, and all supplies cut off, Napoleon found himself in a very embarrassing position. With great reluctance he gave orders for a retreat, and the French obeyed with so much precipitation, that they were unable to complete the demolition of Moscow. Before the fugitives had proceeded far on their route, they began to experience the horrors of a Russian winter; thousands became the victims of cold and hunger, while their pursuers, taking courage from their calamities, harassed them severely at every step. It had been Napoleon's intention to make a stand at Smolensko, but the magnitude of his losses, the disorganized state of his army, and the increasing want of provisions, rendered such a course impossible. Once more the French had to undertake a perilous march, amid the rigours of the severest winter ever known, pursued by enraged enemies, deprived of food, of clothing, and of shelter. Language fails to describe the horrors of such a retreat; every hour added to the miseries of the sufferers; they lost the discipline of soldiers, and almost the semblance of men. The passage of the Borodino was one of the most terrific scenes recorded in history; in their eagerness to place the river between themselves and their pursuers, the French rushed in a disorderly crowd over the bridges, under a heavy fire of artillery from the heights behind them. Eight thousand were killed or drowned in this calamitous passage, and long before all had crossed over, Napoleon ordered the bridges to be set on fire, abandoning twelve thousand of his followers to the mercy of the irritated Russians. Napoleon at length resolved to provide for his personal security, and fled to Paris, where indeed some revolutionary attempts rendered his presence necessary; the miserable remnant of his once mighty host found a precarious shelter in Poland.

In the mean time Great Britain was engaged in active hostilities with the United States. The Americans twice invaded Canada, but were defeated; they were more successful at sea, where the superiority of their frigates in size and weight of metal to the British vessels of the same denomination, secured their victory in some engagements between single ships. But this war attracted comparatively but little attention: every mind was too deeply occupied with the great struggle on the Continent of Europe.

The domestic affairs of England, though of importance, did not divert attention from the contest with Napoleon. An unfortunate publicity was given to the discords between the prince regent and his consort; a bill for emancipating the Catholics was rejected, after having passed several stages, in the House of Commons, and the charter of the East India Company was renewed for twenty years.

Notwithstanding his recent reverses, Napoleon found that he still possessed the confidence of the French nation, a large conscription was ordered to supply the losses of the late campaign; and the emperor, having provided for the internal security of his dominions, hastened to the north of Europe, where he had to encounter the hostility of a new enemy.

It was with great reluctance that the king of Prussia sent an army to serve under Napoleon, and the officers and soldiers of the contingent were far from being anxious for the success of the cause in which they were engaged. During the retreat one Prussian corps separated itself from the division to which it was attached, and concluded a convention of neutrality; as the Russians advanced, the Prussian monarch took courage to assert his independence, and he entered into alliance with Alexander. But notwithstanding his recent losses, Napoleon had assembled an army numerically superior to those of his adversaries; in three sanguinary battles the French gained the advantage, but they were unable to obtain a decided victory; and Napoleon, alarmed by the magnitude of his losses, and the obstinacy of his enemies, consented to an armistice. During the truce the British government encouraged the allies by large subsidies, and the aid of Sweden was purchased not only by money, but by a promise to aid that power in the acquisition of Norway. But what was of far greater importance, the emperor of Austria was induced to abandon the cause of his son-in-law, and take an active part in the confederation for restraining the power of France.

Napoleon, establishing his head-quarters at Dresden, commenced a series of vigorous operations against his several foes. They were at first successful; but the tide of fortune turned; several of his divisions were defeated, the Bavarians joined the allies, and at length the baffled emperor retired to Leipsic. Under the walls of this ancient city the battle was fought which decided the fate of Europe (Oct. 18). While the result of the engagement was yet undecided, the Saxon troops in the French service deserted in a body to the allies, and the position thus abandoned was immediately occupied by the Swedish forces. Napoleon's soldiers, driven from their lines in every direction, were compelled to seek shelter in Leipsic, but, as the city was incapable of defence, a further retreat became necessary. The French emperor gave the requisite orders, but did not wait to see them executed; the evacuation of the city was not completed when the allies forced an entrance; the French, entangled in the streets, suffered very severely, and many were drowned as they crowded over the narrow bridge, which was their only path of safety. The bridge was blown up before the whole of the fugitives could pass, and this obstruction of the retreat swelled the number of the slain and the captives.

The battle of Leipsic liberated Germany; Napoleon fled to France, his followers were severely harassed in their retreat, especially as the

Bavarians made a vigorous effort to intercept them at Hanau; their sufferings were very great, and multitudes were made prisoners by the allied armies, as they advanced to the Rhine. Bernadotte was naturally reluctant to join in the meditated invasion of France, but he undertook the task of expelling the enemy from the circle of Lower Saxony. At his approach, the Hanoverians eagerly ceased the opportunity of delivering themselves from a foreign yoke, and returning once more under the paternal government of the Guelphs. The flame of independence spread to Holland, and kindled even the cold bosoms of the Dutch. Insurrections broke out in the principal towns, the hereditary claims of the house of Orange were rapturously acknowledged, and when the stadtholder arrived from England, he found the Hollanders eager, not only to acknowledge his former power, but to extend it by conferring on him the title of royalty.

While the allies were thus triumphant in Germany, Wellington was now gloriously occupied in the liberation of Spain. Early in the spring, he concentrated his forces near Ciudad Rodrigo, and by a series of able movements, compelled the French not only to abandon their positions on the Douro, but to retire beyond the Ebro. Marshal Jourdan, who exercised the real authority, for Joseph was king only in name, resolved to make one vigorous effort for the maintenance of the French power, and chose a strong position near Vittoria as the theatre of a decisive engagement. The allied army advanced with an eagerness that ensured success; the heights that protected the hostile lines were successively stormed, and at length the French were forced to retreat in such disorder, that they abandoned their artillery, baggage, and military chest. In the east of Spain the allies were less successful; Sir John Murray, on the approach of Marshal Suchet, abandoned the siege of Tarragona with unnecessary precipitation; but the arrival of Lord William Bentinck prevented the enemy from profiting by this partial success.

When the news of the battle of Vittoria reached Napoleon, he sent Marshal Soult from Germany to take the command of the army in Spain, where Pampeluna and St. Sebastian had been invested by Wellington, now raised to the dignity of marquis. Soult's operations were vigorous, but unsuccessful; his forces were unable to make any impression on the British lines, and so severe was their repulse, that they fled to their own frontiers. St. Sebastian was soon after taken by storm, but not without a very severe loss to the conquerors, and the British now prepared to invade France.

The allies crossed the Bidassoa, and advanced slowly but steadily towards Bayonne: Soult showed great courage and talent in his arrangements, but his efforts were foiled by the superior valour of the British soldiers, and two regiments of Dutch and Germans quitting his lines, went over to the camp of the allies. Spain was now free,

but the efforts of the enlightened portion of the cortes to secure its future happiness, by the establishment of a constitutional government, were frustrated by the interested opposition of the clergy, and the ignorant bigotry of the people.

The war between Great Britain and the United States continued to be maintained with the obstinacy that characterizes the quarrels between "foes who once were friends;" but it was not productive of any important event. The Americans were unsuccessful in their repeated invasions of Canada, but they established their naval superiority on the lakes, while the honour of the British flag was nobly maintained in the engagement between the frigates Chesapeake and Shannon.

The memorable year 1814 opened with the invasion of France; the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian armies forced an entrance through the eastern frontiers, while Wellington was making an alarming progress on the western side. Never, in the hours of his greatest success, did Napoleon display more promptitude and ability; but he had beaten his enemies into the art of conquering, and even partial success was injurious, because it inspired hopes which prevented him from embracing the proffered opportunities of negotiation. Several furious but indecisive battles were fought; the allied armies had moved at too great a distance from each other, and it was not until they had suffered severely for their error, that they learned the necessity of a combined plan of operations. But in other quarters the success of the allies was more decided; Bernadotte completed the liberation of the north of Germany, and not only intimidated the Danish court into an abandonment of the French alliance, but enforced its consent to the transfer of Norway; thence he marched to the Netherlands, where the allies had made considerable progress, though General Graham had been baffled, with much loss, in an attempt to surprise Bergen-op-Zoom.

But Napoleon was much more alarmed by the progress of Wellington in the south-west of France. The English general having driven the French from their posts, crossed the Adour, and invested the citadel of Bayonne. As he advanced, the old partisans of the Bourbons began to revive, the exiled family was proclaimed, and the white flag hoisted at Bordeaux. More mortifying was the defection of Murat; eager to secure his crown, the king of Naples entered into a secret treaty with Austria, and lent his aid in the expulsion of the French from Italy.

But in the mean time the fate of France was decided; Napoleon moved his main army eastwards, hoping to intimidate the allies into a retreat, by threatening their communications. Blucher and Prince Schwartzemberg immediately decided on marching to Paris, and having defeated the forces of Marmont and Mortier, who guarded the road, soon came in sight of that metropolis. The outworks that defended Paris were stormed, and the intimidated citizens hastened to secure

their persons and property by a capitulation. The allied sovereigns, Frederic and Alexander, made a triumphant entry into the city, (March 31), and were hailed as liberators by the fickle populace.

When Napoleon heard that the Austrians had effected a junction with the Prussians, he hasted back to defend his capital, but before he reached Fontainebleau the capitulation had been signed, and a provisional government installed, without any regard to his authority. On the 2nd of April he was formally deposed; and on the 6th of the same month, Louis XVIII. was invited to ascend the throne of his ancestors. A constitutional charter was framed for the protection of the French people, and Napoleon was promised the sovereignty of the island of Elba, and a pension. Before intelligence of these events was received in the south, a sanguinary battle had been fought between the armies of Soult and Wellington at Toulouse, which ended in the complete discomfiture of the former; but the British general sincerely lamented a triumph which had been purchased by a useless expenditure of human life.

On the 3rd of May, Louis XVIII. returned from his tedious exile, and landed at Calais. The preliminaries of a general peace were signed at Paris; and it was arranged that the details and the adjustment of the claims of the different European princes should be referred to a future convocation at Vienna.

SECTION V.—*History of Europe from the dethronement of Napoleon to the conclusion of the Treaty of Vienna.*

BEFORE his final overthrow, Napoleon liberated the captive Ferdinand, well aware that Spain would have little reason to rejoice in the restoration of such a sovereign. No sooner had he obtained his freedom than he annulled all the proceedings of the cortes, re-established the old despotism with all its abuses, and even revived the horrors of the inquisition. Several of those who had most strenuously resisted the French invasion were punished by imprisonment or exile, their attachment to constitutional freedom being deemed to outweigh their former services. The allies could not be blamed for the perfidy and tyranny of Ferdinand, but they incurred just censure by aiding in the forcible annexation of Norway to Sweden, against the earnest remonstrances of the inhabitants, and they displayed little policy in uniting Belgium to Holland, for the countries were opposed to each other in their religious creeds and commercial interests.

The American war was protracted more in a spirit of revenge than sound policy; a sanguinary but indecisive struggle took place in Canada; an English armament captured Washington, the capital of the United States, and destroyed the public buildings; but similar

attacks on Baltimore and New Orleans were repulsed with great loss. Peace was at length concluded at Ghent, and we may confidently hope that hostilities will never again be renewed between two nations so closely united by the ties of language, religion, and blood. Before this war was terminated, the Emperor Alexander, and Frederic, king of Prussia, accompanied by their most distinguished marshals and statesmen, personally visited England, and were received with great enthusiasm. But the convulsion produced in the commercial world by the sudden transition from war to peace, was necessarily followed by numerous bankruptcies and great distress, which threw a shade of gloom over the general joy.

The conduct of Louis XVIII. immediately after his accession to the throne, was calculated to win popularity; but the establishment of a censorship over the press, his anxiety to restore the power and influence of the clergy, and to remunerate the loyal emigrants who had shared the calamities of his exile, gave general offence, and revived the courage of the friends of Napoleon. A secret conspiracy was formed for restoring the emperor, and he, dreading that the allied powers, whose plenipotentiaries were assembled at Vienna, would remove him from Elba to a place of greater security, resolved to make a bold effort for the recovery of his throne. Accompanied only by 1100 men, he landed at Frejus (March 1, 1815), and advanced into the interior of the country. At first he received little encouragement; but being joined by the garrison of Grenoble, and supported by secret promises of aid from other divisions of the army, he proceeded to Lyons, where he held his court. Louis made a spirited appeal to the loyalty of the French nation; but Marshal Ney having set the example of defection, all the soldiery declared in favour of the emperor, and Louis, compelled to abandon his kingdom, sought safety in Ghent.

Though the allied powers had shown a great want of vigilance and caution in not preventing, as they easily might have done, the escape of Napoleon, they were not for a moment undetermined in resolving on the course of action rendered necessary by that event. A proclamation was issued by the congress of Vienna, denouncing him as the common enemy of Europe, and excluding him from the pale of civil and social relations. A treaty was concluded, by which each of the four powers, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England, engaged to maintain an army of 150,000 men until they had rendered Napoleon incapable of disturbing the tranquillity of Europe; and the Prussians and the English at once began to assemble their forces on the northern frontiers of France.

Napoleon, disappointed in his hope of procuring the acquiescence of the allied powers in his usurpation, prepared boldly to meet the danger by which he was menaced. He gratified the vanity of the Parisians by the splendid ceremonial of proclaiming a new constitu-

tion in the Champ de Mars, and at the same time he made the most vigorous exertions to recruit his armies and supply his military stores. In a short time, far shorter than had been anticipated, his troops were ready for action, and instead of waiting for the attack of his enemies, he resolved to become the aggressor. The first brunt of the war fell on the Prussians, who were driven from their advanced posts. Blücher immediately concentrated his forces at Ligny; while the duke of Wellington, with the British and subsidiary troops, occupied a parallel position at Quatre Bras. The main body of the French attacked the Prussian lines, and, after a sanguinary battle, compelled Blücher to abandon Ligny (June 16); but his retreat was effected in good order, and in a very few hours his troops were ready to renew the fight. In the mean time the British had defeated the enemy at Quatre Bras, but the retreat of the Prussians rendered a corresponding movement necessary on their part; and Wellington led his army to the memorable position of Waterloo.

Flushed by his recent victory over the Prussians, Napoleon, on the morning of the 18th of June, appeared in front of the English position, and commenced an attack, in full assurance of success. His first effort was directed against Hougomont, a post which protected the English right; but after a murderous conflict, the French were baffled, and the place maintained. The emperor's next effort was to turn the left wing so as to intercept the communication with the Prussians, but this still more signally failed; Sir Thomas Picton's division, though with the loss of their brave commander, repulsed the French infantry, while the Scotch Greys, aided by a corps of dragoons, routed the French cavalry, particularly the cuirassiers, who fondly deemed themselves invincible.

A third great effort was made against the centre, and at first some advantages were gained. The French seized the farm of La Haye Sainte, which covered the position, and poured masses of cavalry and infantry on the British lines. But Wellington, forming his troops in hollow squares, maintained a steady resistance, and the efforts of the baffled assailants gradually relaxed. At this moment the Prussian troops began to appear on the right flank of the French, and to take a share in the engagement. Napoleon now mustered his guard for one decisive effort, but did not, as was expected, place himself at their head. The imperial guard advanced under a perfect storm of artillery and musketry from the British lines, which had been gradually advanced after the defeat of the former attacks. They attempted to deploy, under this formidable fire, but their lines were shaken, and they began to fall into confusion. Wellington seized the decisive moment to charge; the effect was instantaneous, not a single French soldier remained to cross a bayonet; and as the British pressed forward, the retreat was soon a perfect rout. As the English were too much engaged to pursue the fugitives, that duty devolved upon the Prussians,

and they executed it with the vigour of men who felt that they had the wrongs of their country to avenge. Out of the entire French army not more than forty thousand men could again be embodied.

Napoleon continued his melancholy flight to Paris, where he soon found that his reign was at an end. He abdicated the crown in favour of his son, but while his resignation was received, the acknowledgment of Napoleon II. was evaded. He lingered so long in the hope of some favourable change, that his opportunities of escape were cut off, and he was forced to seek refuge on board a British man-of-war. After some discussion respecting his destination, it was resolved that he should be imprisoned for life, in the island of St. Helena; and to this rock, in the Atlantic Ocean, he was sent, with a small train of attendants.

Murat's fate was still more calamitous; no sooner had he heard of Napoleon's landing in France, than he renounced his alliance with Austria, and endeavoured to unite all the Italians in a league against that power. His efforts completely failed; his forces were routed at Ferrara, the cowardly Neapolitans could not be induced to make any effective resistance, and finally, he fled, disguised, from his kingdom. His restless ambition induced him, with only thirty followers, to make an effort to recover his dominions; he landed on the Calabrian coast, but he was made a prisoner, and shot by sentence of a court-martial.

After the victory at Waterloo, the Prussians and the British advanced towards Paris, without encountering any serious opposition. The two legislative chambers were reluctant to restore the king, at least unconditionally, but their appeal to the nation was disregarded, and, on the nearer approach of the allies, a convention was concluded by which Louis was restored. A few of Napoleon's most strenuous supporters were excluded from the act of amnesty; Ney and Labedo-yère were shot, but Lavalette escaped by the aid of his wife and some British officers.

The future peace of Europe now depended on the Congress of Vienna, but the decrees of this body were guided more by the convenience of sovereigns than the wishes of nations. The ancient republics of Venice and Genoa were abolished, the territories of the former were given to Austria, while the latter was assigned to the king of Sardinia; Poland was annexed to the territories of Russia, and the Prussian dominions enlarged at the expense of Saxony. When these arrangements were completed, the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, entered into a solemn compact called the Holy Alliance; the professed object of the treaty was to preserve the peace of Europe, on the principles which God, in his revelation, has pointed out as the source of tranquillity and prosperity. But the contracting parties understood by these principles the maintenance of despotic power, and made their engagement a pretext for resisting the efforts made subsequently, by several nations, to establish constitutional freedom.

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF THE PEACE

SECTION I.—*State of Europe at the close of the war.*

WHEN the sanguinary and expensive wars arising out of the French revolution terminated, the different nations of Europe that shared in the contest were so enfeebled and harassed, that they sank at once into inactive repose. But the transition from war to peace made such a complete change in all commercial transactions, that credit was shaken, trade injured, manufactures checked, and thousands suddenly deprived of employment. These evils were more sensibly felt in England than in any other country; for while the tide of war swept over every other European state, England, protected by her insular situation, enjoyed internal tranquillity, and was enabled to sell with profit not only her manufactures, but her agricultural produce, to less favoured countries. Peace permitted the people of the Continent to supply themselves with many of the articles which they had previously been forced to import; and the jealousy with which the continental sovereigns began to regard the commercial prosperity of England, induced them to encourage native manufactures; hence the demand for British goods and produce suddenly slackened, and distress was felt by every portion of the community. Several serious riots occurred in the agricultural districts; but still more alarming symptoms of dissatisfaction were displayed in the metropolis, where meetings were held under pretence of procuring a reform in the constitution, but which threatened to end in revolution. Several strong restrictive statutes were passed by parliament, and energetic, if not severe, measures adopted by the government; it was not, however, until the commercial crisis had passed over, and the embarrassments of transition disappeared, that the public tranquillity was restored.

There were not, however, wanting more cheering occurrences which relieved the gloom; the piratical states of Algiers were humbled; Lord Exmouth, with a united squadron of English and Dutch, attacked the city of Algiers, destroyed its fortifications, and compelled the Dey to abolish Christian slavery (A.D. 1816). Great joy was also diffused by the marriage of the Princess Charlotte, the pride and the hope of England, to Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg. But the expectations of the nation were fatally disappointed; the princess died on the 6th of November, 1817, after having been delivered of a dead child. The national sorrow was general and profound, and there never was an occasion in which the British nation showed greater regret for the loss

of an individual. But this was only the beginning of a series of deaths in the royal family; Queen Charlotte died during the ensuing year, she was soon followed to the grave by the duke of Kent, and finally, the aged monarch George III., without having enjoyed one lucid interval during his long illness, sank quietly into the tomb.

France, much to the surprise of the neighbouring states, enjoyed the blessings of tranquillity under the mild and conciliatory government of Louis XVIII. The revolution, and its consequent wars, had given the chief property of the country, and consequently the elements of political power, to the middle classes of society; their interests could only be secured by the preservation of peace, and they became zealous royalists, because they regarded the monarchy as the surest pledge for the maintainance of public order. Some of them carried their zeal to such extravagant lengths that they provoked resistance, and the king was forced to interfere, to prevent the ill consequences that were likely to result from the indiscretion of those who claimed to be his best friends.

The united kingdom of the Netherlands, though apparently tranquil, was secretly shaken by the national antipathy between the Belgians and the Dutch. Gratitude induced the sovereign to accede to the Holy Alliance, a circumstance which gave great offence to many of his subjects, especially in Flanders, where a republican spirit, fostered by municipal institutions, had prevailed from the time of the Middle Ages.

Great disappointment was felt in Germany, by the delay or refusal of the constitutions, which the several states had been taught to expect during the war of independence. But the principal sovereigns, especially the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, alarmed by the remembrance of the calamities that political innovations had produced in France, steadily opposed every change in the forms of government, but, at the same time, zealously laboured to secure to their subjects the benefit of a just and enlightened administration.

Spain was far more unfortunate; the imbecile Ferdinand was the tool of the courtiers and the priests; at their instigation he revived the ancient principles of despotism and bigotry, punishing with remorseless severity every expression of liberal sentiments in politics or religion. The arbitrary conduct of the court was not the only cause of the misery that prevailed in the Peninsula; the South American colonies, which had long been regarded as the chief and almost the only source of the small share of commercial prosperity which the Spaniards retained, openly revolted, and raised the standard of independence. Ferdinand made some faint efforts to subdue the insurgents, but he was badly supported by his subjects, and the troops he had assembled refused to embark. Finally, the liberals having gained over a great portion of the army, compelled the king to establish a democratic constitution,

by which the royal power was almost annihilated (A.D. 1820). Similar revolutions took place in Portugal, Naples, and Piedmont; alarm seized the minds of the European sovereigns, and they secretly combined to check popular movements. But experience soon proved that those who had framed the Spanish constitution were ignorant of the wants and wishes of the Spanish people. Louis XVIII., alarmed for the safety of France by the revolutionary movements in Spain, sent an army, under the command of the duke of Angoulême, to restore the royal authority; the invaders encountered no effective opposition; the cortes fled before them to Cadiz, and when the French approached that city, they permitted the king to resume his former despotic authority (A.D. 1823). The revolutions of Naples and Piedmont ended similarly; the liberals laid down their arms on the approach of the Austrian armies, and the new constitution was abolished.

The accession of Charles John Bernadotte to the crown of Sweden, made no change in the politics of the northern nations; his right of inheritance had been solemnly recognized by the allied sovereigns, at the Congress of Vienna, and his conduct as crown-prince had taught the Swedes to respect and love the monarch they had chosen. Even the Norwegians became reconciled to their fate, and learned to console themselves for the loss of national independence by the blessings that result from paternal government.

No sooner was peace restored between Great Britain and the United States, than the old feelings of friendship and kindred revived between the two countries, and the leading statesmen, in both, showed an earnest desire to have former animosities buried in oblivion. But far different were the feelings between Spain and her revolted colonies; the South American states vigorously maintained their struggle for independence, and finally succeeded. The English government delayed acknowledging these republics until the duke of Angoulême had crossed the Pyrenees, when consuls were sent out to the chief states, and commercial treaties formed with their governments.

From this rapid sketch, it will be seen that throughout the greater part of the civilized world there was a struggle between the principles of monarchy and democracy, and that even England, though it had long enjoyed the blessings of a free constitution, was not wholly exempt from the agitation.

SECTION II.—*History of Europe during the reign of George IV.*

GEORGE IV. had so long wielded the supreme executive power in England, under the title of regent, that no political change was made or expected when he assumed the royal dignity. A month had not elapsed after his accession, when a plot was discovered for the murder

of all his majesty's ministers, and thus facilitating a revolution, which had been planned by a few obscure enthusiasts. The conspirators used to assemble in Cato street, an obscure place near the Edgware road; they were arrested in their rendezvous, just as they were preparing to execute their project, all their plans having been betrayed to government by a spy who had pretended to join in the conspiracy. Such were the insanity and misery of these wretched men, who proposed to subvert a powerful government, that when they were searched, not even a shilling was found among the whole party. The government pitying their delusion, punished only the ringleaders, and this clemency had a beneficial effect in calming political agitation.

Preparations were now made for the king's coronation, when they were suspended by an event which excited more public interest, and stimulated more angry passions than any other which had occurred for several years. This was the return of Queen Caroline to England, and her subsequent trial before the House of Lords. Her marriage had been unfortunate almost from the commencement; she was early separated from her husband; after the lapse of some years, her conduct was made the subject of official inquiry; at the commencement of the regency she was excluded from court, and these indignities induced her to quit England. She visited the most celebrated spots along the coast of the Mediterranean, and then selected a permanent residence in that part of Italy subject to the Austrian government. Reports injurious to her character were circulated; commissioners were sent to Milan to investigate them, and the ministers, in consequence of the evidence thus collected, excluded her name from the liturgy, on the king's accession. Irritated at such an insult, she resolved to return to England, though a pension of fifty thousand pounds annually was offered to purchase her submission, and though she was informed that her landing would be the signal for the commencement of a prosecution.

No sooner had the queen landed, than messages were sent to both houses of parliament, recommending that her conduct should be investigated. "A Bill of Pains and Penalties" was introduced, to deprive her of royal rights and dignities, and a trial commenced which lasted forty-five days, when the bill was read a second time by a majority of forty-five. On the third reading, however, the ministers could only command a majority of nine, and the bill was abandoned. During these proceedings, the agitation of the public mind knew no bounds; addresses to the queen poured in from all sides, and when the bill was abandoned, her friends celebrated her escape as an acquittal. The remainder of her melancholy history may be briefly told: her popularity sank as rapidly as it had risen; she was refused a share in the ceremonial of the coronation; her appeals to the nation were disregarded; and the sense of disappointment and degradation produced a

mortal disease which terminated her unhappy life. Her funeral was marked by a disgraceful riot: the mob determined that her remains should pass through the city of London, and triumphed over the troops that tried to carry the hearse by a different route.

Soon after his coronation the king visited Ireland, Scotland, and Hanover; he was everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm, but the permanent results expected from these visits were not realized. In Ireland, party-spirit blazed more furiously than ever, and the depreciation of agricultural produce rendering it difficult for tenants to pay their rents, led to a series of agrarian outrages which could only be checked by severe coercive laws. The distress of the lower classes, which indeed almost exceeded credibility, was relieved by a general and generous subscription in England, which arrested the progress of a pestilential disease produced by famine and distress.

England suffered severely from the financial difficulties produced by the immense expenditure of the late war. While statesmen were engaged in devising means to alleviate the pressure of taxation, Napoleon Buonaparte, the cause of so many calamities, died almost unnoticed in his place of exile at St. Helena. During the king's visit to Scotland, Lord Londonderry, who had so long directed the foreign affairs of England, committed suicide; his place was supplied by Mr. Canning, who was supposed to be favourable to what was called a more liberal line of policy than that of his predecessor.

The distracted condition of Spain at this period engaged the attention of Europe. Ferdinand had been compelled to grant his subjects a free and almost a republican constitution, but the ministers forced upon him by the cortes, shewed little wisdom or moderation, and the proceedings of the cortes themselves were unworthy the dignity of a deliberative assembly. In consequence of these errors, a large party was formed in the Peninsula to restore absolute monarchy; several bodies of insurgents were raised by the monks and friars, who feared that the estates of the monasteries and the church would be confiscated; they called themselves the "Army of the Faith," and were zealously supported by the lower ranks of the populace. Under these circumstances, a congress of the European powers was held at Verona, and a resolution was adopted for subverting the Spanish constitution and restoring the absolute power of the king. The duke of Wellington, on the part of England, refused to sanction this design, and the execution of it was entrusted to the king of France, who was naturally anxious to check the progress of revolutionary principles, before his own throne was endangered by the contagion.

Early in the year 1823, the duc d'Angouleme entered Spain at the head of a powerful army; the constitutionalists made but a feeble resistance, and the king was restored to absolute authority with little trouble. Ferdinand made a bad use of his power; he persecuted all

whom he suspected of liberal principles with the utmost severity, and revived all the ancient abuses which had so long disgraced the government of Spain. Though the English ministers maintained a strict neutrality during this contest, they severely censured the conduct of the French government, and as a counterpoise, they recognised the independence of the South American republics, which had withdrawn themselves from their allegiance to Spain.

During the Spanish war, which excited little interest, the sympathies of civilized Europe were engaged in the Greek Revolution, which however was a barbarous and sanguinary struggle that for many years seemed to promise no decisive result. The principal members of the Holy Alliance viewed the Greek insurrection with secret dislike, for they regarded it as a rebellion against legitimate authority; but the young and enthusiastic spirits throughout Europe viewed it as a just revolt against Turkish tyranny, and hoped that its success would restore the classical ages of Greece. Among the many volunteers who went to aid the insurgents was the celebrated poet, Lord Byron; before, however, they could profit by his services, he was attacked by fever and died prematurely at Missolonghi.

Commercial embarrassments and political disputes diverted the attention of England from foreign affairs; a sudden rage for speculation seized the people; projects and joint-stock companies were multiplied without number, but suddenly the bubbles burst, and a terrible reaction ensued. The panic in the money-market was equal to the overweening confidence which had led to these extravagant speculations; but the evil was transitory, and it had perhaps some beneficial influence in limiting attention to those branches of trade best suited to the condition of the country. Political agitation was not so easily cured; the leaders of the Irish Catholics formed an association to procure the repeal of the restrictive laws by which members of their church were excluded from parliament and offices of state. This body assumed all the forms and some of the functions of a legislative assembly, and though an act of parliament was passed for its suppression, the statute was eluded by the legal skill of the popular leaders in the association.

Soon after Mr. Canning's accession to power, the attention of all Europe was excited by an event which seemed to prove that England had not only deserted the principles of the Holy Alliance, but was about to take her position at the head of a more liberal political system. On the death of John VI., king of Portugal, March 10, 1826, the crown devolved to his eldest son, Don Pedro, who reigned, with the title of emperor, over the old Portuguese colonies in Brazil. Compelled to choose between his empire and his kingdom, Pedro selected the former; but he sent to Portugal a constitutional charter, and a formal resignation of the crown in favour of his daughter

Donna Maria. Pedro's brother, Don Miguel, the queen dowager, and the most bigoted portion of the clergy, laboured to frustrate this arrangement, and their machinations were encouraged by the French and Spanish cabinets. Several Portuguese regiments were induced to desert across the frontier and proclaim Don Miguel absolute king. As the Spanish government notoriously supplied the rebels with military stores and arms, the Portuguese minister applied to the British government for aid, and a message was sent to both houses of parliament, calling on them to aid in maintaining the independence of Portugal. Mr. Canning introduced the subject in the House of Commons, describing the situation and policy of Great Britain, placed as a mediator between the conflicting opinions that convulsed Europe, and such was the effect of his eloquence, that only four persons in a full house could be got to oppose the address. A British armament was sent to the Tagus: its effect was instantaneous and decisive. The French diplomatic agent was recalled, the Spanish cabinet forced to desist from its intrigues, and Portugal restored to temporary tranquillity.

Death and disease among the great and noble of the land produced some important changes in the councils of Great Britain. In the beginning of the year 1827, the duke of York, who had solemnly pledged himself to oppose the claims of the Catholics to the utmost, sank under disease. He was sincerely lamented even by his political opponents; for his conduct in the management of the army, ever since he had been restored to the office of commander-in-chief, had deservedly won for him the honourable appellation of "the soldier's friend." Soon afterwards the earl of Liverpool, who by his conciliating conduct as premier, had held together the friends and the opponents of Catholic emancipation in the cabinet, was seized with a fit of apoplexy, which terminated his political existence, though his natural life was protracted for several months. Mr. Canning, who had long been a distinguished advocate of the Catholic claims, was appointed his successor, upon which all the members of the cabinet, opposed to concession, resigned in a body. The fatigues and anxieties imposed upon him, proved too much for the new premier; he sank under them, and was succeeded by Mr. F. Robinson, who was at the same time raised to the peerage, with the title of Lord Goderich. Before relating the overthrow of this feeble ministry, we must turn our attention to the events in another part of the globe, which accelerated its downfall.

Notwithstanding the horrid atrocities committed on both sides during the Greek war, the sympathies of Christendom in favour of the insurgents continually increased; it was expected that Alexander, emperor of Russia, would have taken some measures in their favour, but he died rather suddenly while engaged in a survey of his southern

provinces. At this crisis, the sultan, unable to crush the revolt by his own strength, sought the aid of his powerful vassal, Mohammed Ali, the pacha of Egypt. This provincial governor, who had acted for some time more like an independent monarch than a tributary, readily sent his adopted son, Ibrahim Pacha, with a powerful army into the Morea. The excesses of the Turks and Egyptians were so shocking to humanity, that the European powers felt bound to interfere, especially as the protracted contest was very pernicious to the commerce of the Levant. A treaty for the pacification of Greece was concluded in London between Russia, France, and England, by which it was stipulated that Greece should enjoy a qualified independence under the sovereignty of Turkey, and that measures should be taken to coerce the sultan if he refused his consent to these arrangements.

The Austrian cabinet refused to share in this treaty; dread of a similar insurrection in Italy, which was scarcely less oppressed, and which could equally appeal to classical sympathies and reminiscences, induced the court of Vienna to oppose anything that seemed like sanctioning a revolt. But not content with refusing to join the allies, the Austrians secretly urged the sultan to reject the proffered compromise, and the court of Constantinople, already bent on the extermination of the Greeks, made more vigorous exertions than ever. The fleets of England, Russia, and France, which had been sent to support the negotiations, when it was known that the sultan's answer was unfavourable, blockaded the Turco-Egyptian fleet in the harbour of Navarino, and Sir Edward Codrington, who commanded the allied squadrons, concluded an armistice with Ibrahim Pacha, in order to alleviate the horrors of war. This armistice was flagrantly violated by the Turks and Egyptians in every particular, and the allied squadrons entered the harbour of Navarino in order to enforce compliance with its stipulations. A shot fired by a Turkish ship at an English boat, was the signal or the pretext for a general engagement, which ended in the utter annihilation of the Turco-Egyptian armament. The independence of Greece was thus virtually secured, and its completion was secured soon after by the arrival of a small military force from France, which compelled the Turks to evacuate the Morea.

In Russia and in France the victory of Navarino was regarded as a national triumph; in England it only increased the embarrassments of Lord Goderich's distracted cabinet, the members of which were at variance on almost every point of policy, foreign and domestic. Finding themselves unable to determine in what manner the event should be noticed in the king's speech, the ministers resigned their situations before the meeting of parliament, and the task of forming a new administration was entrusted to the duke of Wellington.

The sultan was not daunted by the intelligence of the destruction

of his fleet ; it seemed indeed rather to confirm him in his obstinacy. After many ineffectual efforts to change his resolution, the ambassadors of France, England, and Russia, demanded their passports and quitted Constantinople, a proceeding which was of course equivalent to a declaration of war. But the allies were no longer united in their policy ; France and England were not unreasonably jealous of Russian ambition ; France limited her exertions to protecting the Morea, the new ministers of England declared the victory of Navarino "an untoward event," a phrase which led to the belief that they were disposed to look favourably on the pretensions of Turkey. This error precipitated what all wished to avoid, a war between Russia and Turkey. Still more unfortunately, the events of the first European campaign led many European statesmen to believe that Turkey could defend herself from her own resources ; though the Russians had taken Varna by the treachery of its governor, they were forced to raise the siege of Shumlah, and retire with some precipitation. It was unnoticed or forgotten that this failure was more than compensated by the decisive success of the Russians in the Asiatic provinces, where the real strength of the Turkish empire lies ; they conquered the greater part of ancient Armenia, occupied the fortresses which command the principal lines of march, and thus laid the foundation of decisive success in the next campaign.

In consequence of the general misapprehension respecting the position and resources of the belligerent parties, Turkey narrowly escaped being blotted from the map of Europe. The Russians opened the campaign by surprising Sizopoli and laying siege to Silistria. The grand vizier advanced to the relief of the fortress, but he was surprised on his march by Marshal Diebitsch, and defeated. In this battle the Turks behaved so courageously that the Russians almost despaired of success, and made an attempt to open negotiations. Their offers were rejected ; the vizier trusting to his impregnable position at Shumlah, remained quietly in his intrenchments, while the Russians pressed forward the siege of Silistria. That city surrendered on the last day of June, but it was the middle of July before Diebitsch could concentrate his forces for the bold enterprise which decided the fortune of the war. Having masked Shumlah with one division of his forces, he forced a passage through the defiles of the Balkan, and took Aidos by storm. The vizier, alarmed by this unexpected movement, determined to remove his quarters to Salamno. He was encountered by Diebitsch on his march, and irretrievably defeated. The very soldiers who had so recently fought the Russians for seventeen hours, now scarcely withstood them for as many minutes ; they fled at the first onset, abandoning arms, ammunition, artillery, and baggage. Adrianople, the second city in the Turkish empire, was captured without firing a shot ; Stamboul itself must have fallen, had not the

sultan consented to the terms of peace dictated by the conquerors. He signed a treaty on the 14th of September, by which he recognised the independence of Greece, and granted to Russia very considerable advantages, and a guarantee for the payment of the expenses of the war. Greece indeed was already virtually free; the French expedition had recovered the fortresses of the Morea from the Turks and Egyptians, while the Greeks themselves had gained considerable advantages in the north. It was resolved that the final destinies of the country should be arranged by a congress of the great powers in London; the crown of Greece was first offered to Prince Leopold, the relict of the late Princess Charlotte, but after a long negotiation, he rejected it, and it was finally bestowed on Prince Otho, the son of the king of Bavaria.

A revolution of a very different character took place in Portugal. When Don Pedro resigned the throne of that kingdom in favour of his daughter, Donna Maria de Gloria, he appointed his brother Don Miguel regent, reasonably hoping that he might thus secure his daughter's rights, and the constitutional privileges which he had given to the Portuguese. Before quitting Vienna to assume the reins of power, Don Miguel took an oath of fidelity to the charter; when he visited England, on his way to Portugal, he repeated his protestations of attachment to the constitution and the rights of his niece, so warmly, that the British statesmen, assured of his fidelity, consented to withdraw their troops from Lisbon. Unfortunately, after his return, Don Miguel resigned himself to the guidance of the queen-mother, an unprincipled woman, who seemed to think that a bigoted zeal for what she believed to be the cause of religion would atone for every other crime. At her instigation, he induced the fanatic rabble, by means of an artful priesthood, to proclaim him absolute king, and to denounce the charter as inconsistent with the purity of the Roman faith. The friends of the constitution organized a resistance at Oporto and in the island of Madeira; but their efforts were badly directed, and worse supported. They were finally defeated and driven into exile, while Don Miguel commenced a bitter persecution against all who had been conspicuous for their advocacy of liberal opinions. The principal powers of Europe manifested their detestation of such treachery, by withdrawing their ambassadors from the court of Lisbon.

France during this period was greatly agitated by political strife; Charles X. was more bitterly opposed to revolutionary principles than his brother, and he yielded to the councils of the bigoted priests, who persuaded him that it was his duty to restore to the Church all the power which it had possessed in the dark ages. On the other hand, the French people became persuaded that a plot was formed to deprive them of the constitutional privileges which they had gained after so long a struggle; thus the nation became gradually alienated from the

court, and the court from the nation ; while some turbulent spirits endeavoured to aggravate this hostility, in the hope of profiting by a future convulsion. A new ministry was forced upon the king by the popular party ; the members of it professed moderate principles, but they wanted the abilities and the influence necessary for steering a safe course between the extremes of royal prerogative on one side, and popular encroachment on the other. They were driven, by the majority of the chambers, to make larger concessions to the demands of the people than they had originally intended, and the reluctance with which they yielded, deprived them of popular gratitude. Even their sending an armament to aid the Greeks in the Morea, their recalling the French army of occupation from Spain, and their acknowledging the independence of the South American republics, failed to conciliate the support of the democratic party, while these measures rendered them perfectly odious to the royalists. They were suddenly dismissed, and the formation of a cabinet was entrusted to Prince Polignac, whose appointment was studiously represented as a declaration of war by Charles X. against his subjects.

Interesting as these events were, they excited little attention in England, where the public mind was intently fixed on the struggle in parliament, between those who sought to effect important constitutional changes, and those who were resolved to resist all innovation. The duke of Wellington's cabinet had been placed in office mainly by the influence of that portion of the aristocracy which was anxious to check the progress of change, and resist certain proposed measures, which they deemed inconsistent with the supremacy, if not the safety of the Established Church. One of these measures was the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, by which dissenters were excluded from office ; it was proposed in the House of Commons, and on a division the ministers were left in such a minority, that they not only withdrew further opposition, but adopted the measure as their own, and carried it successfully through both houses of parliament.

This event gave fresh vigour to the efforts made by the Irish Catholics to procure the concessions which they usually called emancipation. The rejection of a bill for the purpose by the House of Lords in 1828, only roused them to greater exertion ; and on the other hand, the partisans of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland began to form clubs for the protection of their peculiar privileges. An unexpected event exasperated the strife of parties, and threatened to bring matters to a dangerous crisis. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, having accepted office under the duke of Wellington, vacated his seat for the county of Clare, reasonably expecting that there would be no obstacle to his re-election. Mr. O'Connell, an Irish Catholic, who had been long recognised as the popular leader, offered himself as a candidate for the vacant seat, and in spite of the disqualifying laws, was elected by an overwhelming

majority. It was considered disputable whether he might not take his seat, but on all hands it was allowed that he was the legal representative of the county.

This was a state of things which could not with safety be permitted to continue; the ministers felt that they should either increase the severity of the exclusive laws, which the temper of the times would hardly have permitted, or that they should remove the few restrictions which prevented Catholics from enjoying the full benefits of the constitution. They chose the latter alternative, and after some difficulty in overcoming the king's reluctance, they had the concession of the Catholic claims recommended in the royal speech, at the opening of the session of parliament. The bill for giving effect to this recommendation was strenuously opposed in both houses, but as it was supported by the united strength of the ministers and the party by which they were most commonly resisted, it passed steadily through both houses, and received the royal assent on the 13th of April, 1829.

From the time that this important measure was carried, the domestic condition of Britain presented an aspect of more tranquillity than had been witnessed for many years. Party strife seemed hushed within and without the walls of parliament, as if both parties had been wearied out by the protracted discussion of the question they had just settled. This calm was increased by the gloom which the illness of the king diffused over the nation. Early in 1830 the symptoms of the disease became alarming, and for many weeks before its termination, all hopes of a favourable result were abandoned. On the 26th of June, George IV. died at Windsor castle, after having borne the agonies of protracted sickness with great firmness, patience, and resignation.

SECTION III.—*History of Europe during the reign of William IV.*

Few monarchs ever attained such immediate popularity on their accession as William IV. He had been educated in the navy, always a favourite branch of service with the British people; he was eminent for the domestic virtues, which are the more readily comprehended by a nation, as their value is felt in every walk of life; his habits were economical, and his manners familiar; he exhibited himself to his people, conversed with them, and shared in their tastes and amusements. As he had been intimately connected with some of the leading whigs before his accession to the throne, it was generally believed that the policy by which that party had been jealously excluded from power during the two preceding reigns would be abandoned, and it was hoped that a new cabinet would be formed by the coalition of ministers with their opponents. The parliamentary debates soon put an end to these

expectations; the opposition to the ministry, which had been almost nominal since the settlement of the Catholic question, was more than usually violent in the debate on the address; the formal business of the house was indeed dispatched with all possible expedition, preparatory to a new election; but before parliament could be prorogued, the whigs were virtually pledged to irreconcilable war with the administration.

It is now time to turn to the affairs of France, which had for two years been fast hastening to a crisis. Never had a ministry in any country to encounter such a storm of virulence and invective, as that which assailed the cabinet of Prince Polignac; though he was perhaps justly suspected of arbitrary designs, yet his first measures were dignified and moderate; some of them even seem to have been framed in a spirit of conciliation. But nothing could purchase the forbearance of his opponents; they scrupled not to have recourse to downright falsehood, and in some cases accused him of designs so exquisitely absurd, that they appeared to have been invented for the express purpose of measuring the extent of popular credulity. Charles X. more than shared the odium thrown on his obnoxious favourite; his patronage of the jesuits and monastic orders, his revival of austere and rigid etiquette in his court, and his marked dislike of those who had acquired eminence in the revolution, or under Napoleon, were circumstances which rendered him unpopular with the great bulk of a nation so long estranged from the Bourbons and their policy.

Polignac defied the storm; but unfortunately, as the contest continued, he departed from the course of caution and prudence, probably because injustice had driven him into anger, and he soon furnished his adversaries with just grounds for continued hostility. When the chambers assembled, the royal speech was a direct attack on the first principles of the constitution, concluding with a threat of resuming the concessions made by the charter, which was notoriously impotent, and therefore supremely ridiculous. A very uncourtly reply was voted by the Chamber of Deputies, after a very animated debate, by a majority of forty. The only alternative now left was a dissolution of the chambers, or a change of the ministry; Charles X. chose the former, trusting that events might turn the popular current, and give him a more manageable chamber at a new election.

Charles and his ministers appear to have hoped that their unpopularity would be overcome, and their future projects facilitated, by gratifying the taste of the French people for military glory. An armament was therefore prepared with extraordinary care, and sent against Algiers, under the pretext that the dey had insulted the honour of France. The success of the expedition corresponded with the exertions made to ensure it; the city of Algiers was taken after a very slight resistance, the dey was sent prisoner to Italy, and his vast

treasures remained at the disposal of the conquerors. It was reasonable that the maritime powers should feel jealous at the establishment of French garrisons and colonies in northern Africa; to allay their suspicions, a promise was made that the occupation of Algiers should be merely temporary; but the French nation formed such an infatuated attachment to their conquest, that they have kept it ever since, though it causes an annual waste of life and treasure, without conferring any appreciable advantage either on Africa or on France.

Polignac, relying on the moral effect which the conquest of Algiers would produce, dissolved the chambers, but, with the same infatuation which seems to have directed all his movements, he at the same time dismissed the only two moderate members of his cabinet, and supplied their places by the most unpopular men in France. Such a course, as ought to have been foreseen, more than counterbalanced any benefit which the ministers might have gained from the conquest of Algiers; the elections left them in a miserable minority, and matters were consequently brought to a crisis.

The majority of the commercial classes and landed proprietors in France dreaded the renewal of civil commotions; they knew that there was an active republican party in the country, which though not very numerous, was very unscrupulous and energetic; they feared, and not without reason, that the triumph of this party, which was no unlikely termination of a revolutionary struggle, would lead to the renewal of the horrors perpetrated during the reign of terror, when the Jacobins were in power. But at the same time, these classes were equally hostile to the restoration of the ancient despotism, which they believed to be the object of the king and his ministers. Had Charles X. declared that he would be contented with the prerogative of a constitutional monarch, dismissed his obnoxious ministers, and formed a cabinet of moderate men, the crisis would have passed over without danger; unfortunately, more arbitrary councils prevailed; Polignac and his colleagues resolved to terminate the struggle by subverting the constitution.

On the morning of the 26th of July, three ordinances were published, which virtually subverted the constitutional privileges granted by the charter. The first dissolved the newly-elected Chamber of Deputies before it assembled; the second changed the law of elections, and disfranchised the great body of electors; and the third subjected the press to new and severe restrictions which would completely have annihilated its liberties.

It was late in the day before intelligence of these events was generally circulated through Paris, and the news, at first, seemed to excite astonishment rather than indignation; the ministers passed the day in quiet at their hotels, receiving the visits of their friends and congratulating themselves upon the delusive tranquillity. But their opponents

were not inactive; expresses were sent to summon all the deputies of their party within reach, and those who had already arrived in Paris held a private meeting to concert measures of resistance. The principal journalists acted with still greater promptitude; they prepared and published a protest against the restrictions on the press, whose daring language would probably have exposed them to the penalties of treason had the contest terminated differently.

On the morning of the 27th, few of the journals appeared, for the publication of those which were not sanctioned by the minister of the interior was prohibited by the police. The printers, thus suddenly deprived of employment, formed a body of vindictive rioters, and their numbers were increased by the closing of several large factories in the suburbs of Paris. The proprietors of two journals printed their papers in defiance of the ordinance, and the first disturbance was occasioned by the police forcing an entrance into their establishments, breaking the presses, scattering the types, and rendering the machinery unserviceable. So little was an insurrection anticipated, that Charles, accompanied by the dauphin, went on a hunting match to Rambouillet; and his ministers neglected the ordinary precaution of strengthening the garrison of the capital. It was only on the morning of the 27th that Marmont received his appointment as military governor of Paris, and it was not till after four in the afternoon that orders were given to put the troops under arms.

Between six and seven o'clock in the evening some detachments of troops were sent to the aid of the police; this was the signal for commencing the contest; several smart skirmishes took place between the citizens and the soldiers, in which the latter were generally successful, so that Marmont wrote a letter to the king, congratulating him on the suppression of the riot, while the ministers issued their last ordinance, declaring Paris in a state of siege. When night closed in, the citizens destroyed every lamp in the city, thus securing the protection of darkness for their preparations to renew the struggle.

On the morning of the 28th, Marmont was astonished to find that the riots which he had deemed suppressed, had assumed the formidable aspect of a revolution. The citizens were ready and organized for a decisive contest: they were in possession of the arsenal and the powder magazine; they had procured arms from the shops of the gunsmiths and the police stations; they had erected barricades across the principal streets, and had selected leaders competent to direct their exertions. Under these circumstances, the marshal hesitated before taking any decisive step; it was noon before he had resolved how to act, and he then determined to clear the streets by military force. He divided his troops into four columns, which he directed to move in different directions, thus unwisely separating his forces, so that they could not act in contact. Every step taken by the columns was marked by a

series of murderous conflicts; they were assailed with musketry from the barricades, from the windows and tops of houses, from the corners of streets, and from the narrow alleys and passages which abound in Paris. When the cavalry attempted to charge, they were overwhelmed with stones and articles of furniture flung from the houses; their horses stumbled in the unpaved streets, or were checked by the barricades, while the citizens, protected by their dwellings, kept up a heavy fire, which the disheartened horsemen were unable to return. Though the royal guards performed their duty, the troops of the line showed great reluctance to fire on the citizens, and hence the insurgents were enabled to seize many important posts with little or no opposition. When evening closed the troops had been defeated in every direction; they returned to their barracks weary, hungry, and dispirited; by some inexplicable blunder, no provision was made for their refreshment, while every family in Paris vied in supplying the insurgents with everything they wanted.

Marmont was now fully sensible of the perils of his situation; he wrote to the infatuated king, representing the dangerous condition of Paris, and soliciting fresh instructions; the orders he received in reply, urged him to persevere, and indirectly censured his former conduct, by directing him "to act with masses."

The contest was renewed on the morning of the third day, the soldiers evincing great feebleness, while the populace seemed animated by a certainty of success. While the issue was yet doubtful, two regiments of the line went over to the insurgents in a body; the citizens thus strengthened, rushed through the gap which this defection left in the royal line, took the Louvre by assault, and soon compelled the troops that remained faithful to the royal cause, either to lay down their arms or evacuate Paris. The revolution was speedily completed by the installation of a provisional government; measures were adopted for the speedy convocation of the chambers, and in a few hours the capital had nearly assumed its ordinary aspect of tranquillity.

Charles and his ministers appear to have believed that the country would not follow the example of Paris. They were speedily convinced of their error; the king was abandoned, not only by his courtiers, but even by his household servants; he was forced to wait helplessly in his country seat, until he was dismissed to contemptuous exile by the national commissioners. His ministers attempted to escape in disguise, but were most of them arrested, a circumstance which occasioned great perplexity to the new government. In the mean time, the duke of Orleans, far the most popular of the royal family, was chosen Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and when the chambers met, he was elected to the throne, with the title of Louis Phillipe I., king of the French.

This revolution produced an extraordinary degree of political

excitement throughout Europe; even in England the rick-burnings and other incendiary acts gave formidable signs of popular discontent, but the personal attachment of the nation to the sovereign, and the prudent measures of the government, prevented any attempt at revolution. When parliament assembled, the duke of Wellington took an early opportunity of declaring that he would resist any attempt to make a change in the representative system of the country, and this declaration, which was wholly unexpected, or rather, which was contrary to very general expectations, at once deprived the ministers of the popularity they had hitherto enjoyed. An event of trifling importance in itself, but very grave in its consequences, proved still more injurious to the Wellington administration. The king had been invited to dine with the lord mayor of London on the 9th of November, and his ministers were of course expected to accompany him. All the preparations were complete, when a city magistrate, having heard that some persons intended to insult the duke of Wellington in consequence of his late unpopular speech, wrote to his grace, recommending him not to come without a military escort. The riots in Paris and Brussels, which had commenced in trifling disturbances, and ended in revolutions, were too recent not to alarm the ministers; they resolved that the king's visit to the city should be postponed to some more favourable conjuncture.

This announcement produced a general panic; business was suspended; the funds fell four per cent. in a few hours: the city of London continued in the greatest anxiety and alarm, for every one believed that some dreadful conspiracy was discovered at the moment it was about to explode. A day sufficed to show that no substantial grounds for apprehension existed, and people excused their vain terrors by throwing all the blame upon the government. The ministers were overwhelmed with a storm of indignant ridicule, which was scarcely merited, for they could not have anticipated such an extensive and groundless panic, and there could be little doubt of the propriety of removing any pretext for a tumultuous assembly in the long nights of November.

This strange occurrence proved fatal to the ministry, which indeed had previously been tottering. On a question of confidence, the ministers were defeated by a majority of twenty-nine in the House of Commons, upon which the duke of Wellington and his colleagues immediately resigned their offices. A new ministry was formed under the auspices of Earl Grey, composed of the old whig opposition, and the party commonly called Mr. Canning's friends; it was recommended to the nation by the premier's early declaration, that the principles of his cabinet should be Reform, Retrenchment, and Peace.

But to preserve the peace of Europe was now a task of no ordinary difficulty. The excitement produced by the late French revolution

aroused an insurrectionary spirit in every country where the people had to complain of real or fancied wrongs; and the continental sovereigns, alarmed for their power, looked with jealousy on every movement that seemed likely to lead to a popular triumph. The emperor of Russia went so far, as to hesitate about acknowledging the title of Louis Philippe to the throne of France, and when he at length yielded to the example and influence of the other European states, his recognition of a king elected by the people was so reluctant and ungracious, as to be deemed an insult by the French nation.

Nowhere did the insurrectionary spirit thus excited produce more decisive effects than in Belgium, whose compulsory union with Holland was one of the most unwise arrangements of the Congress of Vienna. The Dutch and Flemings differed in language, in habits, and in religion; their commercial interests were opposed; their national antipathies were ancient and inveterate. In the midst of these anxieties produced by the events in Paris, the Dutch ministers continued to goad the Belgians by restrictive laws, and at length drove them into open revolt. On the night of the 25th of August, a formidable riot began in Brussels; the Dutch authorities and garrison, after having exhibited the most flagrant proofs of incapacity and cowardice, were driven out, and a provisional government installed in the city. The king of Holland hesitated between concession and the employment of force; he adopted a middle course of policy, and sent his sons to redress grievances, and an army to enforce the royal authority; at the same time, he convoked the States-General. The Dutch princes were received with such coolness at Brussels, that they returned to the army; soon after, Prince Frederick, having learned that the patriots were divided among themselves, led the royal troops to Brussels, and at the same time published an amnesty, but unfortunately, with such sweeping exceptions, that it should rather be called an edict of proscription. For four days the Dutch and Belgians contested the possession of the city with equal want of skill and courage, but with somewhat more of energy on the part of the insurgents. Finally, the Dutch were driven out, and a provisional government established. Proposals of mediation were made by the prince of Orange, which were disavowed by his father, the king of Holland, and equally rejected by the Flemings; thus refused by both parties, he allowed matters to take their course, and Belgium became an independent state. Many tedious negotiations and discussions were necessary before this disarrangement of the European powers could be adjusted so as to avert the danger of a general war. At length Leopold, prince of Saxe Coburg, nearly connected with the royal family of England, was elected sovereign of the new kingdom, and to conciliate his subjects and strengthen his throne, he formed a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of the king of the French.

Germany was not exempt from the perils of popular commotion. In the year 1813, the sovereigns of the principal German states had promised popular constitutions to their subjects, as a reward for their exertions in delivering the continent from the tyranny of Napoleon. These promises had not been fulfilled; there were many discontented persons anxious to profit by the example of France and Belgium, but fortunately, in the principal states, the personal character of the sovereigns had so endeared them to the people, that no insurrection was attempted. In some of the minor states there were slight revolutions; the duke of Brunswick was deposed by his subjects, and the throne transferred to his brother; the king of Saxony was forced to resign in favour of his nephew; and the elector of Hesse was compelled to grant a constitutional charter.

Spain continued to languish under the iron sway of Ferdinand VII.; the people generally seemed to have no wish for liberty, and the abortive efforts to establish the constitution again were easily quelled, and cruelly punished. The condition of Portugal appeared to be similar; Don Miguel, who had usurped the throne, was so strenuously supported by the priests and monks, that every attempt to effect a change seemed hopeless. Italy shared in the excitement of the time, but the jealous watchfulness of Austria, and the formidable garrisons which that power had established in Northern Italy, effectually prevented any outbreak. Insurrectionary movements took place in several of the Swiss Cantons, but the disputes were arranged with promptness and equity, so speedily as to avert the horrors of civil war.

Poland was one of the last countries to catch the flame of insurrection, but there it raged most furiously. Provoked by the cruelties of the Archduke Constantine, who governed the country for his brother, the emperor of Russia, the Poles took up arms, at a time when all the statesmen of Europe were intent on maintaining peace, and were therefore compelled to withhold their sympathies from the gallant struggle. Unaided and unsupported, the Poles for nearly two years maintained an unequal struggle against the gigantic power of Russia; they were finally crushed, and have ever since been subjected to the yoke of the most cruel despotism.

France, which had scattered these elements of discord, was far from enjoying tranquillity itself. The republican party deemed itself betrayed by the election of a king, and several who had consented to that arrangement were dissatisfied with the limited extension of popular privileges gained by the revolution. A great number of idle and discontented young men were anxious to involve Europe in a war of opinion, and they denounced the king as a traitor to the principles which had placed him on the throne, because he refused to gratify their insane wishes. The total separation of the church from the state alienated the French clergy; while the royalists, recovered from their

first terror, began to entertain hopes of a restoration. Thus surrounded by difficulties and dangers, Louis Philippe was far from finding his throne a bed of roses; but he evinced firmness and talent adequate to the occasion, and he was zealously supported by the middle classes, who looked upon him as their gurrantee for constitutional freedom and assured tranquillity.

His success, however, would have been doubtful but for the efficient support he received from the national guard, whose organization was rapidly completed in Paris and the provinces. This civic body repressed the riots of the workmen and artisans, broke up the meetings of revolutionary clubs, and frustrated the attempts of republican fanatics, without incurrnig the odium which would have been attached to the exertions of the police and military. The severest test to which the stability of the new government in Paris was exposed, arose from the trials of the ministers who had signed the fatal ordinances. Louis Philippe made no effort to seize these delinquents, and would probably have been rejoiced at their escape; four of them were, 'as we have said, arrested by some zealous patriots, at a distance from Paris, as they were endeavouring to escape under the protection of false passports; the government had no option, but was forced to send them for trial before the Chamber of Peers. The partisans of anarchy took advantage of the popular excitement to raise formidable riots, which might have terminated in a new and sanguinary revolution, but for the zeal and firmness of the national guard. After an impartial trial, Polignac and his companions were condemned to perpetual imprisonment and civil death, and were quickly removed from the capital to a distant prison. Tranquillity was re-established on the morning of the third day after the trial, and the citizens of Paris demonstrated the extent of their late alarms by the brilliant illuminations with which they celebrated the restoration of order.

England was deeply engaged in an attempt to remodel her constitution. Early in 1831, the new premier declared that "Ministers had succeeded in framing a measure of reform, which they were persuaded would prove efficient without exceeding the bounds of that wise mcderation with which such a measure should be accompanied." On the 1st of March the measure was introduced to the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, and from that moment to its final success it almost wholly engrossed the attention of the country. The debate on the first reading of the bill lasted the unprecedented number of seven nights; the discussion on the second reading was shorter, but more animated; it was carried only by a majority of one. Ministers were subsequently defeated on two divisions, and at their instigation the king hastily dissolved the parliament. The elections took place amid such popular excitement, that ardent supporters of the ministe-measure were returned by nearly all the large constituencies, and

the success of the Reform Bill, at least so far as the House of Commons was concerned, was secured.

The Reform Bill passed slowly but securely through the House of Commons, it was then sent up to the Lords, and after a debate of five nights, rejected by a majority of 41. Great was the popular disappointment, but the promptitude with which the House of Commons, on the motion of Lord Ebrington, passed a vote of confidence in ministers, and pledged itself to persevere with the measure of reform, calmed the agitation in the metropolis and the greater part of the country. Some serious riots, however, occurred at Derby and Nottingham, which were not suppressed until considerable mischief was done. Bristol suffered still more severely from the excesses of a licentious mob, whose fury was not checked until many lives were lost, and a great amount of valuable property wantonly destroyed.

While the excitement respecting the Reform Bill was at the highest, a new pestilential disease was imported into the country. It was called the Asiatic Cholera, because it first appeared in India, whence it gradually extended in a north-western direction to Europe. Its ravages in Great Britain were not, by any means, so great as they had been in some parts of the continent, yet they were very destructive; they were met by a bold and generous offer of service from the physicians throughout the empire, and their conduct, while the pestilence prevailed, reflected the highest honour on the character of the medical profession in Great Britain.

A new Reform Bill was introduced into the House of Commons immediately after the assembling of parliament; it passed there with little opposition, and was sent up to the House of Lords. As no change had been made in the constitution of that body, great anxiety was felt respecting the fate of the measure; but some peers, who had formerly opposed it, became anxious for a compromise, and the second reading was carried by a majority of nine. But these new allies of the ministry were resolved to make important alterations in the character of the measure, and when the bill went into committee the ministers found themselves in a minority. Earl Grey proposed to the king the creation of a sufficient number of peers to turn the scale, but his majesty refused to proceed to such extremities, and all the members of the cabinet resigned. The duke of Wellington received, through Lord Lyndhurst, his majesty's commands to form a new administration, and he undertook the task in the face of the greatest difficulties that it had ever been the fate of a British statesman to encounter. The nation was plunged into an extraordinary and dangerous state of excitement; the House of Commons, by a majority of eighty, virtually pledged itself to the support of the late ministry; addresses to the crown were sent from various popular bodies, which were by no means distinguished by moderation of tone or language;

associations were formed to secure the success of the Reform Measure, and the country seemed brought to the verge of a revolution. Under such circumstances, the duke of Wellington saw that success was hopeless; he signed the commission with which he had been intrusted, and addressed his majesty to renew his communications with his former advisers. Earl Grey returned to office; a secret compact was made that no new peers should be created if the Reform Bill were suffered to pass; and the measure having been rapidly hurried through the remaining stages, received the royal assent on the 7th of June. The Irish and Scotch Reform Bills attracted comparatively but little notice; a law for enforcing the collection of tithes in Ireland was more vigorously opposed, and the ignorant peasants of Ireland were encouraged by their advocates to resist the payment of the impost.

While England was engrossed by the discussions on the Reform Bill, the new monarchy established in France was exposed to the most imminent dangers from the republicans on the one hand, and the partisans of the exiled family on the other. The republican party was the more violent and infinitely the more dangerous, because, in the capital at least, there was a much greater mass, to whom its opinions and incentives were likely to be agreeable. There was also a spirit of fanaticism in its members, which almost amounted to insanity; several attempts were made to assassinate the king, and his frequent escapes may be justly regarded as providential. When any of the apostles of sedition were brought to trial, they openly maintained their revolutionary doctrines; treated the king with scorn and derision; inveighed against the existing institutions of the country; entered into brutal and violent altercations with the public prosecutor; menaced the juries and insulted the judges. The very extravagance of this evil at length worked out a remedy; the bombast of the republicans was carried to such an excess of absurdity, that it became ridiculous; the republicans were disarmed when they found that the nonsense of their inflated speeches produced not intimidation, but shouts of laughter. Moderate men took courage; the middle classes, to whose prosperity, peace abroad and tranquillity at home were essentially necessary, rallied round the monarchy, and the republicans were forced to remain silent, until some new excitement of the public mind would afford an opportunity for disseminating mischievous falsehoods.

An insurrection of the Carlists, as the partisans of the exiled family were called, in the south of France, injured the cause it was designed to serve. It was easily suppressed, but the government learned that the duchess de Berri, whose son, the duke of Bourdeaux, was the legitimate heir to the crown, had made arrangements for landing in La Vendée, and heading the royalists in the province. Such preparations were made, that when the duchess landed, she found her partisans disheartened, and their movements so closely watched, that it was scarcely possible for them to assemble in any

force. Still she resolved to persevere, but the enterprise degenerated into a series of isolated and insignificant attacks, made by small bodies in a strong country, and the proceedings of the royalists, consequently, resembled those of brigands. The duchess continued five months in the country, though actively pursued by the military and police; she was at length betrayed by one of her associates, and made prisoner. The government of Louis Philippe treated the royal captive with great clemency; she had not been long in prison when it was discovered that she was pregnant, having been privately married some time before her arrest. This unfortunate circumstance threw such an air of ridicule over the entire enterprise, that the royalists abandoned all further efforts against the government.

While the south of France was thus agitated by the royalists, Paris narrowly escaped the perils of a republican revolution. The funeral of General Lamarque afforded the opportunity for this outbreak, which lasted about five hours, and was attended with great loss of life. The entire body of the military and all the respectable citizens supported the cause of monarchy and good order, or else the consequence would have been a new revolution. The revolt had the effect of strengthening the ministerial influence in the chambers; when they met, the opposition could not muster more than half the number of votes that supported the cabinet.

A treaty had been concluded by the representatives of the five great powers, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England, arranging the conditions on which Belgium should be separated from Holland; to these terms the Belgians had acceded, but they were declined by the Dutch, who still retained the citadel of Antwerp. A French army entered Belgium, and proceeded to besiege this fortress; it was taken after a sharp siege, and was immediately given up to a Belgian garrison, the French retiring within their own frontiers in order to avert the jealousies and suspicions of the European powers.

Turkey was exposed to the greatest danger, by the rebellion of its powerful vassal, the pacha of Egypt. Mohammed Ali was anxious to annex Syria to his territories, a dispute with the governor of Acre furnished him a pretext for invading the country; the sultan commanded him to desist, and on his refusal treated him as a rebel; Mohammed Ali was so indignant, that he extended his designs to the whole empire; his forces routed the Turkish armies in every battle; Syria and a great part of Asia Minor were subdued with little difficulty, and Constantinople itself would have fallen but from the prompt interference of Russia. The sultan was thus saved from his rebellious vassal, but the independence of his empire was fearfully compromised.

The declining health of King Ferdinand directed attention to the law of succession in Spain; his only child was an infant daughter, and the Salic Law, introduced by the Bourbon dynasty, excluded females from the throne. Ferdinand had repealed this law, but when he was

supposed to be in his mortal agonies, the partisans of his brother Don Carlos, who was looked upon as the surest support of the priesthood and of arbitrary power, induced him to disinherit his daughter, and recognise Don Carlos as heir to the crown. The very next day Ferdinand was restored to consciousness and understanding; the queen instantly brought before him the injustice he had been induced to commit, and the king was so indignant that he not only dismissed his ministers but threw himself into the arms of the liberal party. A general amnesty was published; those who had been exiled for supporting the constitution were invited home, and the Carlist party was so discouraged that it sank without resistance. Don Carlos himself, his wife, and his wife's sister, the princess of Beira, were compelled to quit Madrid; they sought and found shelter with Don Miguel, the usurper of Portugal.

On the 20th of September, 1833, Ferdinand died: his daughter was proclaimed at Madrid, but Carlist insurrections broke out in several parts of Spain, and have continued, with little interruption, almost ever since.

The excitement produced by the French Revolution extended beyond the Atlantic. Don Pedro, emperor of Brazil, was compelled by his subjects to abdicate the throne in favour of his infant son: an event the more singular as he had some time before resigned the crown of Portugal in favour of his daughter, Donna Maria de Gloria. When Pedro returned to Europe, he resolved to assert his daughter's rights, which had been usurped by Don Miguel; soldiers were secretly enlisted in France and England, the refugees from Portugal and Brazil were formed into regiments, and, after some delay, a respectable armament was collected in the Azores, which had remained faithful to Donna Maria. Pedro resolved to invade the north of Portugal; he landed near Oporto, and made himself master of that city; but his further operations were cramped by the want of money, and of the munitions of war; Oporto was invested by Don Miguel, and for several months the contest between the two brothers was confined to the desultory operations of a siege. At length, in the summer of 1833, Don Pedro entrusted the command of his naval force to Admiral Napier; this gallant officer, after having landed a division of the army in the province, sought Don Miguel's fleet; though superior in number of ships, men, and weight of metal, he attacked it with such energy that in a short time all the large vessels belonging to the usurper struck their colours. This brilliant success, followed by the capture of Lisbon, which yielded to Pedro's forces with little difficulty, and the recognition of the young queen by the principal powers of Europe, proved fatal to Miguel's cause. After some faint attempts at protracted resistance, he abandoned the struggle, and sought shelter in Italy.

Don Pedro's death, which soon followed his triumph, did little

injury to the constitutional cause. His daughter retains the crown; she was married first to the prince of Leuchtenberg, who did not long survive his nuptials; her second husband is Prince Ferdinand of Saxe Coburg, nearly allied to the queen of Great Britain.

Several disturbances in the Papal States gave the French a pretext for seizing the citadel of Ancona, which gave just grounds of offence to Austria. But neither party wished to hazard the perils of war. The pope excommunicated all the liberals in his dominions, but was mortified to find that ecclesiastical censures, once so formidable, were now ridiculous. When the French evacuated Ancona, he was obliged to hire a body of Swiss troops for his personal protection, and the pay of these mercenaries almost ruined his treasury. To such a low estate is the papal power now reduced, which was once supreme in Europe, and exercised unlimited sway over the consciences and conduct of potentates and nations.

The attention of the first Reformed Parliament of Great Britain was chiefly engrossed by domestic affairs. In consequence of the continued agrarian disturbances in Ireland, a coercive statute was passed, containing many severe enactments; but at the same time, the Irish Church was forced to make some sacrifices, a tax for ecclesiastical purposes was levied on its revenues, and the number of bishoprics was diminished.

But measures of still greater importance soon occupied the attention of parliament; the charter of the Bank of England was renewed, on terms advantageous to the country; the East India Company was deprived of its exclusive commercial privileges, and the trade to Hindústan and China thrown open; but the company was permitted to retain its territorial sovereignty. Finally, a plan was adopted for the abolition of West India slavery; the service of the negro was changed into apprenticeship for a limited period, and a compensation of twenty millions was voted to the planters. There was a very active though not a very large section of the House of Commons dissatisfied with the limited extent of change produced by the Reform Bill; they demanded much greater innovations, and they succeeded in exciting feelings of discontent in the lower classes of the community. Popular discontent was not confined to England, it was general throughout Europe, but fortunately no serious efforts were made to disturb the public tranquillity.

The second session of the Reformed Parliament was rendered memorable by the passing of an act for altering the administration of the Poor Laws, which was very fiercely attacked outside the walls of Parliament. It was, however, generally supported by the leading men of all parties; though its enactment greatly weakened the popularity of the ministers. The cabinet was itself divided respecting the policy to be pursued towards Ireland, and the dissensions respecting the

regulation of the Church, and the renewal of the Coercion Bill, in that country, arose to such a height, that several of the ministry resigned. Lord Melbourne succeeded Earl Grey as premier, but it was generally believed that the king was by no means pleased with the change; and that on the Irish Church question, he was far from being satisfied with the line of conduct pursued by his ministers. In the month of November, the death of Earl Spencer removed Lord Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the House of Lords, and rendered some new modifications necessary. The king took advantage of the opportunity to dismiss the ministers, an express was sent to summon Sir Robert Peel from the Continent to assume the office of premier; and the duke of Wellington, who had administered the government in the interim, was appointed foreign secretary. Parliament was immediately dissolved, and the three kingdoms were agitated by a violent explosion of party spirit. A tithe affray in Ireland, which ended with the loss of life, supplied the opponents of the ministry with a pretext for rousing the passions of the peasantry in that country, and of this they availed themselves so effectually, that the ministerial candidates were defeated in almost every election.

While the country was anxiously waiting the result of the struggle between the rival political parties, both houses of parliament were burned to the ground. This event at first excited some alarm, but it was soon allayed, for the cause of the fire was clearly proved to be accidental. When Parliament met, Sir Robert Peel's cabinet was found to be in a minority in the House of Commons. The premier however persevered in spite of hostile majorities, until he was defeated on the question of the Irish Church, when he and his colleagues resigned. The Melbourne cabinet was restored, with the remarkable exception of Lord Brougham, whose place as Chancellor was supplied by Lord Cottenham.

On the death of his brother, Don Carlos, after a vain attempt to assert his claims, was driven from Spain into Portugal, and so closely pursued that he was forced to take refuge on board an English ship of war. He came to London, where several abortive efforts were made to induce him to abandon his pretensions. But in the mean time his partisans in the Biscayan provinces had organized a formidable revolt, under a brave leader, Zumalacarregui, and a priest named Merino. Don Carlos secretly quitted London, passed through France in disguise, and appeared at the head of the insurgents. A quadrupartite treaty was concluded between Spain, Portugal, France, and England, for supporting the rights of the infant queen. It was agreed that France should guard the frontiers, to prevent the Carlists from receiving any aid by land; that England should watch the northern coast; and that Portugal should aid the Queen of Spain with a body of auxiliary troops if necessary.

Notwithstanding these arrangements, the Carlists were generally

successful, and, at length, the court of Madrid applied to England for direct assistance. This was refused; but permission was given to raise an auxiliary legion of ten thousand men in the United Kingdom, the command of which was intrusted to Colonel Evans. But the effect produced by this force was far inferior to what had been expected; in the dilapidated state of the Spanish finances, it was found difficult to supply the legion with pay, provisions, and the munitions of war. A revolution at Madrid, which rendered the form of government very democratic, alienated the King of the French from the cause of the Spanish queen, and the war lingered, without any prospect of restored tranquillity. At the end of its second year of service the British legion was disbanded, and the Spanish government and its auxiliary force parted with feelings of mutual dissatisfaction.

After the departure of the legion, the Carlists weary of the war, entered into negotiations with the queen regent, and returned to their allegiance. Carlos was again compelled to become an exile; but defeat could not break his spirit, and he continued to declare himself the rightful heir to the Spanish crown, though rejected by the people, and disavowed by the other sovereigns of Europe. Spain, however, was too disorganized for tranquillity to be easily restored; the queen regent endeavoured, with more good will than ability, to reconcile contending factions; but her efforts proved unavailing, and, wearied of her situation, she resigned the regency in the summer of 1840.

The people of England generally felt little interest in the affairs of Spain, public attention was principally directed to the state of Ireland and Canada. The great Irish questions discussed in parliament were, the reform of the corporations on the same plan that had been adopted in the reform of the English and Scotch corporations; the regulation of tithes, and the establishment of a provision for the poor; but the different views taken by the majorities in the Houses of Commons and Lords prevented the conclusion of any final arrangements. In Canada, the descendants of the old French settlers, for the most part bigoted and ignorant, viewed with great dissatisfaction the superiority to which the English settlers had attained, in consequence of their knowledge, spirit, and enterprise; they attributed this pre-eminence to the partiality of the government, and, instigated by designing demagogues, clamoured for constitutional changes little short of a recognition of their independence. Their demands were refused, and the deluded Canadians were persuaded to hazard a revolt. After a brief struggle, the insurgents were reduced, and since the termination of the revolt, Upper and Lower Canada have been united into one province by an act of the British legislature.

Great embarrassment was produced in the commercial world by the failure of the American banks, which rendered many leading merchants and traders unable to fulfil their engagements. The crisis

was sensibly felt in England, where it greatly checked the speculations in rail-roads, which perhaps were beginning to be carried to a perilous extent; the manufacturing districts suffered most severely, but the pressure gradually abated, and trade began to flow in its accustomed channels. Parties were so nicely balanced in the British parliament, that no measures of importance could be arranged; a further gloom was thrown over the discussions by the increasing illness of the king, and the certainty that its termination must be fatal. William IV. died on the morning of the 20th of June, 1837, sincerely regretted by every class of his subjects. During the seven years that he swayed the sceptre, England enjoyed tranquillity both at home and abroad; it was the only reign in British history in which there was no execution for high treason, and no foreign war.

SECTION IV.—*State of Europe during the Reign of Queen Victoria.*

THE Princess Victoria, daughter of the late duke of Kent, succeeded her uncle on the British throne, and her accession was hailed with the favour naturally shown to a young and interesting queen. Her coronation was celebrated with great enthusiasm; a public procession from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Abbey was substituted for the old form of merely crossing from Westminster Hall to the Abbey; and this manifestation of a desire to gratify the people by giving them a share in the solemnity was received with merited thankfulness. Europe seemed at this period to have entered on an age of tranquillity and repose. There were indeed some disturbances in Spain, a little discontent in Portugal, and jealousies of the designs of Russia in most of the western courts; but France, which had excited so much uneasiness in the preceding reign, seemed at length to have become quiet, and the dynasty of Louis Philippe to be firmly established. England was on the whole contented, though some symptoms of an approaching commercial crisis appeared both in the money market and in the trading districts, which was greatly aggravated by the inability or reluctance of the American states to discharge the obligations which they had contracted with British capitalists and merchants. The extent of this evil was not known when the queen was united in marriage to her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg, a union which has proved productive of the greatest domestic felicity to the parties, and general satisfaction to the empire.

A revolt in the Canadas was the first event which seriously disturbed the public tranquillity; it was raised principally by the Canadians of French descent and some discontented spirits in the upper province; but it was also fostered by adventurers from the United

States, who, under the pretence of sympathizing with the patriots, sought a gratification of their barbarous passions for strife and plunder. A proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, strictly forbidding such violations of neutrality; but it was not easy to restrain the passions of a large section of the Americans, anxious to plunge their country into a war with Great Britain, and to avail themselves, as a pretext, of a strip of territory which was equally claimed by the state of Maine and the British colony of New Brunswick. Fortunately, the statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic were alike averse to an unnatural war between two nations speaking the same language and descended from the same common stock; the pen of the diplomatist was preferred to the sword of the warrior, and after a protracted negotiation, extending over several years, the Boundary Question was finally arranged by Lord Ashburton, who was charged with a special mission to Washington for the purpose. In the midst of these disputes, a war which arose between France and the republic of Mexico was terminated by the mediation of England; but internal tranquillity was not restored to Central America, and the relations between the new states established in that quarter of the globe are likely to continue long in an unsatisfactory condition.

The court of Persia, acting under the influence of the Russian ambassador, evinced a determination to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan, and an army was sent to besiege Herat; as this seemed likely to lead to the establishment of an influence hostile to England on the frontiers of our Indian empire, our ambassador was directed to leave Persia, and measures were taken to render the British interests paramount at the court of Cabul. This led to the Afghan war, which, as well as the Chinese war, will be more appropriately noticed in the chapters on colonial history. Some colonial difficulties which arose in Jamaica had a more direct influence on the government of England; the bill which the ministers introduced for regulating the legislature of that country was virtually rejected in the House of Commons, upon which Lord Melbourne and his colleagues tendered their resignations. Sir Robert Peel received the queen's commands to form an administration; but some difficulties arising from Her Majesty's reluctance to part with the ladies of her household, Lord Melbourne's cabinet was reinstated. But from this time the Melbourne ministry, quite outnumbered in the Lords, and very feebly supported in the Commons, showed a deficiency of strength, which rendered it inadequate to grapple with the increasing difficulties of the empire. Large bodies of people calling themselves Chartists assembled in various parts of the country; but no evil consequences followed, except at Birmingham, where three houses were destroyed during a formidable riot, and at Newport, where a gentleman named Frost led the mob to attack the constituted authorities. Frost was arrested and transported for life;

about twenty of his deluded followers fell in a conflict with the army and police. It was perhaps owing to the excitement produced by these events among the working classes, that one or two attempts were made by insane persons on the life of the queen; they, however, only served to produce the strongest professions of attachment to her person and government from all classes of her subjects.

Hanover, which had been united to England since the accession of the house of Brunswick, was separated from it when Queen Victoria came to the throne, as the Salic law, excluding females from the sovereignty, has been long established in most of the principalities of Germany. The duke of Cumberland, son of George III., became king of Hanover, and immediately after taking possession of his throne, set aside some constitutional changes which had been introduced by William IV. Some dissatisfaction arose from this return to the old system; but it was not of long continuance, as the Diet of the German princes decided in favour of the king, when an appeal was made to that mediatorial power. In general it may be said of the German states, that they are contented with having obtained administrative reforms, and are not anxious for any organic changes in their form of government. Prussia, which at one time evinced a strong desire to obtain a representative constitution on a broad and permanent basis, has for the present abandoned the demand; and the paternal character of the government of the reigning monarch is not likely to induce a contented people to impose restrictions upon the royal authority.

In Spain the cause of a constitutional government came triumphant out of a long and arduous struggle, but civil dissensions so disorganized society, that it has yet been found impossible to establish tranquillity in that country. It is, however, difficult to describe the state of parties in that distracted country, or to discover the causes of the movements, insurrections, and petty revolutions which follow each other in lamentable succession. The Queen-mother, Christina, was forced to abandon the regency and the guardianship of her daughter, the Queen Isabella, and to seek refuge in France. The chief power then devolved on Espartero, duke of Victoria, to whom the successful issue of the struggle against Don Carlos was mainly owing; but in the midst of what seemed a prudent and prosperous career, he was assailed by a combination of parties, agreeing in nothing but opposition to his regency, and, while we write, the issue of the contest is uncertain.

Canada was scarcely restored to tranquillity when the Upper and Lower Provinces were legislatively united, and a system of conciliatory policy adopted, which has been followed by the most beneficial results. The danger of a war with America, which was eagerly desired by the unprincipled adventurers who came from the United States to support

the patriots, has thus been averted, and the British Colonies in that quarter of the globe seem destined to enjoy a period of long repose and uninterrupted tranquillity. The same happy prospects may fairly be anticipated for the West India Islands; it was impossible that so extensive a change as the total abolition of slavery, and the complete emancipation of the negro race, should have been effected without some difficulties and perplexities, but happily the crisis has passed over without producing any permanent result of evil, and so far as the experiment of free labour has been tried, it has proved as successful as the friends of humanity could desire. There are, however, circumstances connected with the cultivation of sugar which may raise financial difficulties, and thus throw an apparent doubt on the preferable nature of free labour; but even these, when closely examined, will be found to afford evidence in favour of the emancipation of the negroes, and show that a system of slavery is in the end as unprofitable as it is flagrantly unjust.

An event, which at one period would have excited general commotion, passed over in France with little excitement or notice. In deference to the wishes and opinions of a large body of his subjects, Louis Philippe resolved to bring the remains of the Emperor Napoleon to Paris, for interment; application being made to the British Government, permission was granted as a matter of course, and the king of the French sent his own son on this mission to St. Helena. The remains of the emperor were transferred to France, and having been borne in procession through Paris, were placed in a temporary tomb until a proper mausoleum could be erected for their reception. As this event seemed to prove that the French nation still retained its attachment to the family of their former emperor, Louis Buonaparte, a nephew of Napoleon, was induced to make an attempt for the imperial throne. Attended by a few followers he raised his standard at Boulogne, but no one appeared willing to join in his insane attempt, and he was easily made prisoner by the authorities. On his trial it appeared that the young man was the dupe of an over-heated imagination; his life was mercifully spared, but it was deemed prudent to confine him for the remainder of his days to the castle of Ham.

Ever since the successful issue of the Greek revolution, it seemed as if the Turkish empire was gradually sinking into ruin; Mohammed Ali, pacha of Egypt, not only rendered himself independent, but annexed Syria to his dominions, and menaced the other Asiatic provinces of the Sultan. As these circumstances might have enabled Russia to accomplish the schemes of aggrandizement at the expense of Turkey, which were known to be entertained by the cabinet of St. Petersburg, a convention was executed at London, between the representatives of Austria, Prussia, and England, for arranging, by their armed intervention, the question at issue between the Sultan and his

powerful vassal. France refused to accede to this treaty, and a large party in that country sought to take advantage of that crisis and excite a war against England. Louis Philippe was, however, too prudent a monarch to encounter the risk of hostilities; he merely protested against any injury being done to the pacha of Egypt, and then remained a quiet spectator of the course of events. Mohammed Ali, in the hope of receiving aid from France, at first refused to accept the terms proposed by the Convention, but the vigorous operations of the British squadron sent to the coast of Syria, soon convinced him that his ruin would be the issue of a protracted contest. He accepted the mediation of the allies, and nominally returned to his allegiance. Advantage was taken of these circumstances to ameliorate the condition of the various Christian populations subject to the Sultan, and the tyranny which the Mohammedans had exercised over them during a long course of centuries was formally abolished.

The weakness of the Melbourne cabinet in the House of Commons was greatly increased by the results of several isolated elections; the vacancies accidentally produced in various places were in so many cases filled up by their adversaries, that the ministerial majority, originally small, was virtually annihilated. At the same time the commercial distress of the country was felt to be rapidly increasing, and the revenue became daily more inadequate to meet the expenditure of the country. As a remedy for these financial difficulties, it was proposed to impose a fixed duty on the importation of foreign corn, and to diminish the differential duties between foreign and colonial timber and sugar. These measures were not acceptable to the majority of the House of Commons; a vote of want of confidence in ministers was carried, and the cabinet was of course driven to choose between immediate resignation and a dissolution of Parliament.

Few elections produced a greater change in the relative strength of parties than that which ensued. In all the agricultural districts, and in many of the manufacturing towns, Lord Melbourne's supporters were completely defeated, and the majority against the cabinet was increased to nearly a hundred votes. Of course, when the new Parliament assembled, the ministers were forced to resign, and the reins of power were transferred to their opponents. A new administration was formed under the auspices of Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington; but without producing any violent change in the foreign or domestic policy of the country.

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF COLONIZATION.

IN order to avoid frequent interruptions in the course of the narrative, it has been deemed advisable to reserve the account of the principal European colonies for the close of the volume, and thus to bring before the reader one of the most remarkable features in modern history. Colonies were indeed established in ancient times, and in the preceding volume of the *Manual* we have given a full account of those founded by the Greeks and Carthaginians; but the discovery of a new world gave an extraordinary impulse to emigration, and produced one of the most striking series of events in the annals of mankind. The subject naturally divides itself into two great parts—the European colonies in the Western, and those in the Eastern world; and to the former we shall first direct our attention.

The Establishment of the Spaniards in Mexico.

IMMEDIATELY after the discovery of America, the first Spanish colony was established in Hispaniola, better known by the more modern name of St. Domingo. The Queen Isabella had given strict orders to protect the Indians, and had issued a proclamation prohibiting the Spaniards from compelling them to work. The natives, who considered exemption from toil as supreme felicity, resisted every attempt to induce them to labour for hire, and so many Spaniards fell victims to the diseases peculiar to the climate, that hands were wanting to work the mines or till the soil. A system of compulsory labour was therefore adopted almost by necessity, and it was soon extended, until the Indians were reduced to hopeless slavery. The mines of Hispaniola, when first discovered, were exceedingly productive, and the riches acquired by the early adventurers attracted fresh crowds of greedy but enterprising settlers to its shores. The hardships to which the Indians were subjected, rapidly decreased their numbers, and in the same proportion diminished the profits of the adventurers. It was therefore resolved to seek new settlements; the island of Puerto Rico was annexed to the Spanish dominions, and its unfortunate inhabitants were subjected to the same cruel tyranny as the natives of Hispaniola. The island of Cuba was next conquered; though it is seven hundred miles in length, and was then densely populated, such was the unwarlike character of the inhabitants, that three hundred Spaniards were sufficient for its total subjugation.

More important conquests were opened by the intrepidity of Balboa who had founded a small settlement on the Isthmus of Darien. Having learned from an Indian cazique that there existed a very wealthy kingdom on the borders of a great ocean, he sent to Hispaniola for reinforcements, and proceeded through the dangerous defiles and rocky chains which traverse the isthmus towards the frontiers of the unknown golden region. At length he reached the top of a mountain, which commanded a view of the wide expanse of the Pacific Ocean, and lifting up his hands to heaven, returned thanks to God for having made him the instrument of a discovery so honourable to his country and to himself. He received such information respecting the strength of the nation, whose fame had induced him to undertake this perilous journey, that he deemed it prudent to lead back his followers, but he first obtained from the neighbouring caziques a greater amount of treasure than had yet been obtained by any Spanish expedition in the New World. In the mean time the cruelties with which the Indians were treated, roused the sympathies of the missionaries who had been sent out for their conversion. Las Casas, especially, appealed not only to his sovereign, but to all Christian Europe ; and such was the effect of his eloquence, that a change of system was promised. Unfortunately, Las Casas, in his anxiety to relieve one suffering race, inflicted equal misery on another ; he proposed that negroes should be imported from Africa to do the work of the Indians, and thus laid the foundation of the infamous slave trade, which still continues to outrage humanity.

At length the Spaniards began to prepare an expedition for establishing their empire on the American continent ; an armament was organized in Cuba, and the command intrusted to Fernando Cortez, a commander possessing great skill and bravery, but avaricious and cruel even beyond the general average of his countrymen at that period. On the 2nd of April, 1519, this bold adventurer entered the harbour of St. Juan de Uloa, on the coast of Yucatan. By means of a female captive he was enabled to open communications with the natives ; and they, instead of opposing the entrance of these fatal guests into their country, assisted them in all their operations with an alacrity of which they too soon had reason to repent. The Mexicans had attained a pretty high degree of civilization ; they had a regular government, a system of law, and an established priesthood ; they recorded events by a species of picture-writing, not so perfect as the Egyptian system of hieroglyphics, but which, nevertheless, admitted more minuteness and particularity than is generally imagined ; their architectural structures were remarkable for their strength and beauty ; they had advanced so far in science as to construct a pretty accurate calendar ; and they possessed considerable skill, not only in the useful, but also in the ornamental arts of life. Cortez saw that such a nation must be treated

differently from the rude savages in the islands; he therefore concealed his real intentions, and merely demanded to be introduced to the sovereign of the country, the Emperor Montezuma.

The Indian caziques were unwilling to admit strangers possessed of such formidable weapons as muskets and artillery into the interior of their country; and Montezuma, who was of a weak and cowardly disposition, was still more reluctant to receive a visit from strangers, of whose prowess he had received an exaggerated description. He therefore resolved to temporize, and sent ambassadors to Cortez with rich presents, declining the proposed interview. But these magnificent gifts only served to increase the rapacity of the Spaniards; Cortez resolved to temporize; he changed his camp into a permanent settlement, which subsequently grew into the city of Vera Cruz, and patiently watched from his intrenchments the course of events. He had not long continued in this position, when he received an embassy from the Zempoallans, a tribe which had been long discontented with the government of Montezuma. He immediately entered into a close alliance with these disaffected subjects, sent an embassy to Spain to procure a ratification of his powers, and set fire to his fleet, in order that his companions, deprived of all hope of escape, should look for safety only in victory. Having completed his preparations, he marched through an unknown country to subdue a mighty empire, with a force amounting to five hundred foot, fifteen horsemen, and six pieces of artillery. His first hostile encounter was with the Tlascalans, the most warlike race in Mexico; their country was a republic, under the protection of the empire, and they fought with the fury of men animated by a love of freedom. But nothing could resist the superiority which their fire-arms gave the Spaniards; the Tlascalans, after several defeats, yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Spain, and engaged to assist Cortez in all his future operations. Aided by six thousand of these new allies, he advanced to Cholula, a town of great importance, where, by Montezuma's order, he was received with open professions of friendship, while plans were secretly devised for his destruction. Cortez discovered the plot and punished it by the massacre of six thousand of the citizens; the rest were so terrified, that, at the command of the Spaniard, they returned to their usual occupations, and treated with the utmost respect the men whose hands were stained with the blood of their countrymen.

As a picture of national prosperity long since extinct, we shall here insert the description given by Cortes in his despatches to the Spanish monarch of the ancient city of Tlascala, which still exists, though much decayed. "This city is so extensive, so well worthy of admiration, that although I omit much that I could say of it, I feel assured that the little I shall say will be scarcely credited, since it is larger than Granada, and much stronger, and contains as many fine houses

and a much larger population than that city did at the time of its capture; and it is much better supplied with the products of the earth, such as corn, and with fowls and game, fish from the rivers, various kinds of vegetables, and other excellent articles of food. There is in this city a market, in which every day thirty thousand people are engaged in buying and selling, besides many other merchants who are scattered about the city. The market contains a great variety of articles both of food and clothing, and all kinds of shoes for the feet; jewels of gold and silver, and precious stones, and ornaments of feathers, all as well arranged as they can possibly be found in any public squares or markets in the world. There is much earthenware of every style and a good quality, equal to the best of Spanish manufacture. Wood, coal, edible and medicinal plants, are sold in great quantities. There are houses where they wash and shave the heads as barbers, and also for baths. Finally, there is found among them a well regulated police; the people are rational and well disposed, and altogether greatly superior to the most civilized African nation."

Add to this the description of the neighbouring state of Cholula:—"The inhabitants are better clothed than the Tlascalans in some respects, as the superior classes of citizens all wear cloaks over their other dress; similar in shape, material, and bordering, to those of Africa, but unlike them in being provided with pockets. Since the late troubles they have been and continue true and obedient vassals of your Majesty, performing whatever is required of them in your royal name, and I believe they will remain so hereafter. This state is very fertile under cultivation, as there is much land, most of which is well watered; and the exterior of the city is more beautiful than any in Spain, as it contains many towers, and is situated on a plain. And I assure your Majesty, that I have counted from a mosque or temple four hundred mosques and as many towers, all of which are of mosques in this city. This city is more suitable for the Spaniards to inhabit than any of the towns we have yet seen, as it has unoccupied lands and water for cattle, which none of the others have that we have seen; and the multitude of people who dwell in the other places is so great, that there is not a hand's-breadth of land which is not cultivated."

From Cholula, Cortez advanced towards the city of Mexico, and had almost reached its gates before the feeble Montezuma had determined whether he should receive him as a friend or as an enemy. After some hesitation, Montezuma went forth to meet Cortez, with all the magnificence of barbarous parade, and granted the Spaniards a lodging in the capital.

But notwithstanding his apparent triumph, the situation of Cortez was one of extraordinary danger and perplexity. He was in a city surrounded by a lake, the bridges and causeways of which might easily be broken; and his little band, thus cut off from all communication

with its allies, must then have fallen victims to superior numbers. To avert this danger he adopted the bold resolution of seizing Montezuma as a hostage for his safety, and he actually brought him a prisoner to the Spanish quarters. Under pretence of gratifying the monarch's curiosity to see the structure of European vessels, the Spaniards built two brigantines, and launched them on the lake, thus securing to themselves the means of retreat in case of any reverse of fortune.

The ostensible pretext for this act of violence was that a cazique, named Qualpopoca, had slain several Spaniards in the city of Nautecal or Almeria. The account which Cortez gives of the transaction is too singular to be omitted, especially as his dispatches are utterly unknown in this country. It will be seen that he never gives Montezuma, or as he writes the name, Muteczuma, the title of king or emperor, but speaks of him as if his right to royalty had been sacrificed from the moment that the Spaniards, had landed in his country.

"Six days having passed, most powerful Prince, since I entered the great city of Temixtitan [Mexico], and having seen some things in it, though but a few compared with what there was to be seen and noted, it seemed to me, judging from these things, and from what I had observed of the country, that it would subserve the interests of your Majesty and our own security if Muteczuma was in my power, and not wholly free from restraint; in order that he might not be diverted from the resolution and willing spirit which he showed in the service of your Majesty, especially as we Spaniards were somewhat troublesome and difficult to please; lest feeling annoyed on any occasion, he should do us some serious injury, and even might cause all memory of us to perish, in the exercise of his great power. It also appeared to me that if he was under my control, all the countries that were subject to him would be more easily brought to the knowledge and service of your Majesty, as afterwards actually happened. I resolved, therefore, to take him and place him in my quarters, which were of great strength; and revolving in my mind how this could be effected without occasioning any tumult or disturbance, I recollected what the officer whom I had left in command in Vera Cruz, had written me concerning the occurrences in the city of Almeria, which I have already related, and which, as he was informed, had all taken place in pursuance of orders from Muteczuma. Having used the precaution to station guards at the corners of the streets, I went to the palace of Muteczuma, as I had before often done, to visit him; and after conversing with him in a sportive manner on agreeable topics, and receiving at his hands some jewels of gold, and one of his own daughters, together with several daughters of his nobles for some of my company, I then said to him, 'that I had been informed of what had taken place

in the city of Nautecal or Almeria, and the fate of the Spaniards, who had been killed there; that Qualpopoca alleged in defence of his conduct, that whatever he had done was in pursuance of orders from him, which, as his vassal, he could not disregard; that I did not believe it was so, but nevertheless, in order to clear himself from the imputation, it seemed to me proper that he should send for Qualpopoca and the other principal men of that city, who had been concerned in the slaughter of the Spaniards, that the truth of the matter might be known, and those men punished, by which means he would satisfy your Majesty of his loyal disposition beyond all dispute; lest instead of the rewards which your Majesty would order to be given him, the reports of these outrages might provoke your Majesty's anger against him, on account of his having commanded the injury to be done; since I was well satisfied that the truth was contrary to what those men had declared."

The offending cazique, Qualpopoca, was brought to the capital, as our readers are probably aware, and with his followers, was burnt alive. Cortez tells this part of the story with much *naïveté*. "So they were publicly burned in a square of the city, without creating any disturbance; and on the day of their execution, as they confessed that Mutezuma had directed them to kill the Spaniards, I caused him to be put in irons, which threw him into great consternation." All this was manifestly done merely from the motives above intimated, namely, "to subserve the interests of your Majesty and our own security;" yet Cortez had some apprehension lest he might offend royal sympathies, and so, in respect of his demeanour towards Montezuma, he writes to the emperor:—

"Such was the kindness of my treatment towards him, and his own contentment with his situation, that when at different times I tempted him with the offer of his liberty, begging that he would return to his palace, he has often replied that he was well pleased with his present quarters, and did not wish to leave them, as he wanted nothing that he was accustomed to enjoy in his own palace; and that in case he went away, there would be reason to fear the importunities of the local governors, his vassals might lead him to act against his own wishes, and in opposition to your Majesty, while he desired in every possible manner to promote your Majesty's service; that so far he had informed them what he desired to have done, and was well content to remain where he was; and should they wish to suggest any thing to him, he could answer that he was not at liberty, and thus excuse himself from attending to them."

Cortez thus describes the original city of Mexico, which he soon afterwards totally destroyed:—"This great city of Temixtitan [Mexico] is situated in this salt lake, and from the main land to the denser parts of it, by whichever route one chooses to enter, the distance is two

leagues. There are four avenues or entrances to the city, all of which are formed by artificial causeways, two spears' length in width. The city is as large as Seville or Cordova; its streets, I speak of the principal ones, are very wide and straight; some of these, and all the inferior ones, are half land and half water, and are navigated by canoes. * * * This city has many public squares, in which are situated the markets and other places for buying and selling. There is one square twice as large as that of the city of Salamanca, surrounded by porticoes, where are daily assembled more than sixty thousand souls, engaged in buying and selling; and where are found all kinds of merchandise that the world affords, embracing the necessities of life, as, for instance, articles of food, as well as jewels of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, precious stones, bones, shells, snails, and feathers. There are also exposed for sale wrought and unwrought stone, bricks burnt and unburnt, timber hewn and unhewn, of different sorts. * * * Every kind of merchandise is sold in a particular street or quarter assigned to it exclusively, and thus the best order is preserved. They sell everything by number or measure; at least so far we have not observed them to sell anything by weight. There is a building in the great square that is used as an audience house, where ten or twelve persons, who are magistrates, sit and decide all controversies that arise in the market, and order delinquents to be punished. In the same square there are other persons who go constantly about among the people, observing what is sold, and the measures used in selling; and they have been seen to break measures that were not true. This great city contains a large number of temples, or houses for their idols, very handsome edifices, which are situated in the different districts and the suburbs; in the principal ones religious persons of each particular sect are constantly residing, for whose use beside the houses containing the idols there are other convenient habitations. All these persons dress in black, and never cut or comb their hair from the time they enter the priesthood until they leave it; and all the sons of the principal inhabitants, both nobles and respectable citizens, are placed in the temples, and wear the same dress from the age of seven or eight years until they are taken out to be married; which occurs more frequently with the first-born who inherit estates than with the others. The priests are debarred from female society, nor is any woman permitted to enter the religious houses. They also abstain from eating certain kinds of food, more at some seasons of the year than others. Among these temples there is one which far surpasses all the rest, whose grandeur of architectural details no human tongue is able to describe; for within its precincts, surrounded by a lofty wall, there is room enough for a town of five hundred families. Around the interior of this inclosure there are handsome edifices, containing large halls and corridors, in which the

religious persons attached to the temple reside. There are full forty towers, which are lofty and well built, the largest of which has fifty steps leading to its main body, and is higher than the tower of the principal church at Seville. The stone and wood of which they are constructed are so well wrought in every part, that nothing could be better done, for the interior of the chapels containing the idols consists of curious imagery, wrought in stone, with plaster ceilings, and wood work carved in relief, and painted with figures of monsters and other objects. All these towers are the burial-places of the nobles, and every chapel in them is dedicated to a particular idol, to which they pay their devotions."

But danger impended over Cortez from an unexpected quarter; the governor of Cuba, anxious to share in the plunder of Mexico, of whose wealth, great as it really was, he had received very exaggerated statements, sent a new armament under the command of Narvaez, to deprive the conqueror of the fruits of his victory. Cortez, leaving a small garrison in Mexico, marched against Narvaez, and by a series of prudent operations, not only overcame him, but induced his followers to enlist under his own banners. This reinforcement was particularly valuable at a time when the Mexicans, weary of Spanish cruelty and tyranny, had resolved to make the most desperate efforts for expelling the invaders. Scarcely had Cortez returned to Mexico, when his quarters were attacked with desperate fury; and though thousands of the assailants were slain, fresh thousands eagerly hurried forward to take their place. At length Cortez brought out Montezuma in his royal robes on the ramparts, trusting that his influence over his subjects would induce them to suspend hostilities. But the unfortunate emperor was mortally wounded by a missile flung by one of his own subjects; and Cortez, having done everything which prudence and valour could dictate, was forced to abandon the capital. The Spaniards suffered severely in this calamitous retreat; they lost their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, together with the greater part of the treasure for which they had encountered so many perils. A splendid victory at Otumba, over the Mexicans, who attempted to intercept them, restored the confidence of the Spaniards, and they reached the friendly territories of the Tlascalans in safety. Having collected some reinforcements, and by judicious arts revived the courage of his men, Cortez once more advanced towards Mexico, and, halting on the borders of the lake, he began to build some brigantines in order to attack the city by water. While thus engaged, he succeeded in detaching many of the neighbouring cities from their allegiance to the new emperor, Guatimozin, and having obtained some fresh troops from Hispaniola, he prepared for a vigorous siege by launching his brigantines on the lake. Guatimozin made a gallant resistance, and repulsed the Spaniards in an attempt to take the city by storm; but

being unable to resist the slower operations of European tactics, he attempted to escape over the lake, when his canoe was intercepted by a brigantine, and the unfortunate emperor remained a prisoner. As soon as the fate of their sovereign was known, the resistance of the Mexicans ceased, and all the provinces of the empire imitated the example of the capital. Guatimozin was cruelly tortured to extort a confession of concealed treasure, and his unfortunate subjects became the slaves of their rapacious conquerors. Cortez himself was treated with gross ingratitude by his sovereign, whose dominions he had enlarged by the conquest of an empire, and he died in comparative obscurity.

As the history of the course of policy adopted towards Mexico, is nearly the same as that which was adopted in all the colonies established by Spain and Portugal, it will be convenient to give here such a general outline of its principles as will obviate the necessity of again returning to the subject. The first thought of the conquerors was to propagate the Christian faith in their new dominions, not only from motives of bigotry, but in obedience to the soundest dictates of prudence. Cortez from the very commencement saw that the best means to secure the fidelity of the natives was to induce them to become Christians; for the Mexican system of idolatry would have raised an insurmountable barrier between them and the Spaniards. He and his successors were merciless in their extermination of the Mexican religion. The idols were broken to pieces and burned, the temples levelled to the ground, and not a priest was permitted to live. Missionaries were invited from Europe to aid in the great work of civilization; between the years 1522 and 1545, numbers of monastics came from various parts of the old world to aid in the conversion of Mexico. They penetrated the country at every point, proceeding far beyond the limits of the military establishments; they found the minds of the timid natives every where prepared for the reception of a new creed, being persuaded that their native gods had either abandoned them or had been deprived of power, and therefore that it was necessary for them to conciliate the deities of their conquerors. The missionaries did not hesitate to avail themselves of pious frauds to ensure the triumph of Christianity; they persuaded the ignorant natives that the Gospel had been preached in some remote age to their ancestors; they pretended that they could discover traces of its symbols and precepts in the corruptions of Mexican idolatry, and they magnified every accidental coincidence into a proof of perfect identity between the old and the new religion. Thus, they found something like a cross employed as a religious sign by the Mexican priests, and affected to hail it as a recognition of the symbol of our salvation. The sacred eagle of the Aztecs served as a plausible introduction to the worship of the Holy Spirit. Many practices unknown to the Roman Ritual were

admitted and consecrated. Thus the passion of the Indians for flowers was indulged by having sacred wreaths worn on certain festivals of the church, and chaplets offered on the altars. Dances were allowed to form a part of public worship, and amusements of a still more questionable character were permitted, even in the interior of churches. These compromises, combined with the avowed determination of the Spaniards to extirpate polytheism, will enable us to account for the vast number of conversions in the first half century after the conquest. Indeed, if we can believe the statistics of Torquemada, no less than six millions of Indians were baptized by friars of the Franciscan order between the years 1524 and 1540.

Nor were these converts confined to the lower ranks of the Indians. The Mexican nobles who had survived the massacre of Cortez, and even the royal family of Fezano, which was long permitted to retain a qualified independence, embraced the religion of the Spaniards. Ixtlilxochitl, the cazique of this petty principality, who had been the faithful ally of Cortez in all his campaigns, distinguished himself among the new converts. He received with open arms the monks who were sent to instruct him, gave them lodgings in his palace, and was incessant in his application to theological studies, until his teachers certified that he was qualified to become an instructor in his turn. He then began to preach to his subjects and to teach them the Romish catechism; his instructions and his authority won them over in such multitudes that it was impossible to baptize them individually. They were brigaded into bands; the same name was given to all the men of the same group, and this abridgement of the ceremony enabled the missionaries to receive thousands into the church every day. So ardent was the cazique's zeal, that he threatened to burn his mother, the queen-dowager, alive, if she did not at once resign her attachment to the ancient idolatry. His threats or his preachings finally prevailed; she consented to be led to the church, and to take the Christian name of Mary.

It must not be omitted that the missionaries honourably exerted themselves to protect the Mexicans from the sanguinary cruelty of the Spaniards; Sahagun and Las Casas were particularly famous for their exertions in behalf of the vanquished; they obtained bulls from the pope, and edicts from the Spanish Government, fully recognising the claims of the Indians to the rights of humanity, and though they failed to obtain a full measure of justice for the native Mexicans, they saved them from the wretched fate which swept away the native population in almost every other colony of Spain. In consequence of the protection thus accorded them, both by the secular and regular clergy, the attachment of the native Mexicans to the Romish religion became more ardent and passionate than that of the Spaniards themselves, and it still continues to be felt, though the country has been restored to independence.

The edicts of the Spanish monarchs in favour of the Indians were disregarded; the population began to decrease rapidly, and a new system was adopted by which oppression was reduced to an organized form, and ameliorated by being placed under the control of the government. It was determined that the native Americans should be regarded as serfs attached to the soil, and distributed into *Encomiendas*, a kind of fiefs or estates established in favour of the Spanish settlers, who took the name of *Conquistadores*. Slavery, which had previously been arbitrary, was thus invested with legal forms; the Indian tribes divided into sections, some of which contained more than a hundred families, were assigned either to the soldiers who had distinguished themselves in the war of invasion, or to the civilians sent from Madrid to administer the government of the provinces. It was fortunate for the Mexicans that their masters did not erect fortified castles, like the feudal barons of the middle ages; instead of these they established *haciendas*, or large farms, which they had the wisdom to govern according to the old forms of the Mexican proprietary. There was no change or interruption in the cultivation of plants indigenous to the soil; the serf cultivated the soil according to hereditary routine, and so identified himself with his master, that he very frequently took his name. There are many Indian families of the present day bearing Spanish names, whose blood has never been mingled with that of Europeans. Another fortunate circumstance contributed to the preservation of the native Mexicans; the Spanish settlers in that country did not enter into any of those mining speculations which led their brethren in Hispaniola and other islands of the Antilles to sacrifice the natives by myriads to their grasping cupidity. The *Conquistadores* had neither the capital nor the intelligence necessary for such enterprises; they contented themselves, in imitation of the natives, with washing the earth, silt, and sands, brought down from the mountains by rivers and winter torrents, to extract the grains of gold which they contained. The mines of Mexico, which have spread so much of the precious metals over the surface of the globe, were not discovered until after the conquest, and brought very trifling profits to those who first attempted their exploration. The loss of these speculators was a positive gain to humanity.

Up to the eighteenth century the condition of the Mexican peasants was very little different from that of the serfs of Poland or Russia. About that period their condition began to be sensibly ameliorated. Many families of *Conquistadores* became extinct, and the *encomiendas* were not again distributed by the government. The viceroys and the provincial councils, called *Audiencias*, paid particular attention to the interests of those Indians who were liberated by the breaking up of the *encomiendas*; they abolished every vestige of compulsory labour in the mines, requiring that this employment should be voluntary, and

fairly remunerated. Several abuses, however, prevailed in the colonial administration, from the monopolies established by the agents of the Spanish governments; they conferred upon themselves the exclusive privilege of selling those articles most likely to be used by an agricultural population, and fixed whatever price they pleased upon these commodities. Having thus, by a system of force and fraud, got the Indians deeply into their debt, they established a law by which insolvent debtors became the absolute slaves of their creditors. Many edicts were issued to check these abuses, but they were not effectually remedied until after the revolution which gave independence to Mexico.

We shall now briefly state the circumstances which led to the assertion of Mexican independence. On the 8th of July, 1808, a corvette from Cadiz brought intelligence of the dethronement of the Spanish Bourbons, by Napoleon, and the transfer of the monarchy to Joseph Buonaparte. The viceroy at first published the news without a word of comment, but soon recovering from his first surprise, he issued a proclamation declaring his intention to preserve his fidelity to King Ferdinand, and exhorting the Mexican people to maintain the rights of their legitimate sovereign. It was the first time that "the people" had been named in any act of state, emanating from the colonial government, and this was among the chief causes of the extraordinary enthusiasm with which the viceroy's appeal was received. It was proposed to establish a provisional government on the model of the *Juntas*, which had been formed by the patriots in Spain. This proposition, favourably received by the viceroy, was rejected by his council as inconsistent with the ascendancy which had hitherto been enjoyed by all pure Spaniards; three months were spent in controversy, until at length the council or *Audiencia* took the bold measure of arresting the viceroy, and throwing him into the prisons of the Inquisition on a charge of heresy. As, however, there was some danger that the populace might rise in his favour, the *Audiencia*, having first invested itself with the functions of regency, sent the governor a prisoner to Cadiz, where he was long confined in a dungeon.

The Creoles and Indians were indignant at this usurpation, and they were still more enraged by the undisguised contempt with which their claims were treated by the Spanish oligarchy. Bataller, one of the leading members of the council, was accustomed to say that "no native American should participate in the government, so long as there was a mule-driver in La Mancha, or a cobbler in Castille to represent Spanish ascendancy." The *Juntas* of Spain, though engaged in a desperate struggle for their own freedom, were obstinate in their resolution to keep the colonies in dependence, and they sent out Venegas as viceroy, with positive orders to maintain the ascendancy of the Spaniards, and keep the Creoles and Indians in their own condition of degradation.

A priest of Indian descent, Hidalgo, the curate of Dolares, raised the standard of revolt; he declared to his congregation that the Europeans had formed a plot to deliver up the country to the French Jacobins; he exhorted them to take up arms to defend their liberties and their religion, and to march boldly to battle in the name of King Ferdinand and the Blessed Virgin. On the 18th of September, 1810, he made himself master of San Felipe and San Miguel el-Grande; he confiscated the property of all the Europeans, declaring that the soil of Mexico belonged of right to the Mexicans themselves. Several other cities were conquered, and in all of them the Indians and Creoles sacrificed every European without mercy, their commander seeming to wink at their excesses, which he trusted would prevent terms of peace from being offered or accepted.

Venegas, the viceroy, made the most vigorous efforts to check the progress of this rebellion; he conciliated the Creoles by investing one of their body with high military rank; he caused Hidalgo to be excommunicated by the ecclesiastical authorities, and he paraded an image of the Virgin, to which superstition attached miraculous powers, through the streets of Mexico. This last expedient caused Hidalgo to stop short in the midst of his victorious career, and at a time when he was joined by several regiments of provincial militia, and by the curate Morelos, whose abilities were equivalent to a host, Hidalgo retired from before the walls of Mexico, which could not have resisted a vigorous assault. He was overtaken and defeated by an army of Spaniards and Creoles; several of the towns which had submitted to him were recaptured; and the victors more than retaliated the sanguinary excesses of the insurgents. The royal army continued to pursue Hidalgo and his half-armed associates; a second victory completed their ruin; Hidalgo and two of his principal officers endeavouring to escape to the United States were betrayed to the Spaniards, March 21st, 1811, and after a long confinement, in which they were vainly tortured to obtain a confession of the extent of the conspiracy, they were publicly executed.

The dispersed army of Hidalgo divided itself into separate bands, and maintained a ruinous guerilla warfare against their oppressors. Rayon and Morelos resolved to unite them once more in a grand scheme of patriotic warfare. Rayon caused a national junta to be established in the district where the Spaniards had least power; and in its name an address was sent to the viceroy requiring him to convoke a national cortes, similar to that which had been assembled in Spain, and insisting on the equality of the American and the European Spaniards in all political rights. The tone of this manifesto was equally firm and respectful, but it gave such offence to the viceroy Venegas, that he ordered it to be burned by the common hangman in the market-place in Mexico.

Morelos, who had succeeded to the influence of Hidalgo, prudently initiated his troops to habits of discipline in skirmishes and petty enterprises before venturing on any decisive engagements with the regular armies of Spain. His defence of Cuantha, where he was besieged by the royalists for several weeks, gave lustre to his very defeat. Yielding to famine, he evacuated the town, and led his army to Izucar, with the loss of only seventeen men. The barbarous cruelties perpetrated by the Spanish general Calleja in the town after the garrison had withdrawn, rendered the royalist cause so odious, that many who had hitherto supported the viceroy passed over to the ranks of the insurgents. It would be tedious to enumerate the battles, skirmishes, and sieges which filled the next two years; we must limit ourselves to saying that Morelos was continuously successful until the close of the year 1813, when he was decisively defeated by Iturbide. Thenceforward his career was one continued series of misfortunes, until, on the 5th of November, 1815, he was surprised by an overwhelming force, and made prisoner after a desperate resistance. He was carried in chains to Mexico, degraded from his clerical rank, and executed. The Mexican Junta, or Congress, was soon after dissolved, and the revolt became once more a confused series of partial and desultory insurrections which the Spaniards hoped to quell in detail. In 1817 the younger Mina attempted to rekindle the flames of insurrection in Mexico; but, as he refused to assert the absolute independence of the country, he did not receive such enthusiastic support as Hidalgo or Morelos. After a brilliant career, in which he displayed the most extraordinary bravery and resources of genius, he was overthrown, made prisoner, and shot as a traitor.

The insurrection in Mexico was virtually at an end, when news arrived that the army which had been assembled in Spain to restore the absolute authority of the sovereign in America, had revolted at Cadiz, proclaimed the constitution, and demanded the convocation of the Cortes. The viceroy, Apodaca, was a devoted partisan of absolute power; he formed a plan for inviting Ferdinand to Mexico, and there restoring him to his despotic authority, and he employed as his chief agent Don Augustin Iturbide, who had shewn himself a bitter enemy of Mexican liberty during the entire course of the preceding insurrection. Iturbide drew up a very different plan from that which Apodaca had contemplated; it asserted the civic equality of all the inhabitants of Mexico, established a constitution, proclaimed the country independent, invited Ferdinand to become its sovereign with the title of emperor, and in case of his refusal declared that the crown should be proffered to some other prince of the blood. The old Spaniards of Mexico, in a storm of mingled rage and fear, deposed Apodaca, and chose Francisco Novella viceroy in his place. This false step rendered Iturbide irresistible; the Creoles and Indians flocked to his standard;

several Spanish officers, disliking the new viceroy, joined him with their regiments; and on the 27th of November, 1821, the royalist army surrendered the capital, and consented to evacuate Mexico. The treaty which the viceroy had concluded with the insurgents was annulled by the Cortes of Madrid, and the effect of this imprudence was the utter ruin of the party which clung to the hope of seeing a Bourbon prince placed at the head of the new state.

The Congress which assembled in Mexico seemed disposed to form a federative republic; but the partisans of Iturbide suddenly proclaimed their favourite emperor, and the deputies were constrained to ratify their choice. He did not retain the sovereignty for an entire year; he was dethroned, as he had been elevated, by the army; the Congress pronounced upon him sentence of perpetual exile, but with laudable generosity granted a considerable pension for his support. Iturbide, after the lapse of rather more than a year, returned to Mexico, July 16th, 1824, in the hopes of reviving his party. He fell into the hands of the republicans, and was immediately put to death. A republic was then established; soon after the fortress of St. Juan d'Ulloa, the last possession of the government, was surrendered by capitulation, and the standard of Castile, after an ascendancy of more than three hundred years, disappeared for ever from the coasts of Mexico.

The progress of the Mexican republic since the establishment of its independence has not been prosperous. Conspiracies, insurrections, and civil wars have kept every part of the territory in misery and confusion. Texas, one of the richest provinces, has separated from the Mexican Union, and established its independence. All European Spaniards have been compelled to quit the territories of the republic, which thus drove away some of the most wealthy, intelligent, and industrious of its citizens. The Mexican finances have fallen into confusion, and the army seems to be the sole ruling power in the state.

The Establishment of the Spaniards in Peru.

THE discovery of a passage round the South American continent into the Pacific Ocean, by Magellan, and the establishment of a colony at Panama, soon after Balboa had ascertained the nature of the Isthmus, incited the Spanish adventurers to undertake new conquests. Pizarro, one of the most enterprising men that ever visited the New World, having with great difficulty prepared a small armament, landed in Peru (A.D. 1531), and though at first disappointed by the barren appearance of the coast, he found so much treasure at Coague as to convince him that the accounts which Balboa had received of the riches of the country were not exaggerated. When the Spaniards first

in Peru, the nation was divided by a civil war between the sons of the late Inca, or sovereign; Huascar, the elder, was dethroned by his brother Atahualpa, and detained in captivity, while his partisans were secretly maturing plans for his restoration. Pizarro advanced into the country with the professed design of acting as mediator, but with the perfidious purpose of seizing Atahualpa, as Cortez had the unfortunate Montezuma. He prepared for the execution of his scheme with the same deliberation, and with as little compunction, as if he had been engaged in the most honourable transaction. When the Spaniards approached the capital, the Inca was easily persuaded to consent to an interview; and he visited the invaders with a barbarous magnificence, and ostentatious display of wealth, which inflamed the cupidity of the Spaniards, almost beyond the power of restraint. When Atahualpa reached the Spanish camp, he was addressed by Valverde, the chaplain to the expedition, in a long, and what must to the Inca have appeared an incomprehensible, discourse. The priest, after a brief notice of the mysteries of creation and redemption, proceeded to explain the doctrine of the pope's supremacy. He then dwelt upon the grant which Pope Alexander had made to the crown of Spain, and by virtue of it called upon Atahualpa at once to embrace Christianity, and acknowledge himself a vassal of the Spanish monarch. The Inca, completely puzzled, demanded where Valverde had learned such wonderful things? "In this book," replied the priest, presenting the monarch with his Breviary. The Inca took the book, turned over the leaves, and then put it to his ear. "This tells me nothing!" he exclaimed, flinging the Breviary on the ground. "Blasphemy! blasphemy!" exclaimed Valverde; "to arms, to arms, my Christian brethren! avenge the profanation of God's word by the polluted hands of infidels."

This solemn farce appears to have been preconcerted; Valverde's words were the signal to "cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of war." Ere he had concluded, the trumpets sounded a charge; a dreadful fire of artillery and musketry was opened on the defenceless Peruvians; and in the midst of their surprise and consternation, they were charged by the cavalry, whose appearance to men who had never before beheld a horse, seemed something supernatural. Atahualpa was taken prisoner and conveyed to the Spanish camp, while the invaders satiated themselves with the rich spoils of the field. The unfortunate Inca attempted to procure his liberation by the payment of an enormous ransom, but Pizarro, after receiving the gold, resolved to deprive the credulous monarch of life. He was brought to trial under the most iniquitous pretences, and sentenced to be burned alive; but on his consenting to receive baptism from Valverde, his sentence was so far mitigated that he was first strangled at the stake. The Spaniards quarrelled among themselves about the division of the spoils; the

Peruvians took advantage of their discord to raise formidable insurrections, and the new kingdom seemed likely to be lost almost as soon as it was gained. Pizarro himself was murdered by Almagro, the son of one of his old companions, whom he had put to death for treason, and but for the arrival of Vara de Castro, who had been sent as governor from Spain, the confusion produced by this crime would probably have been without a remedy. De Castro conquered Almagro, and by his judicious measures restored tranquillity to the distracted province. Fresh disturbances were excited by the ambition of Gonzalo Pizarro, and it was not until more than a quarter of a century after its conquest, that the royal authority was firmly established in Peru.

The government established by the Spaniards in Peru was far more iniquitous and oppressive than that of Mexico, because the Peruvian mines were, from the first moment of the conquest, almost the only objects which engaged the attention of the Spanish and the provincial governments. A horrible system of conscription was devised for working these mines; all the Indians between the ages of eighteen and fifty were enrolled in seven lists, the individuals on each list being obliged to work for six months in the mines, so that this forced labour came on the unfortunate Indians at intervals of three years and a half; four out of every five were supposed to perish annually in these deadly labours, and to add to the misery of the natives, they were not allowed to purchase the necessaries of life except from privileged dealers, who robbed them of their earnings without remorse or scruple. Towards the close of the last century two serious insurrections of the native Peruvians filled the Spaniards with terror; they were not suppressed until the rebellion had taxed the resources and power of the provincial government to the utmost, and the sanguinary massacres of all who were suspected of having joined in the revolt, left the country in a state of helplessness and exhaustion from which it had not recovered at the commencement of the revolution.

As it was impossible to gratify the rapacious cupidity of all the Spaniards who sought to share in the produce of the Peruvian mines, it became a principle of colonial policy to keep alive the spirit of adventure, by sending divisions to wrest new tracts of land from the natives, without organizing any new system of conquest. It was thus that Chili became finally annexed to the Spanish dominions; but the efforts made for its conquest were desultory, and separated by long intervals, so that over a great part of the country the sovereignty of Spain was merely nominal. The colonists and natives, however, seem never to have wished for independence, until the desire of nationality was pressed upon them by the irresistible force of circumstances, and in fact their first revolutionary movements were made in the name of loyalty and obedience.

When Joseph Buonaparte was proclaimed king of Spain by Napoleon, all the Spanish colonies of South America resolved to remain faithful to the ancient dynasty. It was suspected that the European Spaniards were disposed to make terms with the French emperor, and therefore native juntas were elected to maintain the rights of Ferdinand. In September, 1810, the Chilians formed a junta in Santiago; the Spanish general of the district attempted to disperse this body, a smart skirmish ensued, and the Chilians, having obtained the victory, became desirous to establish a perpetual system of self-government. The struggle for independence in Chili and Peru resembled the Mexican war in its general outlines: at first the patriots, after gaining advantages of which they did not know how to make use, were reduced to temporary submission. But the Spanish yoke, always heavy, proved intolerable to men who had obtained a brief experience of freedom; new insurrections were raised in every quarter, the superior discipline which had previously given victory to the royalists was acquired by the revolvers, several European officers joined them, the Spanish government feebly supported its defenders, and the viceroys shewed themselves destitute of talent either as generals or statesmen. The independence of the Spanish colonies in South America was nearly completed in the year 1823, but the last Spanish garrison was not surrendered until the 26th of February, 1826, when Rodil, the only royalist leader who had exhibited courage, fidelity, and talent, surrendered the citadel of Callao to the patriots.

Before the revolution the provinces of Upper Peru formed part of the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres; but as the manners, habits, and even the language of the Peruvians differed materially from those of the people on the Rio de la Plata, the latter, after forming themselves into the Argentine republic, left their neighbours free to pursue any course they pleased. A general assembly of the Peruvian provinces solemnly proclaimed that Upper Peru should henceforth form an independent nation, that it should be named Bolivia in honor of Bolivar, the chief agent in its liberation, and that the rights of person and property should form the basis of its republican constitution. A million of dollars was voted to Bolivar as a tribute of national gratitude, but that chivalrous general refused to receive the money, and requested that it should be expended in purchasing the freedom of the few negroes who still remained slaves in Bolivia.

In Lower Peru the Bolivian constitution was far from being so popular as it had been in the upper provinces. It was indeed at first accepted, and Bolivar chosen president, but when he went to suppress an insurrection in Columbia, advantage was taken of his absence to set aside the system he had established. Since that period Columbia, Bolivia, and Peru have suffered severely from intestine wars and civil commotions, which have greatly deteriorated the vast natural resources

of these states. Bolivia has indeed gained tranquillity, and its rulers appear desirous to extend its commerce and encourage those branches of industry most likely to benefit the community. It is the only one of the new republics in which the finances are in a wholesome condition; its revenues are not only sufficient for the necessary expenses of the state, but there is a considerable surplus, which is wisely expended on the maintenance and construction of roads, and on facilitating the means of communication internally among the inhabitants themselves and externally with strangers.

Previous to the expeditions of Cortez and Pizarro, Florida had been discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon. Its verdant forests and magnificent flowering aloes seemed so inviting, that a colony was formed with little difficulty. But the Indians of Florida were the most warlike of the native races in America, and they severely harassed the settlers. Soto, a companion of Pizarro, led an expedition into the interior, where he discovered the Mississippi. He died on the banks of the river, and his followers, anxious to conceal his death from the Indians, sank his body in the stream. A plan was formed by the leaders of the French Huguenots for emigrating to Florida, and an exploring party was sent out, but the jealousy of Spain was roused; the adventurers were closely pursued, made prisoners, and put to death. Florida remained subject to Spain until the year 1818, when, in consequence of the depredations of the Indians, which the governors pleaded their inability to restrain, the Americans, under General Jackson, entered the province and annexed it to the United States. The Spanish government remonstrated, but had not the means of obtaining redress; and it finally acceded to the cession (A.D. 1821).

Portuguese Colonies in South America.

BRAZIL was accidentally discovered by a Portuguese admiral bound to the East Indies, in the year 1501, but he did not ascertain whether it was an island or part of the continent, a subject which long remained a matter of doubt. No effort was made to colonize the country for nearly half a century; this apparent neglect arose from the reluctance of the Portuguese to interfere with the pretensions of the court of Spain, for the papal grant of newly-discovered countries to the Spanish monarch was held by the court of Madrid to include the whole American continent. At length the king of Portugal, envious of the wealth acquired by the Spaniards, sent out a small body of colonists, who founded St. Salvador (A.D. 1549). These settlers reported that the native Brazilians were far lower in the scale of civilization than the Mexicans or Peruvians; they were divided into a number of petty

tribes or states, constantly at war with each other, and the invaders, though few in number, were easily able to subdue the Indian tribes in detail, by fomenting their animosities and cautiously holding the balance between their contending interests. This course of policy was rendered necessary by the personal bravery of the native Brazilians; though ignorant of discipline and unable to act in masses, they displayed great individual courage in battle; they were skilful in the use of bows, darts, wooden clubs, and shields, and frequently were victorious in petty skirmishes. But they were unable to resist European tactics and European policy, and hence they were finally reduced under the yoke, with which they soon appeared to be contented. The facility with which the Portuguese made themselves masters of this rich territory excited the cupidity of other powers, and they were successively attacked by the Spaniards, the French, and the Dutch. The latter were the most dangerous enemies; they had just effected their deliverance from the iron despotism of Spain, under which the Portuguese themselves groaned at the period, and hence they had such a party in the country that their conquest would have been certain had they not alienated their supporters by attempting to establish odious monopolies. From the time of the expulsion of the Dutch, the Portuguese made it their object to keep everything connected with Brazil a profound secret, and little was known of the country until it asserted its independence.

For more than three centuries one of the most beautiful and fertile regions of the globe was thus, by the policy of Portugal, restricted from all intercourse and commerce with the other nations of Europe, and even the residence or admission of foreigners was equally prohibited. The vessels of the allies of the mother-country were occasionally permitted to anchor in its ports, but neither passengers nor crew were allowed to land excepting under the superintendence of a guard of soldiers.

Previously to the year 1808, though the viceroy resident in Rio de Janeiro was nominally the highest functionary of the government, yet this personage was, in reality, invested with but little political power, except in the province of Rio, where alone he acted as captain-general, the virtual administration of the colony being intrusted chiefly to similar officers, one of whom was appointed to each province. They were nominated for three years only, and received their instructions from the court of Lisbon, to which they were compelled to render an account of their proceedings. They were not only prohibited from marrying within the sphere of their jurisdiction, but also from the transaction of any commercial pursuits, as well as from accepting any present or emolument, in addition to the stipend allotted them by the government. For the management and application of the public finances bodies were appointed, denominated "Juntas de

Fazenda," Juntas of Finance; of which the captains-general of the respective provinces were the presidents.

The highest functions of the judicial power were confided to a court of appeal composed of desembargadores, or chief judges, to whom succeeded the onvidores, or itinerant judges, who were under the obligation of making an annual circuit to the districts committed to their charge, for the purpose of passing judgment in criminal cases. For the adjudication of certain cases, judges termed "**Juizes de Fora,**" who were selected from among such as had taken their degree in Coimbra as bachelors of law, were appointed, who, as well as the officers of the higher tribunals, were all nominated by the court of Portugal. In the less populous and inferior districts, "**Juizes ordinarios,**" with the same attributes as the "**Juizes de fora,**" were also occasionally selected by the votes of individuals denominated "**Bous de pivo,**" the qualification for which title was to have held office in the municipalities. From the sentence of these "**Juizes**" appeal could be made to the court of desembargadores in Rio, and from this again, ultimately, to the "**Disembargo do Baco**" in Lisbon. Unless, however, the appellant were possessed either of great interest at court, or, in default of it, could bribe higher than his antagonist, these final appeals were seldom of any real utility.

The statutes on which the decisions of the judicial power were founded, was the Portuguese code framed during the reigns of the two Philips, and entitled "**Ordnaçoens do Reino,**" to which were appended all the "**Cartas de Lei**" and decrees issued since the accession of the house of Braganza, forming altogether about nine volumes.

Though in ordinary cases the decision of both civil and criminal causes was left exclusively to the judicial authorities, the mandate of the captains-general was at any time sufficient either to suspend or set aside the ordinary operation of the law.

The municipalities were close corporations, formed on the model of those of Portugal; where those bodies had formerly been intrusted with the nomination of deputies to the supreme cortes: though this, as well as many other important privileges, had latterly fallen into desuetude.

On occasions of public ceremony the national banner was still carried in their processions, and they were still recognized, in appearance at least, as the representatives of the people. In Brazil also their power was once considerable, and instances have occurred of the deposition of the captains-general by the municipalities, and of this exercise of authority having been sanctioned by the entire approbation of the government of Lisbon, though towards the end of the last century their powers had been restricted almost exclusively to the improvement of roads, the construction of bridges, the control of the markets, and other objects of minor importance. Their executive officers, who were

entitled "Juizes Almotaceis" were nominated by the municipalities themselves every three months, and were charged with the power of exacting fines and enforcing imprisonment according to certain established regulations.

The regular troops were recruited according to the direction, and placed entirely at the disposition of the captains-general, but the officers were nominated by the court of Lisbon. The militia, or troops of the second line, were enlisted by the officers of each respective corps, and the officers themselves were also appointed in Lisbon, at the proposition of the captains-general. Though serving gratuitously, this latter force was often employed in very laborious and odious services, and its members as well as the regular troops were amenable to martial law in all matters relative to their military duty.

In addition to the preceding were the Ordenanças, or troops of the third line, who by the regulations of their institution ought to have been composed exclusively of such individuals as were incapacitated by physical defects or otherwise from serving in the militia. Their duty was to defend the country in cases of emergency, but this service was merely nominal, and, by a perversion of the real objects of the institution, it became customary for all possessed of sufficient patronage to obtain a post in the Ordenanças for the express object of avoiding enrolment in the militia. The fidalgos, or Portuguese noblemen of the first rank, were exempt from personal service altogether.

The orders of knighthood were those of Santo Iago, San Bento de Aviz, and the order of Christ, of all of which the sovereigns of Portugal were the grand masters and perpetual administrators. Amongst the privileges appertaining to the office of grand master of the order of Christ, a pontifical bull had conferred that of an entire ecclesiastical jurisdiction over ultra-marine conquests, and by virtue of this title, the crown of Portugal shortly after the discovery of Brazil appropriated to its own use all the tithes levied in the country; with however a proviso, binding the monarch to provide for the celebration of public worship, and to pay a stipulated sum for the adequate maintenance of the various clergy. By the same authority the presentation of ecclesiastical benefices was also constituted one of the exclusive privileges of royalty, though, at the proposition of the bishops, with an injunction that the natives of the respective captaincies, and more especially the descendants of the ancient nobility who were among the first emigrants to Brazil, should on all occasions be preferred, the right of presentation still being restricted to the sovereign.

The stipulations made for the maintenance of the established religion, and the due support of the clergy, were nevertheless but very imperfectly complied with.

Many priests came to be dependent on the mere fees of their office for subsistence, and the stipend paid to the highest dignitaries of the

Church, was but trifling when compared with what would have accrued to them, had they been allowed to retain possession of their tithes. The revenue of the archbishop of Bahia, the head functionary of the Brazilian Church, never amounted to more than ten contos of rees per annum, at par, 2,812*l.* 10*s.* sterling; nor was the bishopric of Rio de Janeiro, embracing within its limits the provinces of Rio Grande, Espirito Santo, and Santa Catherine, ever worth to its incumbent more than six contos of rees, or 1,687*l.* 10*s.* per annum. These peculiarities in the condition of the clergy are perhaps worthy of more particular note than the circumstances of any other class, since they will be found to have exercised a most important influence during the period of the subsequent revolution.

The jealousy of the Portuguese government constantly led them to dread the growth of every power or corporation which might hereafter militate against the exercise of its authority; and on this account not only were the civil and ecclesiastical functionaries brought more immediately under control than in the mother-country, but even the increase of capitalists and large proprietors was systematically prevented. The entailment of landed property could be effected only by virtue of an express permission from the sovereign; and all manufactures, excepting the preparation of sugar, were most rigidly prohibited.

During the year 1769 a conspiracy was formed by a few influential individuals in Villa Rica, not so much, however, with the design of proclaiming an independent republic, as from a desire to ascertain what co-operation they were likely to meet with in case that step should subsequently be adopted. From a diminution in the product of the coal-mines in this district, several of the individuals working them were in considerable arrear for taxes. These arrears the government in Lisbon had ordered to be paid up, with but little regard to the practicability of the demand. Much irritation had in consequence been excited, and a military officer of the name of Joaquim Jozé da Silva Xavier, commonly termed "Tiradentes," or the Tooth-drawer, was sent off for the purpose of ascertaining the disposition of the inhabitants of Rio Janeiro. Here the imprudence of Tiradentes led to an immediate discovery of the association, the members of which were forthwith arrested. Altogether, however, their numbers did not amount to forty, yet, though little could be urged in evidence against them, they were all sentenced to death, banishment, or the galleys, according to the different degrees of their supposed guilt.

These sentences were nevertheless mitigated in favour of all, except the unfortunate Tiradentes, who, though but an instrument in the hands of others, was, after the lapse of two years, condemned to be hanged, decapitated, and quartered; by the same sentence it was, among other ignominious provisions, enacted that his head should be exposed in the public square in Villa Rica, his house rased to the ground, and his

children and grandchildren declared infamous. A conspiracy, originating exclusively among the people of colour, was also organized in Bahia during the year 1801, but like the former, it was discovered before any attempt had been made to put it into execution. The communication between the different provinces was neither sufficient to facilitate a general revolt, nor indeed were the free population disposed to it. Their condition, as contrasted with that which is the result of European civilization, was wretched; yet the tyranny exercised over them was of a negative rather than of a positive character. Their wants were few, and from the almost total absence of nobility, large proprietors, or powerful ecclesiastical dignitaries, there was an equality throughout their entire association which prevented their being sensible of any undue privations. Could they have been exempted from all extraneous impulse, ages might have rolled away, and Brazil have been known to Europe, only as the colossal, yet submissive, and unaspiring dependency of Portugal. But events were occurring elsewhere, about the close of the eighteenth century, the effects of which were fated to extend their influence to the very ends of the earth. The young republic of France emerged from amid the storms of the revolution, and the crowned heads of all the surrounding states entered into one mighty coalition to crush the intruder. In this attempt their efforts were partially successful, yet their aggressive policy was, ere long, followed up by a fearful and overwhelming counteraction. They raised up a spirit which they afterwards in vain attempted to exorcise. They called forth a conqueror who for a while scattered all their armaments before him, and who burst and rivetted at will the manacles of many nations. The results of his victories were not bounded by the hemisphere wherein they were achieved. They gave birth to the immediate independence of all the Spanish colonies in South America, and by compelling the royal family of Portugal to seek refuge in Brazil, they created as it were a new era in her history.

The royal family of Portugal sailed from Lisbon under the escort of a British squadron, and reached Rio Janeiro on the 7th of March, 1808. As Portugal was occupied by a French army, it would have been absurd to maintain the ancient monopoly of trade, and the ports of Brazil were thrown open to foreigners of every nation by a royal decree. As the dowager-queen of Portugal was in a state of mental imbecility, the government was administered by her son, Don John, with the title of regent; he introduced several great improvements into the government; Brazil was no longer treated as a colony; it was raised to the dignity of a nation, and the progress of amelioration in its financial and commercial condition was unusually rapid.

The first cause of discontent was the preference which the court naturally showed for officers of Portuguese birth; and this jealousy

was increased by the contempt with which the Europeans treated every one of Brazilian birth. Indeed, a Portuguese general formally proposed that all Brazilians should be declared incompetent to hold a higher rank than that of a captain, and though no such law was formally enacted, its spirit was acted upon in every department of the administration. Dissatisfaction was silent, but it was deeply felt and rapidly extending, when in October, 1820, intelligence arrived of the revolt in Portugal in favour of a constitutional government. On the 26th of February, 1821, the king was compelled to proclaim the constitution in Rio de Janeiro, and to promise that he would convoke a Brazilian cortes.

In the meantime the cortes at Lisbon began to form projects for securing to Portugal its ancient monopoly of Brazilian commerce, and to render its provinces once more colonies dependent on the mother-country. These projects were eagerly supported by the Portuguese in Brazil, who trusted to revive their ancient ascendancy over the colonists and natives. Violent disputes, frequently ending in bloodshed, arose between the Portuguese and the Brazilians; Don John, who had assumed the title of king on his mother's death, returned to Lisbon, leaving his son, Don Pedro, at the head of the Brazilian government, which he clearly saw would not long remain dependent on Portugal. The Cortes of Lisbon assumed the right of legislating for the colonies without consulting their inclinations; they abolished the tribunals which had been created in Rio Janeiro, and passed a decree recalling Don Pedro to Europe. These decrees were resisted by the Brazilians, and after some delay they took the decisive step of declaring their independence, and establishing a constitutional monarchy under Don Pedro as emperor.

We have elsewhere noticed the revolution in which Pedro was dethroned, and a regency established in the name of his son. Since that period Brazil has enjoyed more tranquillity than any of the other South American states, and but for the difficulties which arise from the continuance of negro slavery in the country, it would seem to have every fair prospect of advancing rapidly in social prosperity and political importance.

Paraguay cannot with propriety be reckoned among the colonies either of Spain or Portugal, though both governments have claimed it as their own. It was first brought under European control by the Jesuit missionaries, who professed a nominal obedience to the crown of Spain. Their success in making converts was greater than that of their brethren in any other quarter of the globe; they instructed the Indians who embraced Christianity in agriculture and the arts of social life; the surrounding tribes were not slow in perceiving the advantages which their countrymen had derived from the change, and they came voluntarily to seek instruction. In a very short time the Jesuits

became complete masters of the country; in order to perpetuate their dominion, they carefully excluded all foreigners from Paraguay, and infused into the minds of the natives a suspicious jealousy, or rather hatred, of foreigners, which has never since been eradicated.

When the order of the Jesuits was abolished, Paraguay was all but left to itself, and its name was scarcely mentioned in Europe, until it took a share in the revolutionary movement which established so many new states in South America. Doctor Francia headed the revolution of Paraguay, and obtained absolute power for himself, with the title of Dictator. He established as rigid a system for excluding foreigners as the Jesuits themselves, and his successors appear to continue the same course of policy.

The English in America.

ENGLAND had shared in the ardour for discovery which the successful enterprise of Columbus diffused throughout Europe. Newfoundland was visited by Sebastian Cabot, in the reign of Henry VII.; and two unsuccessful voyages were made to the Southern Seas, by the same navigator, in the reign of Henry VIII. But the object which long continued to be the favourite one of the English adventurers, was the discovery of a passage through the Northern Seas to India and China. Sir Hugh Willoughby, and Richard Chancellor, hoped that this might be attained by sailing to the north-east; the latter reached Archangel, a port then unknown in Western Europe, and though he failed in his principal object, he laid the foundation of an active commerce between Great Britain and Russia. The Company of Merchant Adventurers, incorporated by Edward VI., were indefatigable in their efforts to open new courses of trade, by encouraging maritime and inland discovery; while their navigators penetrated to Nova Zembla and the river Oby, several of their factors accompanied some Russian caravans into Persia, by the route of Astrachan and the Caspian Sea; and the accounts which they published on their return, first gave British merchants accurate intelligence concerning the state of the remote regions of the East. These enterprises were renewed under the reign of Elizabeth; a commercial treaty was concluded with the shah of Persia, and such information obtained respecting India, as greatly increased the national ardour for opening a communication with that country by sea. But every effort to discover a North-west or North-east passage failed; Martin Frobisher, like every navigator from his days to those of Sir John Ross, found the seas blockaded with fields of ice, through which no opening could be made. This disappointment might have damped the spirit of the English, but for the successful enterprise of Sir Francis Drake, who circumnavigated the globe with

a small squadron, and returned home with an account of many important discoveries in the Pacific Ocean. War with Spain rendered this information peculiarly important; and the English resolved to attack their enemies through their colonies, and thus cut off the sources of the wealth which rendered Philip II. formidable to Europe.

Sir Humphry Gilbert, of Compton, in Devonshire, was the first who attempted to found an English colony in America; he obtained a charter from Queen Elizabeth (June 11, 1578). The first efforts of the adventurers were baffled by a series of unfortunate accidents; the settlers in Virginia, as the colony was called in honour of the maiden queen, were either forced to return, or perished by famine; and at the close of Elizabeth's reign there was not a single Englishman resident in America. Two companies were incorporated by James I. for colonizing Northern America; Newport, who led the settlers to Virginia, had the good fortune to discover the bay of the Chesapeake, and the Powhatan, or James' River, and in this favourable position he founded James' Town, which soon became a thriving settlement. Its rising prosperity was checked by disputes between the ruling powers, and by the unfortunate captivity of Governor Smith, who was taken prisoner by the Indians. These barbarians were about to put their captive to death by torture, when his life was saved by the interference of Pocahuntas, the daughter of the Indian chief, and Smith was restored to the colony, which, during his absence, had been brought to the brink of ruin. Pocahuntas subsequently became a Christian, and married an Englishman, named Rolfe; and most of the respectable families in Virginia claim to be descended more or less directly from the Indian heroine.

But fresh calamities awaited the colony; the settlers abandoned agricultural pursuits to search for gold mines, and this folly produced a famine which threatened utter ruin. The settlement was on the point of being abandoned, when Lord Delaware arrived from England with provisions and reinforcements. Thenceforward its improvement was progressive, and the cultivation of tobacco became more profitable to the Virginians than the mines of Peru to the Spanish Americans. Unfortunately, the arrival of a Dutch vessel laden with negroes, in James' River, introduced the slave-trade into the colony, and the greater part of the labour still continues to be performed by servile hands.

The Virginians adhered to the royal cause with desperate fidelity in the war between Charles I. and his parliament, for which they were severely punished by Cromwell. Charles II., so far from rewarding their loyalty, not only continued, but increased the restrictions which the Protector had imposed upon them, and thus provoked a formidable insurrection, which was not suppressed without great difficulty. From that period to the revolutionary war in 1776, Virginia continued to enjoy tranquillity; and as most of the settlers were descended from

cavaliers, the colony was considered one of the most loyal subject to the British crown.

The first attempts to settle a colony in a more northern part of America, subsequently called New England, were very unfortunate. At length some puritans, dissatisfied with the English form of Church government, emigrated to the New World, and landed in Massachusetts Bay (September 6, 1620). They were soon joined by fresh bands of their brethren from the parent country, who sought in the wilds for a freedom of worship which was denied them at home. Fortunately for them the Indians surrounding their frontiers were swept away by the small-pox, and thus the colonists were enabled to extend their frontiers without being exposed to the horrors of war. Though the puritans had emigrated, as they asserted, because they felt their consciences restricted in England, they were far from permitting freedom of opinion in their new settlements. Disputed points of doctrine gave rise to fierce dissensions, and the minority was driven into the wilderness. The expelled sectarians founded the colonies of Providence, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, to which New Hampshire and Maine were subsequently added, but rather through a spirit of enterprise than religious discord.

The extension of their settlements exposed the English to new dangers. Though the Indian tribes round Massachusetts Bay were feeble and unwarlike, the colonies of Providence and Connecticut were encircled by powerful and martial nations, of which the most considerable were the Naragansets and the Pequods. Fortunately, however, these nations were divided by ancient animosities; the Pequods, attempting the expulsion of the English, were defeated; but the conquerors sullied their victory by mercilessly exterminating the whole tribe. Warned by this example, the Naragansets entered into amicable relations with the English, which were indeed frequently interrupted by mutual jealousies, but were maintained notwithstanding, until the indignities offered to King Philip, the head of the Wampanoag tribe, drove that powerful chieftain into open war (A.D. 1675). Philip successfully inspired all the Indian tribes with a passion for independence, and displayed considerable abilities both as a general and a statesman. He defeated several parties of the English; and though frequently routed in his turn, he easily repaired his losses by inviting volunteers from distant tribes. But his followers were not all animated by the same spirit; his place of refuge was betrayed by one of his favourites to an English party; he was surprised and slain. The war lingered for some months after his death, but the superiority of the English was firmly established; and though the Indians were at many subsequent periods induced to take up arms by the French, they were never able to give any important check to the growing prosperity of the English colonies.

The country which constitutes the state of New York is said to have been discovered by an Englishman, Captain Hudson, who sold his right to the Dutch. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the court of England, the Dutch settled themselves in the country, and founded the town of New Amsterdam. The colony continued to flourish until the first Dutch war in the reign of Charles II., when it was conquered by the English, who changed the name of the capital to New York, which it still retains. New Jersey was at the same time added to the English colonies; but there is nothing remarkable in the history of either, previous to the war of independence (A.D. 1776).

Canada was the first colony established by the French in Canada; but the early settlers suffered so many misfortunes, that the country was several times on the point of being abandoned. It began, however, to prosper after the foundation of Quebec, by Champlain (A.D. 1608), and the formation of a new colony at Montreal. The contests of the French with the Iroquois and the Hurons were less perilous than those of the New Englanders with the Pequods and Naragansets, but they were less ably conducted, and more injurious to the prosperity of the colony.

At a much later period, the French colonized Louisiana (A.D. 1686), with the hope of securing the fertile countries watered by the Mississippi. The settlement was more valued by the government than Canada, because it was supposed to contain mines of gold, and for the same reason possession of it was equally coveted by the English and the Spaniards. Having two colonies, one at the northern and the other at the southern extremity of the British settlements, the French government prepared to connect them by a chain of forts, which would have completely hemmed in the English. A furious war ensued between the two nations in the back woods, which ended in the complete overthrow of the French. Canada and Louisiana were ceded to England by the peace of 1763; but the latter is now joined to the United States, while the former still continues under British government. In the history of the other British American colonies there is nothing of sufficient importance to deserve a place in this summary. The most important of them now form a great republic, which must for the future occupy a conspicuous position in Modern History; and among the best guides to a correct estimate of their future career, is a knowledge of the circumstances attending their foundation.

Colonization of the West Indies.

WE have already mentioned the settlement of the Spaniards in Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, and Cuba, and shall now briefly give a sketch of the colonization of the other principal islands. Barbadoes, one of the earliest English settlements, was totally uninhabited when the English took possession of it (A.D. 1623). Its prosperity first began to attract notice when some of the Dutch, who were expelled from Brazil by the Portuguese, introduced the manufacture of sugar, and the cultivation of the cane, from which that useful article is extracted. Negroes were not imported as slaves until about the year 1630; previous to which time the planters are said to have been frequently guilty of kidnapping the Caribs. The negroes multiplied so fast, that they frequently conspired to massacre all the white inhabitants, and take possession of the island, but their plots were discovered and punished with remorseless severity.

St. Lucia was first settled by the English (A.D. 1637), but the colonists were soon massacred by the Caribs, after which it was seized by the French, who are said to have instigated the revolt of the native tribes. The island frequently changed masters in the wars between France and England, but it now belongs to the latter power. St. Vincent and the Grenadine islands were similarly contested, and now belong to England.

Martinico and Guadaloupe were colonized by the French, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Their prosperity received very severe checks in the frequent wars between France and England. At the late treaty of peace they were restored to France. The other Caribbee islands are possessed by the Dutch, the Danes, the Swedes, and the English, but the largest share belongs to the English. Antigua is, perhaps, the most flourishing of these islands, but there is nothing remarkable in its history.

Tobago was colonized by the Dutch, conjointly with the Courlanders (A.D. 1632). It was wrested from them by the French, who subsequently ceded it to the English (A.D. 1737).

Trinidad is a large and fertile island on the coast of South America, remarkable for a lake of asphaltum, or mineral pitch. It was early colonized by Spain, but was captured by the English in 1797, and is still retained by them. It is one of the very few of these islands which contains any portion of its ancient population.

The Bahama islands, though discovered by Columbus, were completely neglected until they were accidentally visited by an Englishman named Sayle (A.D. 1667), who was driven to seek shelter among them by stress of weather. The account which he gave of their climate and productions, on his return home, induced some spirited adventurers to combine for their colonization. The early settlers suffered

very severely from hurricanes and the hostility of the Spaniards, but they surmounted these difficulties, and laid the foundation of communities which are now flourishing and prosperous.

The Bermudas, or Summer islands, were discovered but never colonized by the Spaniards. An Englishman named May was shipwrecked on one of them; he and his companions built a vessel of the native cedar, and returned to Europe, where they published a very exaggerated account of the beauty and fertility of these islands, which gave rise to many poetic fictions. A colony was planted on St. George's island, by the Virginia Company, but it narrowly escaped destruction in its infancy, from a very singular visitation. Some rats, imported in European vessels, multiplied so prodigiously that they covered the ground and built nests in the trees. Their devastations were continued during five years, when they suddenly disappeared, but from what cause is uncertain. Since that period, the prosperity of these islands has been uninterrupted; and of late years vast works for the purpose of establishing here a naval arsenal have been in progress, and are now near completion.

Jamaica was discovered by Columbus, and soon after colonized by the Spaniards, who massacred the greater part of the native inhabitants. As there were no mines in the island, it was neglected by the Spaniards, and was easily wrested from them by a British armament, under the command of Penn and Venables, during the protectorate of Cromwell. The position of Jamaica afforded many facilities for attacking the Spanish settlements, and it was, therefore, the great rendezvous of the formidable combinations of pirates called the Buccaneers. This confraternity was composed of adventurers from various nations, and the Spanish ships and colonies were their chief objects of attack. They were not, however, very scrupulous in ascertaining to what nation any richly-laden vessel belonged: and, to prevent any discovery of their crimes, they generally massacred the crews. Morgan was their most noted leader; he conquered Panama, and several other rich towns belonging to the crown of Spain; and having by his continued successes gained the command of a large force, appears to have meditated the establishment of an independent sovereignty. Subsequently, he abandoned his piracies, submitted to the English government, and received the honour of knighthood. The buccaneers being no longer protected in Jamaica, removed to the French settlement in Hispaniola, and long continued to be the terror of the American seas. Jamaica has often been harassed by negro insurrections, but since the mountains have been opened by roads, the insurgents, deprived of any place of shelter, have found themselves unable to make considerable stand.

To the north of the river Amazon, on the eastern coast of South America, lies a vast level tract, known by the general name of Guiana, possessed by the Portuguese, the French, Dutch, and English. The

land is exuberantly fertile, but the climate unhealthy. Formerly the Dutch settlements were the most considerable, but the chief of them were captured in 1797 by the English, and are now in their possession. This is the only portion which bears any appearance of regular colonization, the other tracts being either held by the natives, or mainly used by the European rulers as penal settlements.

Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, after having been long an object of contention between the French, Spaniards, and English, is now an independent negro state, and has resumed its old native name of Hayti.

The Portuguese in India.

THE colonies we have just described owe their origin to the discoveries of Columbus; we must now direct our attention to those in the opposite division of the globe, which were consequent on the discovery of a passage round the Cape of Good Hope, by Vasco de Gama. The first enterprises of the Portuguese, when a way was opened for them to Hindústan, were limited to securing their commerce; but under the guidance of the illustrious Albuquerque, they procured a grant of ground from one of the native sovereigns, and founded a strong fortress. The Mohammedans, who had hitherto engrossed the entire commerce of India, formed a league to expel the intruders, in which they were encouraged by the Venetians, who purchased Indian spices and other goods from the Arabs, with which they supplied the principal markets of Europe. This enterprise was defeated, and soon after Don Alphonzo Albuquerque laid the foundation of the future supremacy of the Portuguese by reducing Goa, which afterwards became the seat of government, and was also erected into an archbishop's see by the pope. This was the first commencement of territorial acquisition by European powers in India, a system strongly deprecated by Vasco de Gama, and which it is impossible to defend on any principles of national justice. Albuquerque defended himself by declaring that it would be impossible for Portugal to command the trade unless it shared in the empire of India, a pretext whose obvious weakness it is not necessary to expose. Albuquerque also subdued the city of Malacca, and the island of Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf. The efforts of his successors were principally directed to the maintenance of Albuquerque's acquisitions, and to checking the progress of the Turks, who, after the conquest of Egypt, made several attempts to establish themselves on the coast of Malabar. Had they succeeded, it is probable that the Christians would never have occupied India, for the Mussulmans spread over the Peninsula would have united to support a power equally favourable to their religious prejudices and their temporal interests. In about sixty years the Portuguese had

established an empire in the East, whose extent and power were truly wonderful. On one side, their authority extended as far as the utmost limits of the coast of Persia, and over all the islands in the Persian Gulf; some of the Arabian princes were their tributaries, others their allies, and through the whole Arabian peninsula, none dared to confess themselves their enemies. In the Red Sea, they were the only power that commanded respect, and they had considerable influence over the emperor of Abyssinia and the rulers of Eastern Africa. They possessed the whole coast of Malabar, from Cape Ramoz to Cape Comorin; they were masters also of the Coremandel coast, the Bay of Bengal, the city, fortress, and peninsula of Malacca. The potent islands of Ceylon, Sumatra, and Java, paid them tribute, as did the Moluccas; and they had obtained a settlement in China (Macao), and a free trade with the islands of Japan.

The ruin of this empire arose chiefly from the union of Portugal with Spain (A.D. 1580). Immediately after that event, Philip II. issued an edict, prohibiting the Dutch from trading with Lisbon, and thus compelled them to seek for the spices and wares of India in other quarters. The enterprising republicans were then hardy and necessitous, and had everything to gain and nothing to lose; the Portuguese, on the other hand, were divided in their counsels, depraved in their manners, and detested by their subjects and neighbours. The Dutch first established themselves in some distant islands, from whence, being joined by new settlers from home, partly by force of arms, and partly by taking advantage of the errors committed by the Portuguese, they finally supplanted them everywhere, and stripped them of their dominions in far less time than they had acquired them.

The most remarkable of the Portuguese settlements was the island of Ormus; it is nothing more than a salt and barren rock in the Persian Gulf, destitute of water, save where rain, which rarely falls, is collected in natural or artificial cavities; but its commodious situation rendered it the most flourishing commercial mart in the Eastern seas. Its roadstead was frequented by shipping from all parts of the Indies, from the coasts of Africa, Egypt, and Arabia, while it possessed an extensive caravan trade with the interior of Asia, through the opposite ports of Persia. The wealth, the splendour, and the concourse of traders at Ormuz, during its flourishing condition, gave the world a memorable example of the almost omnipotent power of commerce; in the trading seasons, which lasted from January to March, and from the end of August to the beginning of November, not only was there an unparalleled activity of traffic but a display of luxury and magnificence which seemed to realize the extravagances of fiction. The salt dust of the streets was concealed and kept down by neat mats and rich carpets; canvass awnings were extended from the roofs of the houses to exclude the scorching rays of the sun; the rooms next the street were opened

like shops, adorned with Indian cabinets and piles of porcelain, intermixed with odoriferous dwarf trees and shrubs, set in gilded vases, elegantly adorned with figures. Camels laden with water-skins stood at the corner of every street, while the richest wines of Persia, the most costly perfumes, and the choicest delicacies of Asia, were poured forth in lavish profusion. The Portuguese, in the insolence of prosperity, provoked the hostility of Shah Abbas, the most powerful of the Persian monarchs, and quarrelled with the English, just as they were beginning to obtain consideration in the East. A league was formed between Shah Abbas and the English; their united forces assailed Ormuz (A.D. 1622), it was taken with little difficulty, and the value of its plunder was estimated at two millions. Thenceforward the trade of Ormuz rapidly declined; its merchants transferred their capital and enterprise to other quarters, the very materials of its splendid edifices were taken away by the Dutch ships as ballast, and it soon relapsed into its original condition of a barren and desolate rock. Scarcely the smallest remains are now left to vindicate the records of history, or to prove that this was once the flourishing capital of extensive commerce, and the principal magazine of the East.

The Spaniards in the East Indies.

WE have before stated that the object of the first voyage of Columbus was to discover a western passage to the East Indies, and this project was not forgotten by the Spaniards, even after a new world had been opened to their ambition. After the discovery of the passage round the extremity of South America, by Magellan, they prepared to occupy some of the Moluccas, but were prevented by the papal division of newly-discovered countries between them and the Portuguese. But when Portugal was united to Spain, under Philip II., Lopez de Legaspi resolved to form a settlement in a valuable cluster of these islands, which he called the Philippines, in honour of his sovereign. The city of Manilla was speedily built and fortified; scarcely were its defences complete, when it was attacked by the native islanders, instigated by the Chinese, who appear to have been, at some remote period, masters of the country. With some difficulty the insurrection was suppressed; but more formidable rivals soon appeared; the Dutch occupied the most valuable of the Moluccas, and the Spanish court seriously contemplated the abandonment of the Philippine Islands. But though these settlements have been frequently attacked both by the Dutch and English, they have been preserved to the crown of Spain, and are now almost the only remnant of the extensive colonial empire once possessed by that monarchy.

The Dutch in the East Indies.

It was the intolerable cruelty of the Spanish government that drove the Dutch to revolt; and the incurable bigotry of Phillip II. prevented the insurgents from ever seeking an accommodation. But the same sanguinary and short-sighted policy laid the foundation of the future prosperity of Holland, and enabled the Dutch to attain, in a very short period, an unrivalled ascendancy in commerce. To check the growing spirit of freedom in the Netherlands, the Spaniards destroyed the trade of Antwerp, discouraged every effort made for its restoration, and thus drove its merchants to increase the establishments and the trade of Amsterdam. Desirous of humbling the Portuguese, Philip's ministers laid the most vexatious restraints on the commerce of Lisbon, and thus compelled the Dutch, whose subsistence almost wholly depended on the carrying-trade, to seek out means for the direct importation of Indian commodities. It was still hoped that a north-east passage to the Indian seas might be discovered, and three fruitless expeditions were sent out on this hopeless inquiry. In the meantime, Cornelius Houtman, who had been made prisoner by the Spaniards at Lisbon, obtained such information from the Portuguese respecting the course of their voyages round the Cape of Good Hope, that on his escape to Amsterdam, he induced some of the leading merchants to form a company for sending him out with an expedition; and a fleet, well provided, sailed from the Texel (A.D. 1595). The Spaniards first attempted to defeat the enterprises of the Dutch by main force, but being soon convinced of their inferiority at sea to the hardy republicans, they sent emissaries to the principal Eastern sovereigns, describing the new adventures as pirates. But the Dutch admiral, Heemskirk, having captured a rich Portuguese vessel, on her way from Macao, treated his prisoners with so much generosity, that letters of thanks were addressed to him from the principal Spanish authorities in the East; these letters he produced in every port at which he touched, and thus satisfactorily refuted the calumnies which had been heaped upon his nation. A company was soon incorporated in Holland for managing the Indian trade; and the rest of the subjects of the United Provinces were prohibited from trading with Asia, either by the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn. They first occupied the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, from which they were driven by the Spaniards, but soon retrieved their losses. Ere long, the Dutch and English East India Companies, excited by mutual jealousy, began to assail each other's possessions. The island of Java was the chief object of their mutual ambition; after a long struggle, the Dutch prevailed, and immediately secured their acquisition by building the city of Batavia. Soon afterwards, all the English merchants resident at Amboyna were massacred, and, by this act of treachery the Dutch succeeded in securing, for a long time, the

monopoly of the spice trade. They also wrested the Japanese trade from the Portuguese, and continue even now to be the only Europeans admitted to trade with the empire of Japan.

The next great object of the Dutch was to gain possession of the island of Ceylon, from which they not only expelled the Portuguese, but reduced the native princes under their dominion, and thus gained the monopoly of the cinnamon trade. They long kept possession of this valuable island, but during the wars of the French revolution it was wrested from them by the English, under whose power it still continues.

The influence of the Jesuits at the court of Peking baffled all the efforts of the Dutch to open a trade with the Chinese empire; but they succeeded in establishing a flourishing settlement on the island of Formosa, which opened to them a lucrative traffic with the Indo-Chinese nations. But soon after the conquest of China by the Mantchew Tartars, the Formosans, joined by a large army from China, besieged the Dutch settlement and compelled the garrison to surrender. Since that period, Formosa has been annexed to the empire of China, and is no longer visited by Europeans.

The Dutch adopted a more exclusive system of policy than the Spaniards or Portuguese, and this was the principal cause of the ruin of the empire they had acquired. Their harsh conduct to the natives produced frequent civil wars or insurrections, which greatly weakened their settlements. In Java especially, their dominion was maintained only by an enormous expenditure of blood and treasure; and as other European nations began gradually to obtain a share in the spice trade, the Dutch East India Company found the profits of its monopoly rapidly diminishing. During the wars of the French revolution, most of the Dutch colonies were occupied by the English, but some of them were restored at the general peace. England, however, kept the two of greatest importance, the Cape of Good Hope and the island of Ceylon; but Holland still possesses the island of Java, and the monopoly of the trade with Japan.

The Danes in the East Indies.

AN association was formed at Copenhagen for opening a trade with the East Indies (A.D. 1612), in consequence of the riches which so lucrative a branch of commerce seemed to have brought into the neighbouring nations. A small expedition was sent out to the Coromandel coast, where the adventurers were hospitably received by the rajah of Tanjore, from whom they received permission to establish a settlement at Tranquebar. Many circumstances contributed to check the prosperity of the Danish East India Company, but none more than the

pertinacious jealousy of the Dutch, who excluded them from the most profitable branches of trade. But though the Danes did not attain to any remarkable eminence in East India commerce, they were honourably distinguished by their zeal for the propagation of the Christian religion; and, notwithstanding their limited means, they have succeeded in diffusing the principles of true religion through a considerable portion of the South of India.

The French in the East Indies.

MARITIME affairs were long neglected in France; and though Francis I. and Henry III. issued edicts, exhorting their subjects to undertake long voyages, yet either a want of enterprise in the people, or the inability of the government to afford pecuniary assistance, prevented any effort being made meriting notice. After some attempts to form an association of merchants, productive of little advantage, an East India Company was founded (A.D. 1615), but meeting with some misfortunes, the members resolved to abandon the Indian trade, and to direct their attention to the establishment of a settlement in the island of Madagascar. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the French purchased the town of Pondicherry from the king of Visapûr, and began to form a settlement there with every reasonable prospect of success. It was, however, wrested from them by the Dutch (A.D. 1693), but was subsequently restored by the treaty of Ryswick (A.D. 1697). Thenceforward, the prosperity of the colony progressively increased, and the subsequent acquisition from the Dutch of the islands called the Isles of France and Bourbon, but previously the Mauritius and the Mascarenhas, led the French to hope that they might acquire an important share in Eastern commerce. A new career of ambition was opened to them by the sanguinary struggles which arose between the new states formed out of the fragments of the empire of Delhi; M. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, hoped by embroiling the natives with each other, to obtain territorial acquisitions as the price of his assistance to some of the combatants. The English adopted the same course of policy, and thus the ancient hostility between the two nations extended its influence to India. The talents of Clive, however, carried the English triumphantly through an arduous struggle, which ended in the almost total expulsion of the French from the Peninsula, and the cession of most of their settlements, by the peace of 1763. They afterwards intrigued with the native princes, Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan, against their successful rivals, but they have been utterly unable to regain any portion of their former influence.

The English in India.

A HUNDRED years have not elapsed since the possessions of the British East India Company were limited to three settlements of narrow extent, inhabited by a few hundred Europeans, who were scarcely able to defend themselves against pirates and banditti, much less compete with the power of the native princes. Now this association of merchants, from its court in Leadenhall-street, rules over an empire containing a hundred millions of subjects, raises a tribute of more than three millions annually, possesses an army of more than two hundred thousand rank and file, has princes for its servants, and emperors pensioners on its bounty. Calcutta, from a miserable village, has become the metropolis of the East; Bombay possesses more trade than Tyre, in the days of its glory; and Madras, in spite of its perilous surf, rivals the commercial prosperity of Carthage. There is no parallel to such a career in the annals of the world: conquerors, indeed, have acquired a more extensive dominion in a shorter space of time, but they failed to establish a permanent empire; after a few years, the traces of their tempestuous passage, were as completely effaced as the track of a vessel in the waves of the ocean.

In the preceding chapters, we have incidentally noticed the progress of the Company's empire in its relation to the general politics of Europe, but it is of importance to mark more definitely the successive steps by which such vast acquisitions have been won and secured. The history of the East India Company, indeed, has more than ordinary claims on our attention; it is intimately connected with our national character and national welfare, and all must desire to know whether our Eastern empire has advanced the great cause of civilization, and whether our domination is likely to endure, or to meet at some time or other a precipitate overthrow.

The London Company for trading with the East Indies was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth (A. D. 1600), and remained without a rival for nearly a century, when the necessities of the state led to the formation of the English Company (A. D. 1698); it was soon found that the rivalry between these bodies was prejudicial to the interests of both, and at the recommendation of his majesty King William III., the two companies agreed to form one association, to be designated, "*The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.*" The first English settlement of importance was Bantam, in the island of Java; but in 1658, they obtained a grant of land on the Coromandel coast, near Madras, where they erected a strong-hold, Fort St. George. In 1668, the island of Bombay, ceded by the crown of Portugal to Charles II., as part of the dowry of the Infanta Catharine, was granted by the king, and appointed the capital of the British settlements in India. Bengal was not at first estimated at its

true value, but towards the close of the seventeenth century (A.D. 1698), the English had a settlement at Calcutta, the French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsura, all situated on the river Hooghly. An embassy was sent to the court of Delhi with presents; fortunately one of its members was an eminent physician, and his professional aid was required by the Emperor Ferrokshír. In gratitude for the services of Dr. Hamilton, Ferrokshír granted valuable *firmáns*, or patents of privileges to the Company, which gave them great advantages over their European rivals. The viceroy of Bengal, jealous of the privileges granted to the English, advanced against Calcutta, took the town, and confined one hundred and forty-six in a dungeon called the Black Hole, so narrow and confined, that only twenty-three of the captives survived till the morning (A.D. 1756). Colonel Clive, who had already given proofs of his military talents in the Madras presidency, was sent into Bengal. He soon recovered Calcutta, and took Chandernagore from the French. Finding that the viceroy of Bengal, Suraj-u-Dowlah, was obstinate in his opposition to the Company's interest, Clive adopted the bold resolution of deposing him without waiting for, or indeed asking the emperor's sanction, although the Company was at peace with the court of Delhi. Acting promptly on this determination, Clive attacked the viceroy's troops at Plassy (June 23rd, 1757), and gained a decisive victory. Suraj-u-Dowlah was deposed, and his post given by the conquerors to Jaffier Ali Khan.

After Clive's return to England, the government of Calcutta was intrusted to a council, of which Mr. Vansittart was appointed president. The rapidity with which the English had acquired supremacy in Bengal, inspired them with feelings of contemptuous superiority, which involved them in angry disputes with the new viceroy. At length, the council of Calcutta, induced by a bribe of 200,000*l.*, resolved to depose Jaffier, and confer the viceroyship on Cossim Ali Khan. But Cossim was soon as odious as his predecessor. The servants of the East India Company claimed an exemption from all duties on commerce, and thus ruined the native merchants; Cossim, after many remonstrances to the council of Calcutta, abolished the transit duties altogether; and this act of justice to his own subjects, though extorted by necessity, was loudly exclaimed against as an infringement of his engagements with the Company, and two agents were sent to demand the repeal of the decree. While negotiations were pending, the English resident seized the citadel of Patna, and though it was immediately retaken by Cossim Ali, his rage was so excited by what he regarded a deliberate act of treachery, that he put all the English prisoners to death. War was instantly declared, Cossim Ali was defeated and deposed, and Jaffier Khan was once more declared viceroy of Bengal. It is not known at what price Jaffier purchased his restoration, but he did not long enjoy it; he died a few

months before Clive, who had been recently elevated to the peerage, returned as governor-general to Calcutta.

Lord Clive found the affairs of the presidency in a deplorable condition: the troops, goaded to madness by the insolence and rapacity of their officers, were in open mutiny; the fertile province of Bengal was "marred to a wilderness" by the most corrupt of all the corrupt bodies ever intrusted with its destinies; friendly native powers were estranged by systematic extortion; hostile princes were confirmed in their enmity by witnessing such excesses of profligacy and peculation; and, to complete his lordship's difficulties, his proceedings were controlled by a subordinate committee, wholly unused to subordination. Clive's zeal in reforming such crying abuses, procured him a host of enemies, whose resistance was encouraged by their friends and patrons in the Court of Directors at home. The first outbreak of opposition was a general mutiny of the military officers, supported by a large subscription from the civilians in Calcutta. Through a defect in the Mutiny Act, the governor-general was not able to sentence any of the criminals to death, not even those who were found guilty of planning his assassination. Sir Robert Fletcher, the general in command of the army, was subsequently proved to be the instigator of the whole plot, and having been convicted by a court-martial, he was cashiered. But it must be added, that this very officer was subsequently appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Madras, where he headed the mutinous opposition by which Lord Pigot was removed from that government. Another of the mutineers, sent home by Clive, on charges that affected his life, obtained a very high appointment in the civil service of Bengal by his party interest in the Court of Directors.

Clive's firmness restored order in Calcutta; and soon after, the substitution of British rule for the native vicerealties in Bengal, removed the chief source of intrigue and peculation. But in the mean time, the presidency at Madras was brought to the brink of ruin by the arms of Hyder Ali, whose abilities had raised him from the rank of a private soldier to that of an independent sovereign. After a protracted war, Sir Eyre Coote retrieved all the losses of the English, and, on the death of Hyder (A.D. 1782), concluded a treaty with his son, Tippoo, on terms very advantageous to the Company.

The charters granted at various times to the Company, only secured to it the exclusive right of trade; when, therefore, it began to make territorial acquisitions, it became a serious constitutional question, whether the British crown did not possess an inherent right to all provinces conquered by its subjects. The ministers, and especially Lord North, already embarrassed by the American war, were unwilling to attempt the decision of a matter encumbered with so many difficulties: but the right of the British parliament to interfere in the affairs of India, was virtually asserted, by passing various acts of regulation,

and the establishment of a custom of time-bargains with the Company, which were, in fact, mere expedients to escape from difficulties becoming more complicated every hour.

The administration of Mr. Warren Hastings greatly extended the Company's territories, and rendered its influence paramount in Northern India; but the means which he employed were not always consistent with European notions of equity; and the disputes which arose between him and his council, fixed the attention of the British parliament and the British nation on the affairs of India. Mr. Fox, who was then in power, introduced a bill for transferring the government of India from the Court of Directors to a parliamentary committee, but the measure was frustrated by the reluctance of the king, and the dismissal of the ministry. We have already noticed the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, and his acquittal, after a trial of unparalleled duration, by the House of Lords.

At length an important change was made in the government of India, by the establishment of a Board of Control, according to a plan proposed by Mr. Pitt (A.D. 1784). The principal object of the new measure was to secure the obedience and responsibility of the Company's servants to the authorities in England, and to remedy the most glaring abuses of patronage by the Court of Directors. This measure, though not so stringent as it was originally intended to be, produced very beneficial effects, and introduced a system of subordination, in which the presidencies had long been deficient.

Lord Cornwallis was sent out as governor-general, under the new system; he exerted himself to remedy some of the most flagrant abuses in the administration, and though opposed by a majority of the supreme court at Calcutta, he partially succeeded. He soon began to look with suspicion on the ambitious projects of Tippoo Sultan, who had inherited his father Hyder's hostility to the English. Tippoo's intrigues were secretly encouraged by the French government, for sufficiently obvious reasons. The French had been the first to try the plan of acquiring territorial possessions by interference in native wars, often excited by themselves; and they had been completely defeated, while the English had as completely succeeded. Anger at this failure, too high an estimate of the injury which the British power had received from the loss of the American colonies, and a confident belief that our empire in the East was as insecure as it had proved in the West, were popular feelings in France, and were just as rife in the court of Versailles as they were at a later period in the jacobin clubs of Paris. The danger which Lord Cornwallis anticipated, seemed more formidable to Mr. Pitt than to the Court of Directors, and led to a serious dispute between the ministry and the Company. The premier, through the Board of Control, insisted on sending regular British troops to India, and compelling the Company to pay for their

support. This was regarded by the Court of Directors as an indirect effort on the part of the crown to grasp the patronage of the Indian army, and was, of course, strenuously resisted. Mr. Pitt settled the matter by forcing through parliament, with all the influence at his command, an act of explanation; but he had the mortification to encounter a fierce opposition from many who were generally his staunchest supporters. The war with Tippoo, which rendered the English authority supreme from the river Krishna to Cape Comorin, soon followed. Lord Cornwallis having brought it to a prosperous termination, returned home, and was succeeded by Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth.

During Sir John Shore's peaceful administration, the organization of the internal government of India was considerably improved; but its most remarkable events were the interference of the English, as arbitrators, in the disputed succession to the throne of Oude; and the commencement of discontents, almost amounting to mutinies, among the officers of the Indian army, in consequence of the reduction of their field allowances by the Court of Directors. The latter subject soon became one of increasing annoyance, and even danger; but the calamities which it threatened were fortunately averted by judicious measures of conciliation.

Lord Mornington, afterwards marquis of Wellesley, was next appointed governor-general. His first efforts were directed to lessen the growing influence of the French in Hindústan; finding Tippoo indisposed to form new engagements with the British government, war was declared against him, which, as we have already stated, ended in the defeat and death of that turbulent monarch. A subsequent war with the Mahratta powers completely established British supremacy in India, and made the Company supreme in the Peninsula. But notwithstanding his brilliant services, the marquis of Wellesley was thwarted in many important points of policy by the Court of Directors. The chief of these were, the employment of India-built ships, the establishment of a college for the education of civil servants at Calcutta, and the patronage of certain appointments, which the court wished to reserve for its favourites. This last difference led to very angry remonstrances, both from the marquis of Wellesley and Lord Clive, who was governor of Madras. Lord Clive resigned his situation; and on quitting Madras, addressed a spirited remonstrance to the Court of Directors, in which the inefficiency, insubordination, and delinquency of many of their servants, were directly traced to the abuse of patronage, and to the encouragement which the idle and the dissolute, possessing interest with the court, received from authority superior to the local government. Lord Wellesley, supported by the Board of Control, retained his place in defiance of the court, and, by his successful management of the Mahratta war, bore down all opposition.

The great extent of country gained in the Mahratta war, gave rise to serious embarrassments after the marquis of Wellesley had returned to Europe; his successor, Lord Cornwallis, died before completing the requisite arrangements, and Sir George Barlow, who acted as vice-governor, adopted a line of policy directly contrary to that which had received the sanction of his predecessor. This change led to an angry controversy with the English ministers (Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox) respecting the appointment of a successor to the marquis of Cornwallis. The ministers nominated Lord Lauderdale to the vacant office, the Court of Directors insisted that Sir George Barlow should retain his power. After a very long negotiation, both parties agreed to withdraw the rival candidates, and they finally concurred in selecting Lord Minto as governor-general.

When Lord Minto reached Madras, his attention was directed to certain transactions in that presidency, too important to be omitted even in this brief outline of Indian history. Lord William Bentinck succeeded Lord Olive (afterwards earl of Powis) in the government of Madras, and, like his predecessor, was involved in serious disputes with the local council and the subordinate servants of the Company. In the midst of these discussions, a dangerous mutiny of the native Indian army at Vellore, furnished a pretext for recalling the obnoxious governor with something like censure. In the Indian army no native could attain the rank of commissioned officer; many of the sepoys were Mohammedans, and they could not forget how very recently the whole Peninsula of India was their own; the deposed dynasty of Mysore, including Tippoo's family and several of his ministers, were on the spot, to aggravate these feelings of natural discontent; and the *fakirs*, or preaching friars of Mohammedanism, lent their aid to fan the flame. A regulation respecting the head-dress of the troops was the pretext for revolt; though the shape of the sepoy turban had no more connection with the real cause of the mutiny, than the colour of the roses with the rival claims of the houses of York and Lancaster. The insurrection was suppressed, but the leniency which Lord William Bentinck was disposed to show towards the mutineers, though sanctioned by Lord Minto, gave such displeasure to many influential persons, that the governor returned home.

When Lord Minto reached Calcutta (A.D. 1809), he prepared to adopt a system of policy, which had long been a favourite scheme with the Court of Directors and indeed with the great majority of the people of England. This was simply to introduce the European principle of a balance of power in India;—no plan could be more excellent in theory, but it was impossible to reduce it to practice, for no materials existed in the disorganized governments of India, from which such a system could be constructed. The Company had ever opposed the colonization of India by Europeans, and had therefore

rather occupied than possessed its successive acquisitions; with the exception of its hired servants (and not all of them), there was not a single individual interested in maintaining its sway; its soldiers were mere mercenaries, its subjects utterly indifferent to the continuance of its rule. In pursuit of this favourite but hopeless project, the establishment of a balance of power, Lord Minto committed many serious errors, but his administration was on the whole very beneficial to England, especially as he was among the first to appreciate the value of the Indian Archipelago, with which our commerce is so rapidly increasing, both in extent and importance. His prudence terminated a very serious dispute between the civil and military authorities at Madras, which had nearly produced the most calamitous results: he tried the experiment of neutral policy with greater success than could have attended such a system in less able hands; and when he at length perceived that "balance of power" was inapplicable to the state of society in India, he acknowledged the change in his opinions with a manly candour which is too rarely met with among modern statesmen.

The earl of Moira, afterwards marquis of Hastings, succeeded Lord Minto in the government. He was forced to abandon the neutral line of policy, by which the Goorkas, or wild tribes of the mountains of Nepaul, had been encouraged to encroach upon the territories both of the British and their allies. War was declared; the Goorkas proved more formidable enemies than the Company's troops had yet encountered, but they were finally overcome, and the provinces ceded by the Nepaulese, as the price of peace, brought the English dominions into close contact with the frontiers of the Chinese empire. In the mean time Central India was devastated by ferocious bands of freebooters, known by the name of Pindarries, and extensive combinations were formed for their suppression. The treachery and duplicity of several of the native powers on this occasion compelled the marquis of Hastings to demand from them considerable cessions of territory; and, at the conclusion of the war, the Company felt itself bound to retain those acquisitions, not only as essential to its own interests, but to those of the native inhabitants. Of greater importance than all these provinces was the establishment of a British settlement at Singapore (A.D. 1819), by which its present share in the lucrative commerce of the Indian Archipelago was secured to Great Britain.

The earl of Amherst, who had previously been sent on an embassy to China, was the next governor-general (A.D. 1823). In a few months after his arrival, he found himself constrained to adopt active measures for repressing the insults and encroachments of the Burmese. The war was one of more than ordinary difficulty, but it finally terminated to the advantage of the British, who obtained possession of many new and valuable provinces. Scarcely less important was the capture of

Bhurtpore, a fortress which, having been on two former occasions assailed in vain by the British, was fondly believed impregnable by the natives of Hindústan (A.D. 1826); its conquest therefore tended not a little to increase that general sense of British superiority on which the security of our Indian empire mainly depends.

Earl Amherst was succeeded by Lord William Bentinck, whose generally peaceful administration is principally remarkable for a series of financial reforms in every department of the government. But the expiration of the Company's charter, and the arrangements for its renewal, led to a total change of system (A.D. 1833). The Company was deprived of its exclusive right of trade; the commerce with India and China was opened freely to all British subjects: the political government of Hindústan was continued to the Company for twenty years, but all its other rights and possessions were ceded to the nation for an annuity of six hundred and thirty thousand pounds, secured by a guarantee fund of two millions sterling.

The East India Company was not the only power that profited by the overthrow of the Mogul Empire; two new kingdoms, that of the Afghans and that of the Sikhs, were founded on the north-west of Hindústan, and both have risen to great importance. The Afghans were originally subject to Persia, but towards the close of the seventeenth century they revolted against their rulers and nearly conquered the whole Persian empire. Nadir Shah restored the Persian supremacy, but on his death an Afghan leader proclaimed the independence of his country, and, while the Persians wasted their strength in civil wars, founded a new kingdom at Cabul. The Afghan monarchy continued to prosper until the commencement of the present century, when it was distracted by the wars arising out of a disputed succession. Three brothers, Zemán, Mahmúd, and Sujáh, contended for the crown, and each prevailed in turn, according to the will of the chief vizier, who was head of the Baurikzye tribe. At length Zemán was blinded, Sujáh driven into exile, and Mahmúd placed on the throne. Unfortunately he permitted his son Kemrán to assassinate the vizier, upon which the Baurikzye brothers revolted and compelled Mahmúd to seek shelter in Herat.

Under the Baurikzye brothers, Afghanistan was divided into a number of petty independent states, each governed by one or more chieftains of this powerful family; the principal being Dost Mohammed, the ruler of Cabul, whose supremacy was nominally recognised by all the rest. Soon after Lord Auckland had succeeded Lord William Bentinck as governor-general of India, an embassy was sent to Cabul for the purpose of forming a commercial treaty which might open the markets of Central Asia to British manufactures. When the Persian court, yielding to Russian suggestions, had determined to advance against Herat, the mission to Cabul was changed from a commercial

to a political legation, and a treaty was proposed to Dost Mohammed which it was believed might avert the danger of Russian influence being established on the banks of the Indus. The ruler of Cabul demanded as the price of his adhesion that the territory of Peshawer, recently seized by the king of Lahore, should be restored to the Afghans, and when this was refused he manifested a disposition so hostile to English interests that the envoy was recalled, and a resolution formed to restore Shah Sujáh to his throne by the aid of a British army. The king of Lahore readily entered into this alliance, and armaments were simultaneously prepared in the presidencies of Bengal and Bombay for the projected invasion of Afghanistan.

The rulers of Scinde had been anciently tributary to the king of Cabul, and Shah Sujáh had never abandoned his claims to their obedience. They were therefore very reluctant to afford him any aid in the recovery of his country, and they secretly opposed the greatest obstacles to the advance of the British army, whose line of march led directly through their territories. Considerable delays arose from this cause; and after all the army had to proceed through the rugged defiles of the Bolan pass, with very inefficient means for the transport of their provisions and munitions of war. The dangerous defiles which abound in these mountains are infested by the poorest and wildest tribes of the country, who live entirely by plunder; but they fortunately refrained from molesting the troops to the extent they might have done, and it was not till they were about to emerge from the pass that any opposition was offered to their progress, when a few light skirmishes took place unattended with any serious result. It was an immense relief to the toil-worn troops to find themselves once more upon a plain country after the harassing passage of the Bolan pass, and they proceeded on their march somewhat revived by the nearer prospect of its termination, but still their difficulties increased at every step. Among the miseries they had to put up with, was the constant loss of despatches, and the consequent suspense and uncertainty they were frequently left in, and while halting at Siriah, a terrible proof was seen of the fate their communications so often met with. A packet was brought which was completely soaked in human blood, and bore the following inscription in the handwriting of one of the deputy postmasters of the army: "The *sumar* who carried this packet was shot dead within two marches of Shah Sujáh's camp, and the envelope is stained with his blood."

The army suffered very severely from the intense heat of the sun, a deficient supply of water and other provisions, and a sad want of means of transport for the baggage, in its march to Candahar, but that ancient city was easily yielded, and some supplies obtained in its bazaars. After a delay of nearly two months the army was again in motion; it encountered no opposition to its progress until it reached the ancient fortress of Ghazni or Ghuznee, the garrison of which not

only refused to surrender, but made every preparation for vigorous defence. As the battering artillery had been left behind at Candahar it was necessary to attack this formidable fortress by storm. Bags of powder were piled against the gate, without much opposition on the part of the Afghans, who were ignorant of the nature of the operation. Such was the force of the explosion that it not only shivered the massive barricades of the gate to pieces, but tore away solid masses of stone and wood-work from the main building. Before the Afghans could recover from their confusion, Colonel Dennie, at the head of the forlorn hope, rushed over the ruins of the gateway and forced an entrance into the body of the fortress. The conflict, though severe, was not of long duration. The gallant little band, inspired by their daring leader, whose commanding figure was seen ever in advance, and whose voice cheered them on to the attack, forced their way along, overbearing all resistance, and at length a long, loud, exhilarating cheer announced to the whole army without, the triumphant issue of the contest.

In consequence of this brilliant exploit, Dost Mohammed's supporters were so dispirited that they refused to march against the English, and the unfortunate chief having abandoned Cabul became an exile and a fugitive. The army of the Indus having surmounted all the toils and difficulties of its march through previously untraversed countries, soon arrived at the capital of Afghanistan, and Shah Sujah was re-instated upon the throne of his ancestors. He entered the city with much pomp, accompanied by the Envoy and Minister, the Commander-in-chief and the general officers of the army, Sir Alexander Burnes and the other functionaries of the mission, besides the staff, and a vast number of other officers. His reception was not enthusiastic, but the people preserved an orderly decorum, and received their monarch with becoming respect. Upon arriving at the palace, the king led the way into it, hurrying eagerly over the scene of his former state, and weeping as he surveyed the dilapidations time and neglect had wrought in the dwelling-place of his youth.

A division of the army was sent to reduce Khelat, the chief of which had broken all the engagements into which he had entered with the British government. The enterprise was successful. Intelligence of the capture of Khelat arrived nearly at the same time as the account of the advance of the Russians against Khiva. For some time it was believed that the Russians and English might come into collision in Central Asia, but the latter were compelled to abandon their enterprise against Khiva, after having lost the greater part of their army.

The winter of 1839 produced nothing remarkable, but early in the following summer it became obvious that the Afghans were by no means satisfied with their restored monarch, and that a general spirit of revolt was spreading through the entire country. A tribe called the Huzarahs set the example of disobedience; it became necessary to

send a strong force against them, but though they had only the most imperfect defences they made a desperate resistance in their mud-forts, and one garrison, when combustibles were piled round their tower and fired, preferred being burned alive to purchasing safety by submission.

The obstinacy of this resistance, on the part of a mere handful of men in a small mud-fort, was an alarming evidence of the spirit existing in the country, and such as to arouse the new government to a sense of the difficulties it would have to cope with. It was sufficient to convince those in authority, that unless the people were conciliated by a steady course of justice, and attention to their prejudices, nothing but force could maintain them in their position. It was a difficult task, it must be confessed, amongst a people with such strong feelings of nationality, and so much addicted to predatory habits. But it was never sufficiently tried, owing partly to the difficulties of our position; and it is to be feared, that from our being associated in the nation's minds with every proceeding of Shah Sujáh, and some of the unwise and oppressive measures which were afterwards resorted to, to replenish the exhausted coffers of the state, a sense of British justice is much less strongly impressed upon the Afghan people, than the conviction of British prowess.

Dost Mohammed took advantage of these circumstances to renew the war; a series of desultory operations followed, and in one skirmish the English suffered a severe loss, in consequence of a sudden panic which seized a regiment of native cavalry, and induced them to abandon their officers. The English were much alarmed at an event so likely to raise the courage of the disaffected, but their anxiety was unexpectedly relieved by the arrival of Dost Mohammed himself, who voluntarily came in and surrendered to the English envoy. He was sent under an escort to the British territories, where he was honourably treated and a pension allowed him for subsistence.

Shah Sujáh's government was not popular, and indeed did not deserve to be so; general dissatisfaction continued to exist, but had not begun to show itself in a dangerous shape when General Elphinstone took the command of the occupying force, in April, 1841. In the following November a formidable insurrection unexpectedly exploded in Cabul; Sir Alexander Burnes and several other Englishmen were treacherously massacred, while the most deplorable want of energy and decision was displayed both by the envoy and the military authorities. The fort in which the provisions for the troops were stored was permitted to fall into the hands of the enemy, without an effort being made to relieve its feeble garrison; and after the means of holding out in Cabul, until relief could be obtained from the other divisions of the army, had been sacrificed, it was resolved to commence a retreat. This, however, in the advanced state of the season, and

when the mountain defiles were held by a vigilant enemy, was clearly impossible; the envoy therefore entered into a treaty of capitulation with the Afghan chiefs, which these barbarians violated in every particular, and treacherously murdered the envoy himself in a conference to which he had been invited.

A new treaty was then made with the chiefs, and after many subterfuges and delays everything was prepared for the retreat of our hapless army, and on the 6th of January, 1842, their fatal progress commenced. The force at this time amounted to about four thousand five hundred fighting men, and the camp followers to twelve thousand, exclusive of women and children. Scarcely had they moved out of the cantonments, when they were filled by vast numbers of infuriated Ghazees, who rent the air with their exulting yells of triumph over the deserted stronghold of the Kafir Feringees. A scene of plunder and savage devastation ensued, as they spread themselves over the works, butchering such of our hapless people as they could lay hold of, and who had not yet moved out. The rear-guard, unable to restrain them, was obliged, in its own defence, to take up a position on the plains without, but the Afghans, who had hitherto been too much absorbed in the work of plunder, to take much notice of the troops, now began to man the lines we had lately occupied and pour in amongst our men a galling fire of juzails, in many instances with fatal effect.

At length the whole force got upon the road, but it was impossible to preserve anything like order in their march, as the camp followers pressed forward among the troops, and the whole became mingled in inextricable confusion. It was now night, but their progress was illuminated by the burning cantonments, which the Afghans, having satiated themselves with plunder, had afterwards set on fire. Never did an army commence a march with such gloomy prospects as did this devoted force. The weather had been daily increasing in severity for some time, and the snow was lying thickly upon the ground, and the cold was intense. The men had been kept on insufficient diet throughout the siege, which had grown gradually less, and they were worn out and half-starved; the cattle were in a still worse condition. As they toiled laboriously along upon their dreary way, their trail was marked by numbers of the poor exhausted sepoy and camp-followers, who sunk numbed and frozen upon the ground, and perished in the snow. Night only added to their horrors, and many laid down to sleep upon the cold earth who never rose again, while their surviving companions set forth upon their day's march, wondering if it would be their turn next.

Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mahommed, and successor to his influence over the Afghans, was a faithless barbarian; his demands rose in exorbitance as the distress of the British increased, and con-

pliance with them failed to purchase the forbearance which he promised. The ladies of the British officers were surrendered to him as hostages, and it is only justice to say, that he treated them with kindness and respect; but he did not cease from his harassing pursuit of the retreating army, which had to fight every step of its way, and was at length all but annihilated at Jugdulluk. Dr. Brydon, escaping alone, brought the melancholy intelligence to General Sale, at Jelallabad, where that gallant officer maintained himself under difficulties scarcely inferior to those which had proved so destructive of the Cabul force. In one of the many battles which the force at Jelallabad had to fight before reinforcements could be sent to their assistance, Colonel Dennie, the hero of Ghuznee, was slain, just as he had gained an important and decisive victory.

In the mean time a change in the cabinet of England had led to the removal of Lord Auckland from power, and the appointment of Lord Ellenborough as governor-general. This change produced much hesitation in the military operations, necessary to effect the deliverance of those whom Akbar Khan held captive, and the retrieval of the honour of the British arms. These were indeed the only reasonable objects for which the war could be continued, as Shah Sujáh had been murdered by his subjects, and it was clearly impossible to maintain any prince on the Afghan throne, who submitted to British protection. At length, after some hard fighting, General Pollock forced the Khyber pass, and on the 11th of April, 1842, effected a junction with Sir Robert Sale at Jelallabad. Here he was detained four months by the indecision of the Indian government before he received orders to advance upon Cabul, and co-operate with General Nott, who, after having maintained Candahar, with the same courage and ability that Sir Robert Sale had displayed at Jelallabad, was enabled by his junction with General England to commence offensive operations. Generals Nott and Pollock forced their way to Cabul, though they encountered the most determined opposition from the Afghans in the fearful defiles of their mountains. Akbar Khan, however, refused to deliver up their hostages, but they were rescued from his power by entering into negotiations with some of his officers, and brought in safety to the English camp.

The number of prisoners thus rescued from a captivity, its hapless victims had begun to regard as only terminable by death, amounted to upwards of a hundred; of whom nine were ladies, some thirty odd officers, a few children, and the rest non-commissioned officers and privates, chiefly of the 44th. The total number of prisoners, however, including natives, which may be said to have been liberated by our success, was nearly two thousand; of whom the immense majority was the sick and wounded left at Cabul previous to the retreat, and such of the soldiers and camp followers as had found their way back

to the city during and since that perilous time. These were now wandering beggars about the streets.

Cabul was almost wholly destroyed before it was evacuated by the British armies, and the troops destroyed most of the forts and villages on their line of march. It is said that several excesses were committed on these occasions by the soldiers, who were enraged by the sight of the mangled bodies of their murdered companions, and the tales of suffering related by the survivors. The English had to fight its way back, but the skirmishes, though incessant, were but of trifling importance, and before the end of September, the whole army arrived within the British frontiers. Afghanistan was abandoned to anarchy, and it will probably for many years continue without any settled government.

The only result from this calamitous war, remaining to be noticed, is the occupation of the territories of Scinde, which have been formally annexed to the British dominions. These districts command the navigation of the Lower Indus, and would possess some value and importance if that river could be rendered available for the purposes of commercial navigation, but in the present distracted condition of Central Asia, it does not appear probable that the peaceful pursuits of trade will be found lucrative for many years to come, and it is, therefore, very doubtful whether the occupation of Scinde will produce such a demand for British manufactures as to defray the heavy expenses which its retention will necessarily involve.

The Sikhs, originally a religious sect formed from a mixture of Hindús and Mohammedans, but now raised up to a very important political power, occupy too important a position on the North-western frontier of British India to be passed over in silence. Their tenets, as first taught by their founder, inculcated peace and submission, but when they were persecuted by the emperor of Delhi they had recourse to arms, and in the general confusion and scramble which followed the dissolution of the Mogul empire, they succeeded in obtaining possession of the *Punj-áb*, or "land of five waters," an extensive and fertile tract of country, deriving its name from the five branches of the Indus by which it is watered. About the commencement of the present century, one of their most able leaders, Runjit Singh, succeeded in uniting most of the independent Sikh chieftains under his dominion, and was enabled to found the kingdom of Lahore, so named from its capital city in the Punjab. Runjit greatly increased and strengthened his new kingdom by conquering Cashmire, and several other provinces which had anciently belonged to the Afghans, and he would probably have added Scinde to his territories, had he not dreaded to excite the jealousy of the British government. It was always his policy to cultivate the friendship of the English authorities in India: he laboured hard also to bestow upon his subjects the benefits of European civiliza-

tion, and particularly to have his soldiers instructed in military discipline and tactics. He had several European officers in his service, by whose exertions his army was rendered more efficient than that of any other native power in the East. His death, which took place at the crisis of the English invasion of Afghanistan, increased the difficulties in which the Indian government was placed by the disasters at Cabul; he has been succeeded by his illegitimate son, Shere Singh, whose authority has been recognised by the British government, but does not appear to be fixed on a very permanent basis.

From this brief sketch of the history of British India, it is manifest that mere lust of conquest has rarely, if ever, been the cause of the extension of the Company's dominions; with perhaps the exception of the unfortunate war in Afghanistan, almost every departure from a system of pacific and defensive policy arose from the ignorant ambition or flagrant perfidy of the native powers. It remains only to say that the attention of statesmen is now earnestly directed to the establishment of a system for consolidating the British dominions and securing them against aggression.

It may be permitted in conclusion to express a hope, that the development of the internal resources of the Indian presidencies may elevate the character of the native population, and win from them a reasonable allegiance, founded upon gratitude for experienced protection and acknowledged benefits.

CHAPTER XIII.

HISTORY OF CHINA.

THE Chinese, like the ancient Egyptians, lay claim to a most extravagant antiquity, but their authentic history does not commence until the age of Confucius, who flourished about five centuries before the Christian era. At the time of his birth, China was divided into a number of independent states, which harassed each other by mutual wars, and his earliest efforts as a reformer were directed to unite them in one great confederation. He collected the old traditions of the country, and from them deduced a series of moral and political lessons designed to form the basis of good government. His main principle was, that outward decorum is both the emblem and the test of goodness of heart; he therefore constructed a ritual strictly regulating every relation of life, both public and private, which was gradually received as a standard authority by the nation.

Ching-whang, the founder of the Tsin dynasty, was the first who united all the Chinese under one sovereign; and it is probable that the name China was adopted from that of his family. He is said to have erected the Great Wall, to restrain the incursions of the Tartars (B.C. 240), but this service was overbalanced by his cruelty and inveterate hostility to men of letters. Under the Han dynasty, which arose B.C. 202, the Huns began to invade China, and frequently devastated the country; they at length were induced to direct their march westwards, and burst like a torrent into the Roman empire, while China continued tranquil. Under the Han dynasty foreigners came to China, for the first time; literature was zealously cultivated, the art of printing invented, and the laws collected into an orderly system. For these reasons the memory of the Huns is still cherished in China; their dynasty ended A.D. 264.

No very important event occurred in the history of China from the extinction of the Han dynasty until the invasion of the empire by the Mongols, under the celebrated Zingis Khan (A.D. 1234). The sovereign who then ruled was cruel and cowardly; town after town submitted to the invaders, and at his death the Mongols possessed the greater part of the country, though the conquest was not completed till the year 1279, by Kublai Khan, the grandson of Zingis. Ze-ping, the infant son of the last emperor, sought shelter in the fleet, but the Mongols soon prepared a navy and pursued him. The Chinese and Mongol fleets met, and after an engagement which lasted an entire day, the former was totally defeated. When the Chinese admiral saw that escape was impossible, he went to the prince, who stood on the deck, and said, "It is better to die free than to dishonour our ancestors by an inglorious captivity," then, without waiting for a reply, he caught the prince in his arms and jumped into the sea, where they both perished.

The Mongols, though foreigners, were wise and beneficent rulers; Kublai Khan constructed several canals, and made every possible exertion to restore the agricultural prosperity of China; his grandson, Timur Khan, extirpated the bands of robbers that infested the country, and both laboured to promote commercial intercourse with foreign nations. But on the failure of the direct royal line, the Mongols were so weakened by a war of disputed succession, that the Chinese easily drove them from the country, and placed a native dynasty on the throne (A.D. 1388).

Choo-quen-chang, the conqueror of the Mongols and founder of the Ming dynasty, was the son of a poor labourer. In early life he was destined for the priesthood, but his martial spirit induced him to enlist as a soldier. He very soon became so distinguished for courage and conduct that he was promoted to high rank; his marriage to a lady of great wealth strengthened his influence, and he soon began to be

regarded as the leader of a party. So great was the hatred of the Chinese to their barbarian conquerors, that it required only a few months to drive the Mongols beyond the Great Wall; they were pursued in their retreat and slaughtered without mercy. The new emperor was a wise and prudent ruler; his early death was a national misfortune, especially as it involved the country in the calamities of a disputed succession.

The last of the Ming dynasty was Hwae-tsung. Very soon after his accession the king of the Mantchew Tartars advanced towards the frontiers, and issued a proclamation, declaring that he had been divinely summoned to assume the empire of China. There would have been however, little reason to fear this invasion had not rebellions in other quarters distracted the attention of the emperor. Bands of robbers infested the roads, and uniting themselves together under favourite chiefs, bade defiance to the imperial army. One of these named Lè, gained the favour of the populace by promising a remission of taxes; crowds flocked to his standard, and entire battalions of the imperial army deserted to him. Lè no longer scrupled to declare himself emperor; he marched to Peking, the soldiers entrusted with the defence threw down their arms, and the emperor was abandoned even by his domestic servants. In his despair, he slew his children and then strangled himself, leaving behind him a written request, that the conqueror would be satisfied with the destruction of the royal family, and not inflict any cruelty on the people.

Woo-san-kivei, a celebrated general, was stationed with a large army on the frontiers of Mantchew Tartary, when he received intelligence of these events. He resolved to avenge his master, and punish the usurper; for this purpose he had not only made peace with the Mantchews, but solicited their active assistance. The Tartars gladly assented to a proposal which opened them a passage into China, and acting with a rapidity of which their opponents had no idea, their progress was irresistible. The usurper Lè was defeated in three great battles, but when the general wished to dismiss his allies, they not only refused to return, but took possession of Peking, and proclaimed a Mantchew prince emperor. For many years the Chinese in different provinces sternly resisted the domination of the Tartars, but there was no harmony in their councils and no concert in their actions; they were therefore successively subdued, but not until the entire country had been so devastated that it almost became a desert (A.D. 1644). During this calamitous period, a pirate, named Coxinga, kept the entire coast of China in constant alarm; he expelled the Dutch from the island of Formosa, which for a time flourished as an independent kingdom, but after his death his son submitted to the Mantchews, and this noble island was annexed to the empire of China.

Kang-he, the second of the Mantchew emperors, was very anxious

to make his subjects acquainted with the arts and sciences of Europe; he patronized the Jesuit missionaries who came to his court, and profited so much by their instructions, as to become himself the author of a clever treatise on geometry. All his wishes, however, to give a new turn to Chinese literature were frustrated; the native men of letters refused to quit the tracks of their ancestors, and nothing new was consequently produced. Equally able in the cabinet and in the field, Kang-he was unquestionably, next to Kublai Khan, the greatest prince who ever sat on the throne of China. He revived the empire, distracted by repeated rebellions, impoverished by long and ruinous wars, and oppressed by vicious administration; when he died (A. D. 1722), peace and tranquillity pervaded all the provinces, and the unruly barbarians on the frontiers had been reduced to obedience.

Yung-ching succeeded his father on the throne, but did not pursue the same enlightened policy. He put an effectual stop to improvement, by banishing the missionaries who had spread themselves over all the Chinese provinces, and only retained a few individuals at court, with whose services he could not dispense. It must, however, be confessed, that the intriguing spirit of the Jesuits had given some reasonable grounds for alarm, and that their extravagant assertions of papal supremacy might have infused suspicions of their designing to render the emperor dependent on the pope. In other respects Yung-ching was a good sovereign, he preserved peace during his reign, and by prudent precautions he averted the horrors of those famines that periodically devastated China. He died A.D. 1735, and was succeeded by his illegitimate son, Keën-lung.

The long reign of Keën-lung was almost wholly spent in wars with the various barbarous races on the whole western frontier of China. There is no interest in the records of these savage contests, which were for the most part a series of ruthless massacres. He cruelly persecuted the Christians, whom he accused of treasonable designs without a shadow of reason; and the relentless fury he displayed was eagerly seconded by the mandarins, who had been jealous of the superior intelligence of the missionaries. Keën-lung always thought that he had a just cause when he butchered whole tribes. After the defeat and massacre of the Kalmucks, he erected a stone tablet at Ele with the following inscription: "The tree which heaven plants, though man may fell it, cannot be unrooted: the tree which heaven fells, though man may replant it, will never grow."

The fame of Keën-lung extended to Europe, and missions from Holland, England and Russia, were sent to his court. These embassies did not produce the good expected from them; the Chinese, with all the conceit of ignorance, believed or pretended to believe themselves the only enlightened nation in the universe, and claimed homage from all others as barbarians. The emperor himself appears to have been

free from these prejudices, but all the officers of state were opposed to an increase of foreign intercourse, which they feared would be fatal to their privileges.

After a reign of sixty years, Keën-lung abdicated the throne in favour of his fifth son Kia-king (A.D. 1795), and died three years afterwards at the age of eighty-eight. His successor had all his vices without any of his redeeming qualities; his misconduct provoked frequent insurrections, while his feeble administration encouraged the pirates to renew their depredations in the Chinese seas. Unfortunately the greatest maritime power in the world submitted to receive laws from this feeble government. In 1808 a British squadron commanded by Admiral Drury was sent to take possession of the Portuguese settlement of Macao, and prevent it from falling into the hands of the French. The Chinese authorities at Canton became alarmed, and threatened to stop all trade unless the English garrison was withdrawn from Macao; their demands were granted with a precipitation which closely resembled cowardice, and the Chinese erected a pyramid to commemorate, what they were pleased to call, their victory over the English. It must be acknowledged that the concessions then made to their arrogance, have been the chief cause of the repeated insults they have since offered to the British flag.

Kia-king's bitter hatred of Europeans was supposed by many to have arisen from the misrepresentations of the Canton authorities, and it was therefore resolved to send Lord Amherst as an ambassador to Peking, for the purpose of establishing amicable relations between England and China. This embassy completely failed; the officers of the imperial court prevented Lord Amherst from obtaining an audience, and he returned to Canton. In the mean time the Chinese had shown a disposition to insult the naval forces that had conveyed the embassy, but a few shots from one of the frigates brought them to their senses, and the mission returned in safety.

Kia-king died in 1820, and was succeeded by the reigning emperor, Tao-kwang, who is even more prejudiced against Europeans than his predecessor. Since his accession, the commerce between England and China has been so often interrupted, and the conduct of the Chinese authorities to the English so insulting, that at length an armed interference became necessary, not only for the purpose of maintaining the established trade, but also for the security of the persons and property of English subjects. Proclamations against the importation of opium were issued by the Chinese government, but the prohibited article continued to be largely smuggled into the country, with the secret connivance of the Chinese authorities. At length Captain Elliot, the English resident at Canton, was compelled by the Chinese authorities to consent to the destruction of several cargoes of opium, and his protests against the constraint to which he was subjected, were disregarded.

Several insults and outrages were offered to the British residents in China, and as it was found impossible to obtain redress by peaceful remonstrances, war was declared against the emperor of China by the English government, and a large naval and military force sent against Canton. Having left a sufficient force to guard the entrance to that harbour, the armament proceeded to the eastward and captured the island of Chusan, and spread alarm along the eastern coast of China. In every engagement, though the Chinese exhibited many examples of individual bravery, yet they were so utterly deficient in military tactics and discipline, that they were easily conquered, notwithstanding their vast numerical superiority.

Defeated in the field, the emperor of China had recourse to diplomacy; Keshen was sent as imperial commissioner to treat with Captain Elliot, and the terms of an equitable pacification were arranged. But the Chinese never intended to fulfil the conditions of the treaty; their object was merely to gain time, and wear out the patience of the English by expensive and vexatious delays. It was long before a decisive answer could be obtained, but at length the ratification of the treaty was refused, and the war renewed. It is not necessary to enter minutely into the history of this war; Canton, and Ningpo, two of the most important cities in China, were taken by mere handfuls of British troops, and the immense masses collected in the imperial armies were unable to withstand an organized force rarely amounting to the tenth of their numbers. The Chinese made frequent attempts to compensate for their losses in the field by engaging the English in deceptive negotiations, but Sir Henry Pottinger, who succeeded Captain Elliot as English commissioner, soon showed that he would not endure to be overreached in diplomacy, while the repeated triumphs of our arms convinced the Chinese government that further resistance might endanger the safety of the Tartar dynasty. A treaty was again negotiated, in which great concessions were very reluctantly made to the English demands; the island of Hong-kong was ceded to them in perpetuity, five ports were freely opened to their trade, and the emperor consented to pay a large sum to defray the expenses of the war, and compensate for the large quantities of opium the property of the British subjects, which had been destroyed at the commencement of the war.

A nation so completely isolated by natural boundaries as the Chinese, having no neighbours but the barbarous tribes of Tartary, is of course disposed to indulge in national vanity. They believe that their country occupies the centre of the globe, and that "the middle kingdom:" as they therefore call it, is unequalled on the earth. Their own laws and usages, the origin of which is lost in remote antiquity, appear to them perfect, and every successive government has shown itself a decided foe to innovation. But the Chinese are the only

people that have persevered in treating all foreigners as barbarians, and even when compelled to abate their absurd claims for the time, have invariably revived them on a more favourable opportunity. Hence it is impossible to negotiate with them according to the rules of European diplomacy, for until intimidated by defeat or terror, they will look upon attempts to form a treaty as signs of submission. It is singular that the Tartar conquerors of China have invariably adopted the institutions and prejudices of the vanquished; but they have not succeeded in winning the affections of the nation. During the greater part of a century, insurrections have followed each other with frightful rapidity, and the Mantchew domination has been more than once on the point of ruin. Secret societies exist at the present moment, formed to restore the ancient supremacy of the native Chinese, and it is not improbable that any signal humiliation of the imperial forces may lead to a revolution.

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

IN the *Manual of Ancient History* we sketched the history of the Jews from the days of the patriarchs to the suppression of the revolt of Bar-Cochab (A.D. 136): it now remains to trace the fortunes of this singular race down to our own times, and briefly to exhibit their condition at the present day.

Though the number of the Jews who perished in the successive overthrows of their nation was doubtless very great, we are by no means to believe that on any of these occasions the whole body fell into the hands of the victor; in proof of the contrary, we may refer to the Jewish colonies which we early find in places to which their conquerors would not have transported them, and where, consequently, we must look upon them as located by their own choice. Beside other places of less importance, we have mention of a flourishing Jewish community in Rome before the Christian era; and the travels of the Apostles furnish evidence that shortly after that period they were to be met with in almost every part of Asia, Greece, and Northern Africa. Though their fathers in their own land had been noted for a proud contempt of all literature but their own, these colonists did not neglect the opportunities of mental culture thus laid open to them, and accordingly we find that many of the most learned philosophers of Alexandria were either Jews, or in habits of such intimacy with them, as imply that the sciences were pursued with equal ardour by

both parties. Indeed it was only under such circumstances, that that strange mixture of Pagan, Jewish and Christian dogmas, called Gnosticism, could have originated; and this we know to have taken its rise in the schools of Alexandria.

Though the Jews who spread over the East seem chiefly to have resorted to the more polished regions of Egypt or Babylon, circumstances induced many of them to repair to Arabia, and others penetrated even to China, where their reception seems to have been favourable. In the days of Mohammed, great numbers of Jews, wealthy, and possessed of political power, were found settled in the Peninsula, whom the impostor endeavoured in vain to conciliate. His successors granted them toleration, and both parties being animated by a like hatred of the Christians, we often find them acting in concert, especially during the Saracen conquest of Africa and Spain.

The Abbaside Khaliphs, who seized the throne of Islám from the Omniade dynasty, were generally tolerant of the Jews; the Khaliph Almanzor, indeed, went so far as to restore their academies, and evinced some taste for Hebrew literature himself. In the beginning of the ninth century, the Kaliph Mamun caused the best of the Jewish books to be translated into Arabic, for the purpose of diffusing a taste for literature and science among his subjects. Several eminent men of Jewish race flourished at his court; they were particularly famous for their skill in astronomy and medicine, which had up to this period been very slightly cultivated by the Saracens. The fame of the Jewish physicians was spread over all the Mohammedan countries, so that few of any other race could find employment; but the wealth acquired by this lucrative profession excited the cupidity of several of the later Khaliphs, who availed themselves of religious prejudices to gratify their avarice. During this season of persecution the Jews were frequently duped by false prophets and pretended messiahs, who induced them to raise partial insurrections, which only served to furnish a pretext for renewed persecutions. In the midst of their difficulties the Khaliphate was overthrown by the barbarous Mongols, and the Jews were exposed to renewed persecutions from the Saracens, who attributed to their impiety all the calamities of the empire.

From the death of Timúr Lenk to the accession of Shah Abbas, the Jews, like the other inhabitants of Media and Persia, had to endure all the calamities arising from a violent war, a rapid conquest, and the long series of sanguinary wars for succession between the conqueror's descendants. At the accession of Shah Abbas, Persia was almost uninhabited, and in order to obtain subjects that monarch granted large privileges to all strangers willing to settle in his dominions. Numbers of Jews who were oppressed in other eastern countries accepted his offers, but their wealth soon excited suspicions, and the

Shah issued an edict that they should either embrace Islamism or prepare for death. The remonstrances of the Mohammedan priests prevented the execution of this sanguinary edict, but legal protection was withdrawn from the persecuted race, and has not been again restored in the provinces subject to Persia.

The Jews from Africa crossed into Spain, and thence to Gaul, Germany, and even Britain. In Spain they were often subject to persecution under the Gothic monarchs, which induced some to dissemble their faith, and others to leave the country. Of these latter, many retired to Africa, whence they returned with the Saracens, whom they materially assisted in the conquest of the country. Under the rule of the Spanish Moslems, the condition of the Jews was highly prosperous; they cultivated science, were entrusted with the highest offices of the state, and enjoyed complete toleration; indeed to this era belong the names of Rabbi Hasdai, Benjamin of Tudela, Isaac of Cordova, and numerous others, whose works have been preserved, and which prove their proficiency in almost every art or science then known.

In more northern countries their state was materially different. Though their industry and abilities rendered them valuable to their rulers, and some few are to be found even in the courts of princes, they were as a body subject to the most galling restrictions, being in the eye of the law mere chattels of the superior lord, not human beings. Charlemagne, and his immediate successors, employed many of the Jews as their physicians, or as bankers, and even despatched them on important embassies; but about the year 870, by a decree of the Council of Meaux, they were declared incapable of filling any civil offices, and under Philip Augustus (A.D. 1180) they were stripped of their property, and banished from France. They soon returned, but were exposed to the most rigorous and unjust treatment; Louis IX., whose right to the title of Saint appears more than questionable, began the career of renewed persecution by forbidding the legal officers to seize the persons or estates of Christians indebted to Jews in default of payment; Catholics were strictly prohibited from employing Jewish physicians; it was ordained that they should have only one synagogue and burial-ground in each diocese, that they should not exercise any of the higher industrial arts, and that they should wear some distinctive mark on a conspicuous part of their dress. In 1288 the parliament of Paris fined the Jews for singing too loud in their synagogues. Philip the Long pronounced sentence of banishment against them, but granted charters of protection to a few who were able to gratify his cupidity by large bribes. A strict search was made for those who dared to remain in the kingdom; several were burned alive, and, as an additional insult, dogs were thrown on the funeral pile. A great number were slain with less ceremony by the populace, who practised all

sorts of cruelty upon the unfortunate sufferers. In 1350 John revoked the edicts of banishment, and the Jews, grateful for his kindness, cheerfully aided him in raising the large ransom with which he purchased his deliverance from captivity in England. This tranquillity was disturbed by the renewal of persecution under Charles VI., but the edicts of intolerance were found so difficult of execution that they were permitted soon to sink into oblivion.

Many of the popes commiserated the sufferings of the Jews, and endeavoured to restrain the fanaticism of their persecutors. Honorius III. issued a bull, forbidding the use of force in converting them to Christianity, and menacing excommunication against those who insulted or injured them on account of their religion. Gregory IX., when a sudden burst of bigotry threatened the extermination of the Jews in every country in which they had settled, not only protected them in his own states, but wrote urgent letters in their behalf to all the monarchs of Europe. When the Holy See was transferred to Avignon at the commencement of the fourteenth century, the favour shown to the Jews in Italy was continued, and the lot of those in France greatly alleviated. Avignon itself became the chief residence of the wealthy Jews, and their riches contributed not a little to the splendour of the pontifical court.

After the popes had returned to Rome, several pontiffs exhibited less wise and humane policy towards the Jewish race. Gregory XIII., who celebrated the atrocious massacre of St. Bartholomew with public thanksgivings, was of course a persecutor of the Jews. He ordained that they should be subject to trial before the Inquisition, for blasphemy, for ridiculing the ceremonies of the Catholic religion, or for reading the Talmud and similar prohibited books. He further enjoined that all the Jews in Rome, above twelve years of age, should be assembled once a week to listen to a sermon in condemnation of their religion. Sixtus V. was a pontiff of a different character; on the 22nd of October, 1586, he re-established the Jews in all their municipal privileges, allowed them full right of citizenship in the Roman states, with power to hold houses and lands; he restored their synagogues and burial-grounds, imposing upon them only a very moderate tribute, and promising them exemption for the future from all arbitrary exactions. Subsequent popes revoked the tolerant edicts of Sixtus, but they did not revive the cruel code of Gregory XIII., and in general the Jews have been permitted to enjoy greater freedom and to hold their property with greater tranquillity in the papal states, than in most other countries of Christendom. Hence while the Spanish Jews generally favoured the Reformation, those of Italy regarded the progress of Protestant opinion with complete indifference, and sometimes with avowed hostility.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, most of the great German

cities had among their inhabitants numerous Jews, wealthy, intelligent, and polished in their manners, but their prosperity was at all times at the mercy of their rulers, and it was only by means of purchased and precarious protection that even their lives were secure. At length arose the crusading spirit, and the Jews in Germany, to the number of many thousands, were its first victims. Again the fanatics who were preparing to march to the third crusade (A.D. 1188), butchered all the Jews they met with in Germany and Italy, and similar barbarities were exercised in this and other countries, so that the annihilation of the devoted race seemed inevitable; but this, like other storms, passed away. After a while the Jews again rose from the dust, some returned to their ancient habitations, and others pushed forward into the then almost unknown regions of Poland, where they at length became, and still continue, a very influential part of the population.

At what period the Jews first reached Britain does not distinctly appear; but in the eighth century we find them reckoned among the property of the Anglo-Saxon kings, who seem to have exercised absolute power over both their lives and goods. In this state they remained under the Norman princes and the early Plantagenets, as is sufficiently testified by their butchery in the reign of Richard I.; the conduct of John, who drew out a tooth daily till he obtained a large sum of money from a rich Jew; the enormous fines levied on them by Henry III.; and their expulsion by Edward I. (A.D. 1290), after the confiscation of all their property. The conduct of the monarchs was of course imitated by the nobles to the extent of their power, and the hatred of all classes was excited by marvellous stories of the crucifixion of Christian children, the profanation of the sacraments, and other improbable outrages, of which they were said, but never proved, to be guilty.

As the Arabs lost their hold on Spain the Jews found themselves exposed to all the horrors of persecution. The Inquisition was introduced, and after great numbers had been burnt, all who refused to become Christians were expelled the kingdom, being allowed to retain only their moveable property (A.D. 1492); their number is said to have exceeded 800,000, and they chiefly took refuge in Africa and Turkey. They were treated in a similar manner in Portugal. But it soon appeared that Judaism, though suppressed, was by no means extinguished in the Peninsula, and the severity of the Inquisition was then exercised upon the nominal Christians; such was the case also in Italy. Thus persecuted in every country under the influence of the see of Rome, the Jews at the era of the Reformation eagerly flocked towards the rising Protestant states, where they were at least sure of personal safety. This was more especially the case in Holland, where they were equitably treated, and where they are now exceedingly numerous.

Although no repeal of the edict for their banishment had taken place, the Jews entered into some negotiations with Oliver Cromwell for their return to this country, but which do not appear to have led to any result. At the time of the Restoration they came in, in small numbers, without exciting any particular notice, and have ever since remained unmolested. In 1753, an act was passed to facilitate their naturalization, but it was speedily repealed, and though popular feeling is less strong at present on the subject, the attempt to place them upon the same footing as other British subjects, though several times made, has been unsuccessful.

In the course of the last and the present centuries, the condition of the Jews in European countries has been greatly ameliorated. Maria Theresa of Austria, and, after her, most of the German states, have granted them equal privileges with Christians; in France they enjoy every civil right; in Poland they form the only middle class, and are found engaged in agriculture and manufactures; in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, they now reside unmolested, and in many of the British colonies (as Malta, Gibraltar, and Jamaica) they are among the principal merchants and traders. Indeed, Russia is the only civilized state where they are now subject to anything like their former restrictions, or are looked upon with much of the antipathy of former days. In Mohammedan countries, however, they are still an obnoxious sect, against whom the most improbable charges are readily credited, a circumstance frequently taken advantage of by the local governors.

As might be expected with regard to a people so widely scattered, the most contradictory statements of the number of the Jews have been made, few of them being anything more than mere conjecture. The most probable statement seems to be that of the *Weimar Almanac*, which gives a total of about 3,200,000, reckoning near 2,000,000 in Europe, 740,000 in Asia, 500,000 in Africa, and 5000 in America.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

THE two great objects which engaged the attention of the new Ministry, formed in 1841 under the auspices of Sir Robert Peel and the duke of Wellington, were the modification of the Corn Laws and the supply of the alarming deficiency in the revenue. A strong and increasing party in the country demanded the abolition of all laws which imposed restrictions on the import of food; its leaders formed themselves into an association called the Anti-Corn Law League; they hired lecturers, issued periodicals, and held large public meetings in the metropolis and the principal cities of Great Britain. Drury Lane Theatre, and afterwards Covent Garden, were engaged for these meetings, which were remarkable for the calm reasoning of the speakers and the exemplary decorum of the audience. On the other hand, the country gentlemen insisted that there should be no change in the system of protection, and when it was resolved that the rigour of the sliding-scale should be abated, the duke of Buckingham retired from the Cabinet. Sir Robert Peel's financial measures included the imposition of an income tax to remedy the declining revenue, and as a compensation to consumers he diminished the rigour of the sliding-scale which regulated the tax on the import of foreign corn, permitted the importation of cattle, and greatly abated the duties on import in our commercial tariff. At the same time he publicly recognized the principles of free trade, but declared that he was not yet prepared to apply them to the cases of corn and sugar.

Trade and commerce had been for some time declining, but in 1843 the distress of all the classes employed in the most productive branches of British industry had attained an alarming height; the agriculturists shared in the general depression, because their best customers, the manufacturing operatives, were no longer able to consume farming produce. This, which clearly proved that the agricultural interests were closely united with the prosperity of manufactures, produced many new converts to the cause of the Anti-Corn Law League; agitation was continued with great vigour, and Lord Howick's motion for a committee to inquire into the cause of the national distress, produced a debate of five nights in the House of Commons. During the discussion, Mr. Cobden, a Manchester manufacturer, who had begun to take a very leading part in public life,

declared that Sir Robert Peel would be held responsible for the sufferings of the country. An ingenious attempt was made to represent this declaration of a minister's constitutional responsibility as an implied threat, but the effort was defeated by the general voice of the country, and the charge against Mr. Cobden was retracted by Sir Robert Peel himself. Though the ministers resisted the total repeal of the corn laws, they made an important concession in favour of Canada, the grain from that country being allowed to enter at a very moderate rate of duty.

Public attention was painfully directed to the state of Ireland, where life and property were placed in peril by prædial disturbance, while the integrity of the empire was menaced by the Repeal agitation, and the monster meetings held by its leaders. An act requiring the registration of arms, and imposing restrictions on the import of arms and ammunition, was passed after long and angry discussions, but the law was found to be inefficient and has not since been renewed. The prosecution of Mr. O'Connell and several of his associates in the Repeal agitation for sedition, next engaged public attention.

After a long and tedious course of proceedings, encumbered by many legal technicalities, but enhanced by the most brilliant displays of forensic eloquence, the traversers were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment: but they were liberated after a short confinement, the verdict having been set aside on an appeal to the House of Lords. Wales, like Ireland, was the scene of some dangerous riots; furious mobs who called themselves the followers of Rebecca, destroyed turnpike gates and committed some other outrages, but the disturbances were finally quelled by a vigorous administration of law. In Scotland a large section of the Ministry and laity seceded from the Established Church of that country, on the ground that the civil powers had no right to interfere with spiritual functions. The new secession took the name of the Free Presbyterian Church, and, under the auspices of Dr. Chalmers, its proceedings were conducted with great dignity and moderation.

During the course of the year, a decided improvement in the condition of the country became manifest; trade revived and the revenue increased. But the exertions of the League to obtain a repeal of the corn laws were not relaxed, and though they were defeated in Parliament on three occasions, in the course of 1844, it was manifest that their opinions were rapidly gaining ground in the country. The financial plans of the year included a reduction of the interest of the national debt, the renewal of the Bank of England's charter, and the establishment of some excellent regulations for the management of private banks. A step was also made in the direction of free trade by the remission of the duty on several articles of import: the sugar duties were revised, and though the difference between slave-grown

and free-labour sugar were maintained, all the changes introduced were in favor of the consumer. Several of the more ardent supporters of protection had for some time viewed with suspicion the gradual approach of the ministry to the economic principles maintained by the League, and, on the question of the sugar duties, Sir Robert Peel, abandoned by this section of his supporters, was left in a minority; he had, however, sufficient influence to induce the House of Commons to reverse its decision, but thenceforward the compactness of his party was at an end, and the jealousy between the sections into which it was divided, rapidly ripened into open hostility. A further proof of the liberal tendencies of the ministry was shown in the Dissenters' Chapel Bill, which secured to the Unitarian body certain endowments of which they had long been in possession. At the close of the session of 1844, peace, contentment, and confidence generally prevailed, and the destinies of the country wore a more happy and promising appearance than they had exhibited for several preceding years.

The financial prosperity of England in the early part of 1845, was proved by the vast number of railway projects submitted to the consideration of Parliament, and the little resistance offered to the renewal of the income tax. Sir Robert Peel's explanation of his financial policy, which included a further reduction of import duties, was generally satisfactory; and in the debate on the corn laws, he not only in terms abandoned the doctrine of protection but intimated an anxiety for the gradual abolition of the system. The failure of the harvest at a later period of the year; the pecuniary embarrassments produced by excess of speculation in railways; the distress produced in Ireland by the unexplained rotting of the potatoes, which constitute the staple food of the population; and the decline of trade in the manufacturing districts, created great anxiety towards the close of the year. Lord John Russell, who had hitherto maintained the expediency of a fixed duty, addressed a letter to his constituents of the city of London, announcing his adoption of the principles of total and immediate repeal of the corn laws; and, early in December it was announced that similar views were entertained by a large section of the Cabinet. In consequence of the dissensions of his colleagues, Sir Robert Peel resigned, but Lord John Russell being unable to form a ministry, he again resumed office, and met Parliament, in 1846, with a proposal for totally repealing the corn laws at the end of three years, and in the meantime greatly diminishing the amount of import-duty. The schism among his supporters now became incurable; supported, however, by the Whigs and the League, he triumphed over all opposition, but no sooner was the success of his financial measures secured, than he courted and received defeat on the Irish Arms Bill, which gave him an opportunity of resigning with honour.

Sir Robert Peel had done much to lessen the hostility of the Irish people to his administration before he quitted office; he had given securities to Catholic bequests, enlarged the grant for the education of Romish priests in Maynooth, and founded provincial colleges. He avowed the most kindly and liberal feelings towards the country, and had earned a debt of gratitude from the peasantry by his exertions to avert the evils of impending famine. A second and worse failure of the potato crop in Ireland greatly added to the difficulties which his successors, the Russell ministry, had to encounter on their assuming office; but the schism among the Repealers prevented the Repeal agitation from being such an impediment to good government as it had formerly proved.

During the five years of Sir Robert Peel's administration, a cordial understanding was maintained between the governments of France and England, cemented by the friendly and mutual visits of the two Sovereigns. It is true that a flagrant act of usurpation was perpetrated by a French admiral in the Pacific Ocean; on the most flimsy pretences he occupied the island of Tahiti, established the French protectorate, and expelled some of the English missionaries. But the English ministers were well aware that this act was not countenanced by the French Cabinet, though Guizot, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, was too weak to encounter the unpopularity of its disavowal. It was, besides, obvious that France was weakened rather than strengthened by the popular passion for colonies; the occupation of Algiers entailed, as it still continues to do, a vast outlay of treasure and waste of life, for Abd-el-Kader, the heroic leader of the Arab tribes, has for years maintained a sanguinary warfare against the conquerors of Algeria, and though the French have endeavoured to quell insurrection by the most horrible barbarities, they are yet unable to subdue the wild sons of the Desert. Internally France has been tranquil and prosperous; the fortifications of Paris act as a restraint on the turbulent spirits of the capital, and though some attempts have been made on the life of Louis Philippe, he is beloved and supported by the most influential part of the community.

The cordiality between England and France has been a little weakened by events in Spain. Christina, the widow of the late king, a woman of little principle and profligate habits, married a groom named Munoz, whom she created duke of Rianzares. She was expelled from Spain by one revolution, and recalled by another. To secure the support of France, she allowed Louis Philippe to regulate the marriages of her daughters; of whom the elder, Queen Isabella, has been united to her cousin Don Francisco, and the younger to the duke de Montpensier, the youngest son of the king of the French. Some circumstances of duplicity in the conduct of these marriages created a coolness between the courts of England and France. Its

worst result has been, that the despots of Eastern Europe have taken advantage of the crisis to destroy the last vestiges of Polish independence, by annexing the republic of Cracow to the empire of Austria.

Portugal, like Spain, continues to be distracted by a series of revolutions, ruinous to the country itself, but possessing little interest for other nations. On the whole, however, it may be said that the cause of constitutional freedom is steadily advancing in Southern Europe, and its progress is likely to be accelerated by the conduct of the new pope, who has adopted a far more enlightened policy than any of his predecessors. Greece and Turkey remain to all appearance stationary, but it is evident that the Greeks are acquiring and the Turks losing power. The ultimate destinies of both, however, must depend to some extent on the fortunes and conduct of Russia, a power as yet too little removed from barbarism, to give any certain indications of its destiny.

Although the king of Prussia has not yet given to his people the long-promised constitution, the municipalities which he encourages and respects, have greatly tended to increase the material prosperity of his country, and their influence is felt throughout the whole south and west of Germany. Sweden appears to prosper under the government of Oscar, the son of the fortunate Bernadotte, and Denmark displays no ambition but that of obtaining a high place in the art, science, and literature of Europe.

Beyond the Atlantic, it is to be regretted that the emancipated colonies of Spain have not yet profited by their independence, so far as to establish permanent and useful governments. The United States has taken advantage of the distractions in Mexico, to seize upon Texas, and to invade California and Mexico itself, but it may reasonably be anticipated that such extension of territory may be fatal to the union of the states, which more than one circumstance has shown to be cemented by very feeble principles of cohesion.

Towards the close of 1843 Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General of India, who had exposed himself to much ridicule by his bombastic proclamations, and who had excited alarm by his aspirations for conquest and military glory, was recalled by the Court of Directors, and the vacancy supplied by the appointment of Sir Henry Hardinge. The new governor applied himself diligently to the advancement of the interests of the natives, the diffusion of education, and the preservation of peace. From these objects his attention was unexpectedly diverted by the troubled state of the Punjáb, which had

been the prey of successive revolutions ever since the death of Runjeet Singh. The nominal king of the country was a mere boy, and the government was administered by his mother, the Rancee, or Queen, a woman even more profligate than Christina of Spain. The Sikh army, badly disciplined and worse paid, kept the whole country in a state of alarm, and as they menaced marauding expeditions into the British dominion, an army was assembled to protect the frontier. These defensive arrangements were not quite completed, when the whole Sikh army, amounting to forty thousand men, accompanied by a formidable train of artillery, crossed the Sutlej, and invested the English station at Ferozepore. Sir Hugh Gough, with a small British force, marched against them, and inflicted on them a severe defeat at Moodkee, but the victory was dearly purchased, and, among the slain was Sir Robert Sale, the hero of Jelallabad. It was resolved to follow up this success by an attack on the entrenched camp of the Sikhs, and Sir Henry Hardinge, hastening to the scene of action, volunteered to serve as second in command under Sir Hugh Gough. The British force consisted of about seventeen thousand men, with sixty-nine light guns; the Sikh army amounted to more than fifty thousand, having the advantage of an entrenched position, and one hundred and eight guns of the largest calibre. After a sharp cannonade, Gough and Hardinge gave orders to carry the hostile works by assault, and their forces, European and native, pressed forward with an emulative ardour which bore down all opposition. Though badly officered, the Sikhs, especially the artillerymen, fought well, and were sabred at their guns. Having lost their cannon, which was their chief dependence, the Sikhs fled in a confused mass to the Sutlej, and attempted to ford the stream. In this exposed condition they were assailed by a heavy fire of artillery, which mowed down whole ranks, and, in the hurry to escape, thousands fell and were drowned in the waters. Rarely has there been so complete a victory; the Sikh army was virtually annihilated.

Having waited a few days to refresh his weary men, Sir Henry Hardinge crossed the Sutlej, and advanced towards Lahore; no opposition was offered to his march, and he was allowed to arrange the affairs of the Punjab at his discretion. He acted with equal prudence, moderation, and generosity. A small strip of territory, necessary to give a defined frontier line, was all he added to the British dominions; the northern provinces, including Kashmere, which Runjeet himself had found it difficult to hold in subjection, were formed into a new kingdom under Gholab Singh, too powerful a chief to remain dependent; and the kingdom of Lahore, though diminished in size, was rendered more compact and manageable by the change.

It must, however, be added, that there are many obstacles to the permanency of these arrangements. The Sikhs, though they form the

ascendency, are the minority in the Punjáb, and are objects of the most fanatical hatred to the Mohammedans; the Afghans are ready to join their brethren of the faith of Islam, and by their aid to re-establish the former ascendency of their creed in Northern India; and there are many discontented spirits in various parts of the peninsula waiting only for an opportunity to organize a general revolt against British power.
